

OTTOMAN JERUSALEM
THE LIVING CITY: 1517-1917



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OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

THE LIVING CITY: 1517-1917

Edited by
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and
ROBERT HILLENBRAND

Architectural Survey by
YUSUF NATSHEH

Part I

Published on behalf of
The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem
in co-operation with
The Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem

by
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ST. JAMES'S PALACE

For millions of people, Jerusalem is a place of the mind and, even more, the spirit. It is a focus of their hopes and their prayers. It is enshrined in the beliefs of Islam, Christianity and Judaism as a holy city, beloved of God. As such it has a permanent place of honour in our scriptures. And Jerusalem has, of course, quite another dimension in the politics of the modern Middle East, a dimension inevitably linked to its holiness, being bound up with modern images of the nation state - of what it means to be an Israeli, a Palestinian.

Alongside, underpinning Jerusalem as a spiritual and political idea, there is the city of stone, wood and mortar which is celebrated in this book; the Old City clustered within the circuit of walls erected by the Ottoman Sultan, Sulaiman the Magnificent, in the 16th century. This is the living, breathing entity in which Muslim, Christian and Jew have long gone about their daily business and which incorporates the fabric and thus the tangible memory of the Jerusalem of Solomon, of Jesus and of Saladin.

The modern world has learned to its cost how fragile the vestiges of the past can be. None more so, perhaps, than the fabric of pre-modern towns. In every continent such towns have fallen victim to the pressures of economic growth, population pressure, unrestricted building activity and urbanisation. Such towns have become an endangered species. To conserve that heritage world-wide is an urgent priority. Jerusalem is just such a town; indeed, it is one of the best preserved examples to survive from the pre-modern Middle East.

Most of what visitors see as they walk around the Old City is the architectural setting created by Muslims for themselves over the past five centuries, largely under the Ottomans. That setting is all of a piece, its parts are interdependent. And the whole is much more than the sum of those parts; it is precisely that combination of street and houses, bakeries and baths, mosques and mausolea, that fashions an organic whole. The hand-cut stonework, graciously weathered by age, which is the hallmark of the Old City, is a striking visual metaphor of that unity.



The Trustees of Altajir World of Islam Trust
have the pleasure and privilege to acknowledge the role
played by other friends of Jerusalem. With great generosity,
they together funded the work of academic research and
preparation which comprises the contents of this major
publication in all its splendour and variety. These are:

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

It seemed natural to all of us who had joined together to research and publish *Mamluk Jerusalem*¹ that we should continue our initiative by focusing attention upon another equally significant phase of Jerusalem's turbulent history: the Ottoman period.

However, unlike the Mamluks, the Ottomans have left an extensive treasury of archival material, which is augmented by the records and writings of travellers, consular officials and academic institutions of the Western powers over the last two centuries. These latter institutions, from which the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem developed, were designed as vehicles for biblical and archaeological studies and research.

It was therefore appropriate that the BSAJ should gather together a team of experts, who would combine to present not only the structure and fabric of the city, but also to comment upon those who lived and moved and had their being in Jerusalem during this period.

Generous tributes are made elsewhere in this book to the individuals and organisations whose financial support made possible this publication and thus ensured that all concerned were able to play their respective roles to the full. In this regard we are also grateful to the Administration of Aqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, under the direction of Mr Adnan al-Husaini, for their

fraternal support and co-operation throughout the years of the project's gestation.

Under the benign and exacting editorship of Dr Sylvia Auld and Professor Robert Hillenbrand, this extensive and detailed work presents a wide-ranging study of many facets of the Ottoman City. A wealth of socio-historical research is combined with an important architectural survey deriving from Dr Yusuf Natsheh's doctoral thesis, also sponsored by the Trust.

We also gratefully acknowledge the work and dedication of Leonard Harrow and his colleagues, Alan Ball and Dennis Bracey, who have borne the burden of the design, preparation, production and marketing of the Trusts' publications since 1978.

Finally it is our privilege to pay tribute to the imagination and consistent generosity of His Excellency Mohamed Mahdi Altajir, whose critical assistance and support has enabled our work to develop and thrive over the years.

It is our hope that this unique volume will serve as a standard work on the four hundred years of this period of Jerusalem's historic heritage.

Alistair Charteris Duncan,
Director, Altajir World of Islam Trust

¹ The World of Islam Festival Trust 1987

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PREFACE I

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

From its establishment more than three-quarters of a century ago, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has devoted special effort and attention to the study—both above and below ground—of the city whose name it bears. Since the end of the Second World War, the School has undertaken three major projects in Jerusalem. Below ground, the late Dame Kathleen Kenyon conducted an important series of excavations—both within and outside the Old City—between 1961 and 1967.

The political situation after 1967 did not permit Dame Kathleen to continue her planned excavation programme, and under her guidance, the School turned its attention to historical Jerusalem above ground. Up till that time, the medieval Islamic architecture of the Old City was almost unstudied. It was decided to undertake a detailed architectural survey of the buildings and structures of the Mamluk period, and to complement this with an historical study of the buildings and the people connected with them, using not only published material, but also the archives of the Ottoman court, and documents held in the Haram al-Sharif by the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs. Twenty years after the conception of this monumental project, the generosity of Their Majesties, the late King Hussein and Queen Noor al-Hussein, and other benefactors, enabled The World of Islam Festival Trust to publish *Mamluk Jerusalem* on behalf of the School. The principal author of the volume was Michael Burgoyne, and Donald Richards provided additional historical material.

The School had long envisaged following this project with a comparable study of the Ottoman period. The World of Islam Festival Trust shared this objective, and undertook to provide funding from its own resources and

from other sympathetic supporters. By December 1991 this funding was in place, and work could commence. The British Academy provided additional financial support through its annual grant.

The School appointed Robert Hillenbrand as Managing Editor of the volume, and Sylvia Auld as Associate Editor and Project Manager, to work in close collaboration with the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, and to recruit an international group of specialist contributors. The Administration demonstrated its commitment to the success of the project by granting Yusuf Natsheh unpaid leave from his day-to-day responsibilities as Director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology. This enabled him not only to work on the physical structure of the buildings, but also to undertake detailed research into the extensive archives of the period held in the Haram al-Sharif. In order to extend the scope of his research, he enrolled as a mature Ph.D. student at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, under the supervision of Geoffrey King. The World of Islam Festival Trust extended its support for the project still further by covering all Yusuf Natsheh's expenses while he studied in London, and by contributing to the support of his family in Jerusalem. His revelatory research has earned him his doctorate, and provides the largest individual contribution to this volume.

Many people contributed to the successful completion of this project. Their names are recorded elsewhere in this volume, and I express here the warm thanks of the School to them all, individually and collectively. As with *Mamluk Jerusalem*, the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, and its staff were

Ottoman Jerusalem

indispensable and greatly valued partners. The Managing Editor and the Associate Editor deserve the utmost praise for their commitment and their unremitting efforts which have brought this volume to print. Richard Harper, the Director of the School from 1984, drew on his fund of local knowledge and expertise to ensure that work in the field went as smoothly as possible. But I must above all record the School's profound gratitude and appreciation to the Trustees and the Director of the World of Islam Festival Trust and the Altajir World of Islam Trust, under whose imprint—and at whose expense—the book is published; and also to the other donors who responded so generously to our appeal at the outset. Without their magnificent financial and moral support, the School would not have been in a position to commission the necessary research, and this volume could never have appeared.

Earlier this year, as a result of a detailed review by the British Academy of its support for the British Schools and Institutes overseas, the School merged with the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History. The new body, the Council for British Research in the Levant, is

now responsible for promoting British research in the area. Meanwhile, the Library of the School continues, independently financed, with the hostel in the building at Shaikh Jarrah. It is particularly fitting that the subject of the final research volume to be published by the School, as it has been, is the City with which it has been so closely identified since its foundation; and that this volume is the fruit—once again—of the long tradition of close co-operation between the School and the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem. The Old City contains many buildings and structures of other periods which merit similar detailed examination. The School has bequeathed to the Council for British Research in the Levant a wealth of knowledge and expertise on which to base further studies of the unique city that is Jerusalem.

P G de Courcy-Ireland
Chairman, The British School of Archaeology
in Jerusalem, 1990-1999
London, October 1999

PREFACE II

The Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

'Glory be to Him, who bore His Servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to Al-Aqsa Mosque, the precincts of which We have blessed.'

From the point where the Messenger of Allah—may God bless him and grant him salvation—departed on Al-'Isra, from the First of the Two Qiblas and the Third of the Sacred Shrines, from the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, it is my pleasure to commend to all who are interested in the Arab Islamic heritage of Sacred Jerusalem this volume of research into a multitude of aspects of the history and archaeology of the city of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period.

This book is the fruit of many years of collaboration between the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and the World of Islam Festival Trust and Altajir World of Islam Trust. The Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem began working together in the immediate aftermath of the events of 1967, to overcome the obstacles to an architectural survey of Mamluk buildings. Their collaboration bore fruit in the publication of a valuable volume on Mamluk Jerusalem, and was subsequently extended to bring to fulfilment this companion volume for which it falls to me to write a preface.

Everyone is conscious that this book appears at a time when the Old City of Jerusalem is facing a bleak situation, being subject to blatant and concentrated attacks to change by force and effectively attempts to obliterate its

Arab and Islamic characteristics, and indeed its cultural identity. This book, with the documents it contains, is the best possible demonstration of the Arab and Islamic nature of the city of Jerusalem; it illustrates and authenticates the contribution made by Arabs and Muslims to the city's architectural texture and cultural development.

A group of specialists and scholars from a number of countries was brought together to undertake research into and study of this period in the history of the city of Jerusalem. Their researches reflect the variety of their specialisations, interests and views. Their views do not necessarily represent those of the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, but are rather the personal scholarly opinions of the authors, which are open to scholarly and academic evaluation and criticism, in accordance with recognised scholarly practice.

The choice of contributors was a matter for the Managing Editor of the volume. However, the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, was particularly keen that the largest possible number of Arab and Palestinian specialists be given the opportunity to participate in this project. Although the preparation of the book has taken eight years, some of the researchers and specialists who were invited to contribute were unable to undertake their research because of their involvement in other commitments and projects.

I value highly the participation of many distinguished scholars, and should like to mention particularly the young Palestinians who participated in writing a part of their history, amongst whom are Yusuf Natsheh and Khadr Salameh from the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem.

I am very hopeful that this book will win the attention it merits and appreciation of the effort devoted to it. I hope too that this work will be a stimulus in the future for similar studies on the Noble City of Jerusalem, recognising that there are many aspects which have not been covered by this book, and which can be the basis for constructive future collaboration. I am also prompted to hope that we shall one day be able to offer this volume to Arab readers in a full or partial translation into their mother tongue.

I should like to thank all those who kindly contributed to the studies and research, and devoted their valuable time and effort to producing this research. I should especially like to thank Professor Robert Hillenbrand, the Managing Editor; Dr Sylvia Auld, the Associate Editor; and Dr Yusuf Natsheh, Head of the

Department of Islamic Archaeology, all of whom demonstrated great enthusiasm for and understanding of the project. The Departments of Islamic Auqaf and Islamic Affairs and Islamic Archaeology supported it to the utmost of their capabilities. I express my gratitude and appreciation to Mr Alistair Duncan, Director of the World of Islam Festival Trust and of Altajir World of Islam Trust, and co-ordinator of the project, and to all those who so generously provided the funds required to produce this book. Finally I thank the Ministry of Auqaf, Islamic Affairs and Shrines, and the Council of Auqaf, Islamic Affairs and Shrines, for their approval of and support for this project.

Muhandis Adnan al-Husaini
Director

EDITORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without Alistair Duncan, the Director of Altajir World of Islam Trust, this work would never have been undertaken, and it is thanks to his unwavering interest and commitment that it has been brought to term. A huge debt of gratitude is owed to him and his Trustees by all lovers of Jerusalem. The project was first mooted in a walk around al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, shortly after the publication of *Mamluk Jerusalem*, when Michael Hannam (who was then Chairman of the BSAJ), Graeme Auld (then Honorary Secretary), and Michael Burgoyne went to visit Yusuf Natsheh. They discussed the possibility of a sister volume to *Mamluk Jerusalem* which concentrated on the Ottoman city. It was Alistair Duncan who then turned the dream into reality by finding the sponsors, headed by His Excellency Mohamed Mahdi Altajir, to all of whom our thanks are most cordially extended.

Equally, we must thank Adnan al-Husaini, the Director of the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, and Yusuf Natsheh, Director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology. Yusuf Natsheh, who has also been funded throughout the long gestation of the project by the World of Islam Festival Trust, completed his doctorate on the subject of the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem and is publishing the results of that doctoral research, with additional material, within these pages. Without the active support of the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, access to the buildings for the survey would have been impossible, and, in addition, it is on the basis of original work by the Department of Islamic Archaeology that much of the material for this book has been produced. Moreover, the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem, granted Yusuf Natsheh

unpaid leave to allow him to pursue his researches.

Next, our thanks go to Richard Harper and Paddy de Courcy-Ireland, the last Director and Chairman of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem respectively, for their support and encouragement during the long years of preparation, survey and fieldwork. Keith Whitelam, Nick Wyatt and John Woodhead also played a major supportive role in their respective capacities of Honorary Secretary and Assistant Director to the BSAJ, which has now merged with the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History to form the new Council for British Research in the Levant; and it is under the aegis of this new body that the project has reached completion. Our thanks go also to Louise Maguire and Jo Clarke, who in their day were both Secretaries of the BSAJ, for their help with administration. Jo Clarke is now CBRL Director in Jerusalem and has continued to be of help in her new role.

Our special thanks wing their way to our families—especially Carole Hillenbrand for her wise counsel on many questions about the finer points of translation—and the many friends and colleagues who have encouraged us over the sometimes difficult moments in the production of such a large work. These include Michael Burgoyne, who has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the buildings of Jerusalem, Joe Rock for his marvellous photographs, David Myres for the period he spent in Jerusalem working on the catalogue of buildings, Susan Roaf and her student team of surveyors from Oxford Brookes University, Oxford (so generously funded by special grants from The British Academy and WIFT), the student survey team from the BSAJ who worked one summer exclusively on al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, Yolande Hodson for her help with maps, and the staff of

the PEF for their good-tempered response to many queries. In particular both Hamish and Caroline Auld have helped with the preparation of drawings. But most of all we would like to say an extra special thank-you to Leonard Harrow, who with patience, good humour and expertise has nursed an unwieldy bulk of paper into the coherent book it is now.

In Jerusalem our thanks go to Issam Awad (Chief Architect of al-Aqsa Restoration Committee), Khadr Salameh (Librarian and Director of al-Aqsa Mosque Library and Museum), Marwan Abu Khalaf (Institute of Islamic Archaeology, Al-Quds University), and George

Hintlian (Armenian Patriarchate).

But we owe a very special debt of gratitude to our many authors. Their very varied expertise has put flesh on the bones of the architectural survey and has made these buildings live again in a human context. It is their work that will give this volume enduring value and will at last put Ottoman Jerusalem on the map.

*Sylvia Auld
Robert Hillenbrand
Edinburgh, 2000*

EDITORS' NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

In view of the length and costs of this book, which includes the work of many authors working in many disciplines, languages and backgrounds, a decision was made to dispense with any single system of transliteration for the Arabic, Persian and Turkish names and terms used in the main body of the text. The editors were presented with a great variety of spellings of proper names, terms, etc., to say nothing of the different—and mutually incompatible—systems of transliteration. Such spellings can anyway be disputed; spellings out of non-roman scripts are often compromises and no transliteration system is ever completely adequate. It has been decided, therefore, to keep the spellings of proper nouns, foreign terms, etc., as simple as possible and to avoid the use of complex transliteration systems. In such matters the comments of T E Lawrence in the Preface to his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* are worth bearing in mind:

Arabic names won't go into English, exactly, for their consonants are not the same as ours, and their vowels, like ours, vary from district to district. There are some 'scientific systems' of transliteration, helpful to people who know

enough Arabic not to need helping, but a wash-out for the world. I spell my names anyhow, to show what rot the systems are.

Specific dates are given in the Islamic calendar first, with the Christian equivalent following after an oblique stroke; approximate dates and centuries are given in the Christian calendar only. Throughout the book the words Ibn and b. are used interchangeably.

Dr Yusuf Natsheh is responsible for the translation of Arabic in his catalogue of buildings. We would also like to thank Dr Christine Woodhead for her valuable help with the translation of difficult Turkish passages, and Dr Ulrike al-Khamis for her help with the translation from German of the technical section on the preparation of oil in Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Leipzig and Hildesheim, 1927-41.

Throughout the book, Istanbul has been used as the name for the city of Constantinople for the sake of convenience and the term 'Qoja' has been used for the great architect, Sinan, for this is how the title has continued to appear in popular literature, almost as part of the name, since at least the 19th century.

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Introduction

STRUCTURE, STYLE AND CONTEXT IN THE MONUMENTS OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Robert Hillenbrand

1. The historical setting

In 1453 Mehmed the Conqueror had fulfilled the long-term Ottoman ambition to capture Constantinople and to take over the territories of Byzantium. But his successors, not content with this, had sought to extend Ottoman power to the south, which resulted in their conquest of the Levant and Egypt, and—almost simultaneously—to the east. They had thus become embroiled in long-running, inconclusive and costly hostilities with Iran. Sulaiman the Magnificent had then embarked on a series of campaigns in eastern and south-eastern Europe. Thus by 1536, when—some twenty years after their conquest of Jerusalem—the Ottoman authorities began their first projects of serious architectural patronage in the city, their empire was firmly committed to a war on two fronts, both of them far from the Levant. The intensification of Ottoman interest in the European and Iranian theatres of war could not fail to give Sulaiman, as the Ottoman sultan, a perspective on Jerusalem which differed radically from that of his Mamluk predecessors—although, like them, he saw himself as the leader of the Sunni Muslim world, which gave an extra edge to his conflict with Shi'ite Iran. For the Mamluks, Jerusalem was centrally placed in an empire which stretched the full length of the Levantine seaboard and also encompassed Egypt and Western Arabia. Moreover, it was they who had definitively liberated the Holy Land from Frankish hands and who had thus set the seal on a campaign of *jihad* inaugurated in the early 12th century and fostered by such legendary Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers as Zengi, Nur al-Din, Saladin and Baibars. Just as the Crusaders had

celebrated their capture of Jerusalem with a building boom there, so too did the Mamluks inaugurate a comparable boom when they took over control of the city. They had fought hard for Jerusalem and it had a special place in their affections. In the 16th century there was no reason for the Ottomans to share this view. Nevertheless, like the Mamluks they maintained the useful fiction of allegiance to a puppet caliph, and as self-styled rulers of the orthodox Muslim world they took over the guardianship of the Holy Places, which naturally included Jerusalem as the site of the First Qibla. But they did so from a very different geopolitical stance. Their pressing interests lay to the north-west and to the east, not in the Levant. For them, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Arabia were provinces of a much larger empire whose centre of gravity lay in Anatolia and the Balkans. These provinces were a source of revenue, manpower and raw materials; otherwise they were of secondary interest. They were governed by appointees from Istanbul, where the metropolitan court and administration were Turkish in speech and largely Persian in culture. The relatively modest scale of Ottoman architectural patronage in Jerusalem makes sense only in the context of this seismic shift in geopolitical realities. Stripped of its special status under the Mamluks, reduced to the role of a minor provincial town, ruled by Muslims who—however sympathetic they were to Arab culture—nevertheless owed their first loyalty to the Turkish sultan in distant Istanbul, Jerusalem under the Ottomans had definitively relinquished its position at centre stage. The architecture built there by the Ottoman authorities inevitably betrays this dramatic change in its role. It is this context that best

explains the unprecedented emphasis on repair work rather than spectacular brand-new buildings in the Ottoman contribution to the architecture of the city.

2. The differences between Ottoman and Mamluk Jerusalem

The differences between Mamluk and Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem reflect this sea-change in the role of the city. From a religious point of view, very little had changed, at least outwardly; the Ottomans, as noted above, took over from the Mamluks the self-styled office of Guardian of the Holy Places, and like them embellished Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem. But the nature of their patronage in Jerusalem was very different, as will be discussed in Section 6 below. Its most spectacular expression was two-fold. One element was the refurbishment of the Dome of the Rock, which appears quite simply to have been unnecessary since there is no evidence that the Umayyad external mosaics which rendered the building unique had suffered serious damage over the centuries. Thus the Ottomans seem to have destroyed something exceptional in order to replace it by something commonplace—for by the mid-16th century the major imperial Ottoman religious buildings were frequently clad in lavish tilework. The work of Sulaiman the Magnificent could therefore be seen as an attempt to stake a claim to this especially holy site, and to ottomanise its appearance in an unmistakable way—for glazed tilework could not fail to have been recognised at the time as a foreign kind of decoration in the local context. Significantly, the interior, which naturally lacked the exceptional visibility, and therefore the propaganda potential, of the exterior, was left virtually untouched. The second element of Ottoman patronage was the walls, including the Citadel (probably 938/1531-2). Here, too, the political statement is unmistakable (see Section 3 below). The third most holy city of Islam, which had remained without continuous walls, and therefore obviously vulnerable, since Ayyubid times, was now fully protected—this was the long arm of the Ottoman sultan in action. As in the case of the Dome of the Rock, the visual impact was what mattered. Hence, perhaps, the warlike battlements, more for show than use. Much of the new walling was too low and too frail to offer serious protection against a determined enemy or artillery bombardment. Happily the city was not called upon to endure such tests.

These, then, were the two most public expressions of Ottoman patronage, and there can be little doubt that they had an incomparably greater impact on the local population, and on visitors and pilgrims—always an important category in Jerusalem—than any two Mamluk foundations in the city. But, with the single exception of the Khassaki Sultan complex, the rest of the Ottoman

buildings reveal a very modest financial commitment to the city's architecture on the part of the Ottoman regime and its functionaries. Their rule lasted almost twice as long as that of the Mamluks, and yet it produced only a fraction of the Mamluk output in terms of quality and scale of buildings. True, there are plenty of them; but as a group they are undistinguished. What is the explanation?

The basic factor seems to be geopolitical. For the Mamluks, ensconced in Egypt with important provincial capitals in Damascus and Aleppo, Jerusalem was relatively close to the centres of power. It straddled the route to Syria. It therefore had strategic as well as religious importance and was an integral part of a relatively small and self-contained state. With the Ottoman conquest, all this changed. As already explained, the new masters of Jerusalem had much wider horizons than the Mamluks had possessed. They had interests in the Balkans, Anatolia, Iran, Iraq and along the North African coast. The significance of Jerusalem could only dwindle in this vast perspective. Above all, the Ottoman capital was in Istanbul, not Cairo, and in an age of slow, laborious communications this effectively rendered Jerusalem out of sight, out of mind. Moreover, the principal theatres of war in Ottoman times were the Balkans, Iran, the Mediterranean—Palestine fomented a minor rebellion on occasion, but nothing to justify the intervention of the imperial army in force. After a brief spate of Ottoman interest in the city in the generation after the conquest in 1517—a period which saw most of the significant Ottoman contributions to the city's architectural heritage—Jerusalem sank to the status of a minor provincial town. It lost touch with the great world. An economy long boosted by the intense building activity of the Mamluk period gradually stagnated. The city turned inwards, resting on its past glories while its current affairs gradually became the preserve of a few leading local Arab families who dominated the religious establishment and the administration of the *waqfs* of its many pious foundations.

Even in the Levant itself, Jerusalem under the Ottomans was significantly downgraded *vis-à-vis* its role a century earlier. Under the Mamluks, Damascus and Aleppo were indeed more important politically, yet Jerusalem rivalled them in its architectural heritage because of the special religious significance which it held to that dynasty. Under the Ottomans Damascus and Aleppo, in accordance with their much larger populations and their greater political and economic importance, were both graced with many major buildings. This was not true of Jerusalem. And thus a paradox emerges: the Ottomans disposed of much larger cash revenues than did the Mamluks, and—as already noted—ruled Jerusalem for considerably longer, and yet they built far less; and what they did build was on a much smaller scale. This can only mean that they gave Jerusalem a lower priority than did the Mamluks. Yet the city was by no means neglected; and it is

one of the ironies of its history that under the early Ottomans its population tripled, a process perhaps due in part to Sultan Sulaiman's repair in 1532 of the aqueduct originally built by the Amir Tankiz, who was viceroy of Syria between 1312 and 1340. The restoration of the aqueduct was completed in 1541-42; it conducted water from the Pools of Solomon to nine public fountains in Jerusalem, to others on the Haram and to certain *hammams* in the city. His reconstruction and enlargement of the bazaar area revitalised the urban economy. But it also had wider horizons—thus the new spice bazaar was part of the Ottoman response to the challenge which Portuguese activities in the Indian Ocean presented to the lucrative spice trade, traditionally a Mamluk monopoly. Above all, Sulaiman's rebuilding of the walls resulted in a complete circuit of fortifications and thereby set Jerusalem apart from most other Palestinian towns, which would have created a welcome sense of security and thus an added incentive to settle there.

Unlike today, when much of the Mamluk heritage has vanished altogether and most of what remains is dilapidated or diminished by later constructions, in 1517 and the following few decades it must have been largely intact, for the most part of recent origin and of a splendour that was very plainly hard to beat. These buildings, and sometimes the structures surrounding them too, were still well protected by functioning *waqfs* which prevented unauthorised re-use or adaptation. All this may well have made the Ottomans disinclined to enter into retrospective competition with the Mamluk achievement; but it may also have suggested to them that the city simply did not need an architectural transformation. The afterglow of Mamluk patronage must have lingered for generations. Its implicit challenge helps to explain why the best Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem is concentrated into the 16th century—though it is only fair to note that in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, this was also the period which saw the apogee of Ottoman architecture. The fact that Jerusalem was still a relatively new Ottoman possession may also have played its part as an incentive for architectural activity.

On the whole the Mamluk *amirs* had concentrated their building activity on the immediate surroundings of the Haram, and this area gradually filled up with public monuments in the course of the Mamluk centuries. Thus by 1517 there was virtually no room left for further significant construction in this part of the city—quite apart from the fact that it effectively bore the stamp of Mamluk ownership. There was only one place left for the new dynasty—the interior of the Haram—and, for all the difficulties that this site presented, the Ottomans were so to speak in honour bound to use it. But the ineluctable need to respect the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque and not to intrude on their physical space in any way seriously inhibited prospective Ottoman patrons. One cannot help

being struck by how low the Ottoman buildings on the Haram are in comparison with the Mamluk façades which border it; they are dwarfed in comparison. Yet as the new masters of Jerusalem the new rulers had to assert their power in some tangible, visible, architectural way. That political imperative—so often a factor in glamorous public architecture—excluded foundations in the outskirts of the city, where they would have been effectively out of sight, and pointed, so far as religious architecture was concerned, to the hitherto unexploited Haram. In the field of secular architecture, on the other hand, there was one obvious task to be undertaken, and it was one which the Mamluks had sedulously ignored: the rebuilding of the walls.

3. The walls

Beyond question, the most striking testimony of Ottoman architectural patronage in Jerusalem is the circuit of walls repaired and in part erected by Sulaiman the Magnificent between 1537 and 1541, as its eleven inscriptions record. The supervisor of the entire enterprise was Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. Several introductory remarks may be in order. First, this was a rare accolade for the Holy City, since its walls had been in an increasingly ruinous condition ever since their deliberate breach by the Ayyubid princes, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa and al-Malik al-Kamil, in 1219 and 1227 to prevent their use by the Christian enemy. Second, fully walled cities—as distinct from fortified citadels dominating unwalled cities—were a rarity in the Near East. Third, these walls largely followed the line of earlier walls erected when the city was more densely populated, and thus the Ottoman walls defined the area of Jerusalem generously, leaving plenty of room for renewed population growth and thus expressing faith in the future of the city. And for the first time in centuries they gave Jerusalem a physical unity—the necessary prelude to a more intangible sense of community and morale. Fourth, there is a more than local context here, for at almost the same time the selfsame Sultan Sulaiman was constructing a major wall around Madina, the second holiest city in Islam; and of course, his capital, the former Constantinople, was itself surrounded by late Roman and Byzantine walls which were one of the wonders of the medieval world. That fact, and the perennial association of those walls with great empires of antiquity, might well have motivated Sulaiman to emulate that achievement elsewhere, and to present himself as a latter-day Caesar. Lastly, it would be mistaken to attribute this costly project entirely to the pious motives of the sultan. Other factors, both local and international, were at work.

The local factors were not confined to the city. Jerusalem, in common with Hebron and other Palestinian towns, had long suffered from the raids which marauding

Bedouin tribes regularly conducted against travellers on the open road and even against the inhabitants of the outskirts of the larger towns. Thus a chronic insecurity afflicted the surrounding countryside for much of the Ottoman period. Hence there is a darker side to the building of these walls. Put briefly, the building of the walls absolved the Ottoman authorities of the need to police the environs of Jerusalem effectively, and indeed could be interpreted as an acknowledgement that the writ of the government did not run in these areas. This was not a new situation; early in the 16th century, at the end of the Mamluk period, no one could perform the *hajj* from Jerusalem for an entire decade because the Bedouin had rendered the roads so unsafe. Bedouin lawlessness in fact persisted for centuries and the protection of travellers, for example on the main Ramla-Jerusalem road, necessitated the provision of a heavy guard or the payment of protection money. As late as the early 18th century the then governor of Jerusalem, Mustafa Agha, negotiated an agreement with the inhabitants of a trio of villages to the north of Jerusalem that they would not molest travellers bound for the city.

The story does not end here: there is an international dimension too. After the defining and traumatic experience of the Crusades, it is no wonder that in Muslim eyes the Christian pilgrims who continued to visit Jerusalem should represent the shadow of a possible threat against the city, all the more so as the Europeans had never abjured the resumption of hostilities. In the 1530s, rumours were circulating of a new crusade under the leadership of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, stung by the recent Ottoman campaigns in Austria. In the aftermath of the fall of Rhodes, the last Christian outpost in the Levant, in 1520, such rumours could not be ignored, and indeed Charles did mount an expedition against Algiers in 1538. Its failure may explain why work on the walls of Jerusalem was abruptly terminated, leaving the interiors of about half the towers unfinished. Nevertheless, the scale and nature of Ottoman work on the towers can be gauged by the Stork, Gaza and Sulphur Towers, and by Goliath's Castle. Some of this work was executed on earlier foundations. The unfinished state of the work—for while the circuit of the walls is complete, neither the height nor the treatment of the ramparts themselves is consistent—is perhaps not all that serious a deficiency, since the role of these walls was at least as much symbolic as military. They represented a *prise de possession* and a deterrent to any Christian designs on the city. It is certain that they would not long have resisted a determined attack by an enemy force equipped with up-to-date artillery: at some points, admittedly, the walls are almost three metres thick at the base, with a glacis in some places, but they are on the whole less than 1.5 metres thick at the level of loopholes and less than half that thickness at the height of the ramparts. This reduction is sometimes managed by a succession of

retreating jogs. Thus the upper sections of the wall, festooned as they are with bosses, parapets and merlons, are largely for show—hence, for example, the sudden outcrop of decorative forms in the battlements of the Damascus Gate—though they would assuredly have foiled any attacks by raiding Bedouin. Numerous staircases give access to the upper part of the walls. The variations in height—from 5 to 15 metres approximately, that is 17 to 50 feet—tell the same story of protection against casual raids rather than a professional army with state-of-the-art cannons. There was no attempt to rebuild the walls from scratch; earlier sections of finished wall, from Herodian times onwards, were incorporated without change wherever possible. This explains the extremely varied stonework, which ranges from the cyclopean blocks of the ancient foundations to the small, neat and relatively uniform squares which characterise Ottoman work. The earlier wall-lines were used wherever this was practicable, as were the existing ditches.

Some basic facts will clarify the size and ambition of the whole enterprise. If all the angles, re-entrants, towers and gates are included in the calculation, they extend a total of 4.325km (2.7 miles). For some reason Mount Zion was excluded, despite its strategic importance, and the Citadel, itself of Mamluk origin, which Sulaiman had fortified and garrisoned as early as 1531, had its own system of defences, though in places these blend with the outer city walls. Like many a medieval monarch before him, then, Sulaiman's first concern was to establish a strong military presence in the city. The military aspect of the walls, at least so far as their overall visual impact is concerned, is driven home by no less than 34 towers, which vary in their height, design and angle of fire. These are supplemented by 344 loopholes or embrasures intended for gunfire, and by seventeen machicolations, some of them clearly intended in a decorative spirit to judge by the *muqarnas* decoration at their base. There are seven open gates, all but one of them inscribed with the date of their construction. In some cases earlier Mamluk elements are incorporated in secondary use, perhaps for talismanic purposes, as in the lions—the heraldic symbol of Sultan Baibars, the scourge of the Crusaders—which flank St Stephen's Gate, otherwise known as the Lion Gate. Four older gates—the Golden, Single, Double and Triple Gates—lend still further monumentality to the ensemble, though the latter three gates, being located under the south wall of the Aqsa mosque, are not strictly part of the city walls. Access to the two main thoroughfares which bisect Jerusalem is through the four major gates: Jaffa, St Stephen's, Damascus and Zion (or Sion), but Herod's Gate and the Dung Gate, to the north and south respectively, handled the overflow of traffic and offered supplementary entrances to other parts of the city.

Building on this scale taxed local resources in both

cash and craftsmen well beyond their natural limits. Thus over the 5-year campaign (1536-41) enforced contributions from the whole of Palestine, and even some of Syria, supplemented the expenditure incurred from central government funds. The *sijills* of the Shari'a court for the year 945/1538 give details of this. Similarly, craftsmen were imported from as far afield as Cairo and Aleppo. For reasons of security, work began on the north side, which was the most vulnerable, and ended on the west side. The urgency with which the project was driven forward helps to explain not only the short cuts outlined above but also the frequent use of spolia. That same desire to save time and expense explains why some of the roundels and circular medallions which ornament the walls at irregular intervals (for instance in the area of the Damascus Gate) turn out on close inspection to be the re-carved ends of cylindrical columns inserted into the walls as strengthening devices. Most of the carved roundels, however, were cut from square blocks specifically for use on the walls. Numerous inscribed plaques document the progress of construction; the bare facts and dates are interspersed with verses of thanksgiving. The walls of course have their later history, notably the alterations to the New and Dung Gates, to the glacis and to the moat of the citadel in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries; but their form today is sufficiently close to the way that Sulaiman's engineers left them.

4. The role of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Levantine context

While there is no question that in matters of religious significance Jerusalem was unchallenged by any other city in the Levant, and was outranked only by Mecca and Madina in the Islamic world at large, its political and economic role was quite another matter. Egypt, in Ottoman as in medieval times, was the major force in the south-east Mediterranean, and was thus in many ways a law to itself. Comparisons with the major cities of the Levant in Ottoman times, namely Aleppo and Damascus, are therefore more to the point. Jerusalem shared with these cities the formula traditionally followed in Arab cities, whereby public buildings were concentrated in a city centre criss-crossed by major arteries, with the private residential zone further out and linked by smaller, irregular streets, alleys and *culs-de-sac*. But the main fact to bear in mind is that, by the standards of the major Levantine cities, Jerusalem for most of the Ottoman period was tiny, both in its physical scale *intra muros* and in terms of its population. In about 1525 Damascus, even after the destruction inflicted on it by Timur a little over a century earlier, had, according to the Ottoman registers, a population of approximately 57,000. In that same year, those registers show that Jerusalem had a population of some 4,000

inhabitants; this tripled during the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent, but incompetent government and a resultant decline in revenues—for the city was essentially a tax farm administered by Ottoman officials in Egypt, Sidon or Damascus for their own benefit—steadily impoverished most of the inhabitants. This very small population suggests that, while there might well have been pockets of dense habitation in the area around the Haram, Ottoman Jerusalem as a whole cannot have been heavily built up. Supporting evidence for this assertion comes from the *waqf* of the Qadiriyya *zawiya*, which mentions a big square *haud* for plantation and 'a fair *hakura* (orchard) situated to the east of the *zawiya*, approached from the *zawiya* and planted with figs, almonds and grapevines.' As late as 1806 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 8,000, at a time when, according to Sauvaget, Aleppo had a population of about 250,000.

It is well to ponder these figures, and the economy which they reflect, when one tries to find an adequate context for Ottoman Jerusalem and its architecture. To put it brutally, the city was poor, and such money as it generated came mainly from non-Muslims. In the 16th century the two major sources of government revenue in the city were the toll levied on visitors to the Holy Sepulchre and the poll-tax imposed on Christians and Jews. The two-stage conversion of a local Christian church into the mosque of Nabi Da'ud, a process completed in 930/1524, illustrates another aspect of this anti-Christian policy.

The commercial activity of the local Arab population could not begin to compete with that of Damascus or Aleppo, and thus could not support the kind of building programmes undertaken in those cities. It is therefore no wonder that the patrons for the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem belonged largely to the Turkish governing class. Moreover, the relative obscurity of Jerusalem in this period and the short tenure of office which these officials could expect in turn meant that they did not on the whole wield significant power or wealth; they were not rich *grande*es by the standards of Damascus or Aleppo, let alone Istanbul. All this helps to explain why the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem are so modest in scale and decoration. A wider context for these buildings can be found by examining Aleppo and Damascus in Ottoman times.

Aleppo can serve as an exemplar of a great Levantine city under Ottoman rule. As the capital of a *vilayet*, it enjoyed a strategic site athwart a major trade route to the West, and this was reflected by the presence of permanent European mercantile enterprises, or factories, in the city. While European interest focussed on the international textile trade, which embraced both cheap cottons and luxury fabrics woven with gold and silver thread, Aleppo was also the major centre for regional trade,

and remained so throughout the Ottoman period. To this day its gigantic covered bazaar, a labyrinth some 7km long, largely an Ottoman creation and perhaps the most impressive in the Arab world, has not degenerated into a tourist trap but is still a living, functioning organism, an entrepôt for hundreds of commodities. Aleppo has remained a mercantile town with its face to the desert. Hence, in part, its prodigious economic vitality, especially in Ottoman times. It was helped in this commercial role not only by its favourable geographical situation, with easy access to the sea, to Anatolia and to Mesopotamia, but also by its large multi-ethnic population. Indeed, in Arab lands it was second in importance only to Cairo, as its large central zone, 10.6 hectares in extent, testified. The Ottoman period saw a 50 percent increase in this area.

The Ottoman architectural contribution to Aleppo is seen at its most characteristic in the residential quarters (*mahalla*; there were 72 in all) built of high-quality stone masonry. They include far more residences and palaces for the élite than does Jerusalem. The best houses were clustered nearer to the city centre, and were typically between 400 and 900 square metres in ground area, as compared with the 80-190 square metres of the houses built for the middle class and the *haush* system of multiple low houses clustering around a shared courtyard, or on either side of an alley, which—as at Damascus and Jerusalem—was the preferred housing for the urban poor. The standard pattern of élite housing in Aleppo is of an inward-looking structure dominated by a spacious reception room and an *iwān* overlooking a courtyard (*qa'a*) often embellished with a pool, vines and citrus trees. The decoration draws on local craft traditions which were already well established in the medieval period: inlaid marble in various colours and patterns, and woodwork both carved and painted. This domestic architecture is typified by Bait Jamlat and, in the Judaida quarter, a group of 17th-18th century residences—the Ghazali, Sadir, Ashikbash, Wakil, Balit, Dallal, Sayigh and Basil houses.

In commercial architecture, Aleppo is distinguished by a series of ambitious caravanserais. These include Khan al-Wazir, with its offices ranged around its courtyard, and its monumental portal executed in *ablaq* masonry, Khan al-Nahasin and Khan al-Kattin. Some contain mosques, and many are graced with windows whose frames display delicate carving with vegetal and geometric themes. Taken together, these caravanserais underline the scale of the city's trade in Ottoman times. But some have other dimensions too. A *waqf* of Dukagin-zade Mehmed Pasha dated 1555 mentions a great mosque, three *khans*, three *qaisariyyas* and four *suqs*, the whole covering some three hectares. Scarcely less impressive is the Khan al-Gumruk (after 1574), or 'Customs caravanserai', which had two rows of *suqs* adjoining its façade, and with its 344 shops covered an area of 8,000 square metres. But

it also lodged the banking houses of the French, English and Dutch, who, following 'capitulation' treaties with the Sublime Porte, had settled in the city from 1562, 1583 and 1613 respectively; here too resided the consuls of these three powers. The Venetians, by contrast, had their own *fondaco* in another quarter. This was the age of the Marseilles merchants and the Levant Company; by 1662 the English factory in Aleppo numbered some fifty traders, and as late as 1775, even in a period of economic decline, there were 80 European firms represented in the city, mainly clustered in the Frankish quarter. Many baths, fountains and workshops for textile manufacture also survive from this period. The domestic and commercial architecture of Ottoman Aleppo is to this day the dominant accent of its urban environment, and is only lightly leavened by buildings of a religious purpose; in that respect, the contrast with Damascus, and even more so Jerusalem, is dramatic. While these vernacular, palatial and mercantile structures are firmly within the local Syrian tradition, the higher-profile public religious architecture in Aleppo, typified by various gubernatorial mosques—the 'Adiliyya (1555), Bahramiyya (1583) and Khusraufiyya (from 1537)—sometimes looked further afield; thus the latter complex, attributed to the court architect Sinan, exhibits close links with the metropolitan architecture of Istanbul.

What of Ottoman Damascus? Like Aleppo, it was a provincial capital; participated in the European trade (for example by exporting the many kinds of damask made by the local women in their homes); had separate quarters for Jews and Christians; and expanded dramatically, especially to the south, as the Maidan suburb shows—in fact, the population doubled in the first three centuries of Ottoman rule. It was in the quarters that the life of the city was concentrated; indeed, Hanafi jurists distinguished between the public and the private zone of a city. These quarters were isolated, a fact symbolised by their being closed at night. The Muslim quarters typically had an oratory, mosque, bath and non-specialised markets, and were thus furnished with all that was needful for community life. Not surprisingly, this sense of closeness had its drawbacks; for example, conflicts with neighbouring quarters were common. Many quarters had a dynamic religious life centred on Sufi brotherhoods, probably because they were close to rural zones. In all these ways Damascus conformed to a pattern that was widespread in the contemporary Near East.

Like Aleppo, it boasted splendid palaces for local notables—for example, the Dahda palace of the 17th century, the house of Nur al-Din, now partially re-erected in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and dated 1707, or the 'Azm palace of 1749-52, as well as smaller houses of quality like Bait Nizam and Bait Siba'i. Its favourable situation between the intensively cultivated Bik'a valley of

the Lebanon and the fertile Hauran plateau made it the natural market for central Syria, and it was also the nexus of several arterial routes and a natural entrepôt for the Mediterranean ports.

Like Jerusalem, moreover, its commerce was invigorated by pilgrim traffic—for Damascus, the last major town before the dangerous desert crossing, was a major stage in the *hajj* route. Like Jerusalem, again, it benefited from lavish imperial patronage in the 16th century—notably two *takiyas*, complexes intended *inter alia* to accommodate pilgrims on the *hajj* route. These foundations show how seriously the early Ottoman sultans took the responsibilities attendant upon their honorific title ‘Protector of the Two Holy Cities’, and thus fit neatly into the pietistic context of early Ottoman architectural patronage in Jerusalem. The *takiyas* are named Salimiyya and Sulaimaniyya after the successive sultans who paid for them; the Salimiyya (1518) was constructed over the tomb of Ibn al-‘Arabi, a noted Sufi, which brings to mind the carefully fostered Sufi connections of certain Ottoman sultans. The Sulaimaniyya (1554-5) is the work of the court architect Sinan, who also designed the ‘Imara of Sultan Sulaiman, which was intended for the distribution of food to indigent pilgrims visiting the tomb of Ibn al-‘Arabi. Completed in 1552, it is used to this day as a bakery; the parallels with the Khassaki Sultan complex in Jerusalem are instructive.

Other expressions of government patronage include several *jami*’s whose local striped masonry in limestone and basalt is only a veneer for the underlying metropolitan character revealed in such details as hemispherical domes, pencil-shaped minarets and courtyards surrounded by multiple domed bays. Many of the great religious foundations of the Ottoman period were situated outside the city walls, a marked contrast to the situation in Jerusalem and clear proof that Damascus had expanded well beyond its medieval limits. The mosque and mausoleum of Darwish Pasha (1571-5 and 1579 respectively), the Khan al-Harir (1572), also due to him, the mosque of Sinan Pasha (1586-91), the Qaimariyya mosque (1743) built by Fathi Efendi, an official of the Ottoman treasury, the Khan al-Gumruk built by Murad Pasha in 1608-9 and the palace, *madrassa* and *khan* of Asad Pasha al-‘Azm all testify to the patronage of enlightened nobles. Well over a dozen Ottoman *khans* survive; these, unlike so many of the important religious buildings, are *intra muros*. Their size and number clearly reflect the intense commercial activity of Damascus in this period. Only Aleppo, as already explained, among the other cities of the Levant can match this mercantile investment; the almost total absence of such buildings in Ottoman Jerusalem speaks for itself and goes far to explain the much more modest scale of the Ottoman architecture there. The emphasis on tilework in many of the Ottoman buildings of

Damascus again brings Jerusalem to mind; Damascus in the 16th and 17th centuries was a thriving centre for the manufacture of glazed ceramics and tiles which are a subset of Iznik wares. But Damascus signally lacked stable government. The bare facts are sufficiently telling: between 1516 and 1697 the city was governed by no less than 133 *pashas*. Few of them did the city much good, for all that the mosque and mausoleum of Darwish Pasha (16th century), and the palace and *khan* of Asad Pasha al-‘Azm helped to beautify the city. It is no accident that the greater prosperity of the city in the 18th century was co-terminous with the tenure of the governorship by members of the ‘Azm family for most of that time.

These brief sketches of Ottoman Aleppo and Damascus are enough to show that Jerusalem belongs less with them than with, say, Gaza, Hebron, Nablus and Tripoli in this period. For example, in the later 17th century Gaza, then enjoying a period of prosperity, acted as the capital of Palestine, and possessed an attractive set of buildings. As for Hebron, the religious significance conferred on the city by the tombs of the Patriarchs (e.g., Adam, Joseph, and especially Abraham), and the quantity of Muslim pilgrims visiting them—for just as in popular Islam Jerusalem developed as a substitute for Mecca as a pilgrimage destination, so did Hebron develop as a substitute for Madina—ensured that the Ottoman sultans oversaw its upkeep.

5. The role of the Haram in Ottoman times

To build on the Haram al-Sharif—as distinct from building along the outer perimeter of its two terraces—was not a straightforward proposition. It seems probable that there was something of a taboo in operation so far as building within the precinct itself was concerned; hence the very tentative use made of this prime site in post-Umayyad times and even under the Mamluks. On the other hand, the Ottomans were new to Jerusalem and had not been inured to such a taboo. Nevertheless, the striking fact is that nothing at all was built in the city in the reign of Selim the Grim (1512-20) or, more to the point, in the first fifteen years of the reign of his son and successor, Sulaiman; and when Sulaiman began to build, the Haram had only a minor role in his plans. Two *sabils* there document this stage of his patronage: Sabil Qasim Pasha (whose inscription exalts him as the Second Solomon) and Sabil Bab al-‘Atm. Sabil Qasim Pasha serves for ablutions and is referred to in the *sijills* as Hanafiyya; in other words it provided the running water which this particular *madhhab* requires for ablution. This proves, incidentally, that not all *sabils* were built only to furnish drinking water. The major new foundations of the new dynasty were the complexes of Bairam Jawish and Khassaki Sultan, both of them in the

immediate surroundings of the Haram and thus firmly in the Mamluk tradition, but both of them afflicted with a layout that at every turn betrays the acute shortage of space that cramped the architect's design. Indeed, the Khassaki Sultan complex incorporated into its design a hall which was part of the Mamluk foundation of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq; this was transformed into stables. Clearly there was very little prospect of significant new building activity in this area, where—as noted above—space was at a premium and the detailed provisions of scores of *wagfs* further hampered the free exercise of an architect's imagination. The gap sites were getting smaller all the time. This made it all the more important to extract maximum advantage from them. Thus even a modest little building like the Khalwat al-Dajani is visible from several different angles and is at an important intersection of traffic.

Yet the decision to build within the precincts of the Haram had its own problems. The prestige of the Umayyad monuments was unmatched, for they had the whole weight of Islamic history—including salvation history—behind them. Above all, ample empty space was an essential aspect of the awe-inspiring presence exerted by the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. It was therefore not a serious option to build major new monuments on the Haram and thus to risk upstaging these numinous landmarks. Political considerations also had to be taken into account, for the Ottomans, foreign conquerors whose base was in distant Anatolia right outside the Arabic-speaking world, could not afford to alienate their Arab subjects by intrusive and insensitive construction projects on this immemorially hallowed site.

The upshot of all this was that the Ottomans proceeded with extreme circumspection in their development of the Haram area. *Sabils* apart, not a single Ottoman sultan, it seems, erected a brand-new structure on the Haram. Given the massive imperial building programme between *c.* 1460 and *c.* 1620, which utterly transformed the face of Istanbul and of numerous cities in Anatolia and the Balkans, this restraint in the third holiest city of the Islamic world is truly remarkable. Yet by slow degrees the Ottomans did contrive to establish their physical presence on the Haram. The key point to remember is that virtually none of the buildings which did this were imperial. The trickle of minor, modest buildings never became a flood, but by 1650 or so they permeated the entire precinct. Moreover, quite apart from their impact as individual buildings, they also worked in concert by virtue of the way they clustered together. Nor should one forget the dimension of sound—prayers could be heard through their open windows and sanctified the entire environment.

Thus the Ottoman claim to the Haram was staked very modestly and over many decades. This extreme caution brings out the extreme boldness of Sultan

Sulaiman's masterstroke, which was nothing short of a *coup de théâtre*: the glamorous refurbishment of the exterior of the Dome of the Rock. It was the perfect way of establishing in visual terms the Ottoman dominion of the city, and the fact that it had come to stay. In rather different language, it reiterated the political message of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik nearly nine hundred years earlier; and it was aimed at the same audience: the people of Jerusalem. But precisely because Jerusalem has for millennia had such wide horizons in religio-political terms, the message of the second Solomon, broadcast from the site of the first Solomon's Temple, reverberated throughout the Islamic world—and beyond it. The constant flow of pilgrims, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, to Jerusalem would have seen to that.

Sulaiman's immediate audience, of course, was an Islamic one. He therefore had no need to claim for Islam—as had 'Abd al-Malik—a place of worship long held sacred by other faiths. But he certainly renewed that claim and thus invited comparison with his great Umayyad predecessor. He sought, moreover, to improve on that aspect of the Umayyad achievement which was most obvious to all, namely the colourful exterior mosaic of the building. Especially from a distance, glazed tilework in blue and white (the predominant tones of this composition) has much more visual impact than the more muted palette of mosaic. No evidence has been found to suggest that this mosaic had suffered serious decay. But the history of Islamic architecture is full of examples of later patrons remodelling the decoration of much earlier monuments so as to put their own personal stamp on them. This is what Sulaiman did. It seems unlikely that the good health of the building—or that of the neighbouring Dome of the Chain, which was included in this refurbishment, though a little later, in 1561-2—demanded it. Indeed, he forbore to attempt any major structural intervention. Instead, by sheathing the exterior of the Dome of the Rock in glistening tilework he upstaged his Umayyad predecessor, brought up to date one of the most seminal structures in the Islamic world and established the Ottoman presence right in the middle of the Haram. This was something that not even the Mamluks had done, despite their sustained embellishment of the Holy City over a period of almost three centuries. They certainly carried out work on the Haram, particularly on its inner façades, and even a certain amount of repair and refurbishing of the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, where the largest single project was Qala'un's repainting of the inner dome. But they attempted nothing so grand and of such public impact as tiling the lower exterior walls of the Dome of the Rock. It is perhaps a measure of Ottoman imperial pretensions that the project of loading this, the first great monument of Islamic architecture, with redundant ornament should ever have been conceived. It was only the Dome of the Rock that was

so singled out; no significant structural work was undertaken at the Aqsa mosque for almost six centuries after 1350, nor did it offer a comparable opportunity for redecoration. Scattered references in the *sijills* record such minor running repairs as the replacement of lead sheeting for the mosque's roof in 996/1588 or the repair of its doors. It has been suggested that the motive for the redecoration of the Dome of the Rock was a misunderstanding of the themes found in the Umayyad mosaic programme, namely that the depictions of 'cherubim' (probably Sasanian winged motifs) described by Western travellers of the late 15th and early 16th century stimulated an iconoclastic reaction. If so, it was at second hand, for Sulaiman never saw the building, and it seems odd that it took over eight centuries to materialise. It seems more likely that the intention was simply to assert the Ottoman presence in Jerusalem by redecorating the city's most celebrated monument. Sulaiman gave the building a new meaning through the choice of epigraphy: the drum bears Sura 18:1-20 and the date (in figures) 952/1545-6, while lower down the main octagon asserts that the work was carried out by 'the most able masters of their age' and is signed by one 'Abdallah al-Tabrizi, a Persian to judge by his *nisba*, and dated 959/1551-2. Nor did Sulaiman's work end there, for shortly before his death he caused the doors at the eastern and western entrances to the building to be covered with bronze plaques.

The main Ottoman contribution to Jerusalem apart from the walls, the aqueduct and the retiling of the Dome of the Rock is the transformation of the upper terrace of the Haram al-Sharif, on which the Dome of the Rock stands. It is important to note from the outset that this transformation was not part of a master plan for the Haram; it happened piecemeal over more than a century. Before 1517, the edge of the upper terrace bore only the *minbar* of Burhan al-Din, the colonnades and the Ayyubid Turbat al-Nahawiyya. Even before the arrival of the Ottomans, every post-Umayyad structure on the upper terrace was small, discreet and had lots of space around it. This illustrates a sensitive response to the problems of the site and the Ottoman buildings respected this approach. It is noticeable, for instance, that the façades of the *hujras* and similar structures on the upper terrace are uniformly single-storeyed whereas their façades on the lower terrace or esplanade are two- or even three-storeyed. This is a very significant contrast. It meant that, in a most unobtrusive way, these *khalwas* were able to serve as a bridge between the lower and the upper terrace.

Several other ways of sanctifying the Haram are worth brief mention here. The *mastaba*—a very slightly raised platform used for open-air prayer—helped assert a presence on the Haram without breaking up the familiar view. The finial of most of the cells and aedicules on the Haram is Mecca-oriented, another (if understated) way of

emphasising their religious function, while the Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II is aligned to the Dome of the Rock. More distantly, high-rise buildings located relatively far from the Haram might nonetheless be designed to offer sight-lines to its monuments. Thus a view of the Dome of the Rock can be enjoyed from the Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, though from its side chambers rather than the main ones.

It is worth reflecting briefly on the nature of these Ottoman structures. It is hard to interpret a single one of them as justified by an imperative religious, social or public need. In any event, their tiny size would have militated against their performing any such function. By and large, these are not buildings erected for the public good. Once again, one sees Ottoman patrons paying the price of arriving too late on a site already hallowed by Islam for almost a millennium. One suspects that some of these cells reflect a low-key competition among minor Ottoman functionaries for a place—any place—on the Haram. After all, some 60 percent of the Ottoman buildings in the city are concentrated there, and this trend accelerated markedly in the last two and a half centuries of Ottoman rule.

All this is not to deny that these cells do serve a wider purpose in the architecture of the Haram. Their location shows a consistent desire to line the perimeter of the upper terrace—the prime focus of Ottoman building activity—with minor monuments. They form a kind of *cordon sanitaire*. The Kursi Sulaiman, strategically placed at the north-east corner of the Haram, seems to express the same idea. It remains an open question whether the parcelling out of the available lots on the site was governed by any hierarchy or notion of privilege. Perhaps this might explain why the west and north sides were built up rather more heavily than the east side, which is largely empty to this day. Fifteen cells were built around the west, north and east sides of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock. Five of these are of a higher standard than the rest (cat. nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 34 and also the *madrassa* of Ahmad Pasha, cat. no. 25). They are the work of one patron and one decade and probably one local architect: 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar. The family produced at least three generations of architects (see end of cat. no. 22). Certainly the lower terrace contains far fewer minor buildings than does the upper terrace, and a difference in status between the two areas seems a possible explanation.

What, then, were the options open to the Ottomans as successors to the Mamluks and guardians of Islam's third holiest city? It must be conceded that they were unpalatably limited. After all, the immediate surroundings of Haram were already crammed with impressive Mamluk monuments and there was no obvious area in the most prestigious part of the city in which an Ottoman enclave could be built from scratch. True, much of the Haram was empty; but, as already noted, that

emptiness was a necessary element of its design and function. Thus the Haram was indeed available, but only for small-scale structures; and such buildings necessarily sent out a somewhat modest message. It is scarcely surprising that the patronage which produced them was not royal.

It might be argued that, for all their modest size, these buildings could have had more impact had their decoration been more lavish. After all, there was the possibility of spectacular colour in the Ottoman as in the Mamluk architecture of Jerusalem because of the wide choice of coloured stone, for example yellow, red and pink. Such polychromy was indeed used, but only very sparingly, which again points to the modest ambitions if not also the modest means of the patrons. Moreover, the Ottoman architectural style did not favour applied ornament, in contrast to the Mamluk style which virtually depended on it. Thus there was no way that the Ottomans could have outdone Mamluk patronage by fancy decoration; they would simply have had to build on a much larger scale. Moreover, even if the money had been available to do this, it is a moot point whether the tiny population of the city could have justified such expense.

For Sulaiman, Jerusalem belonged in a much wider pietistic context. Most of the major architectural projects of his entire reign were of a religious nature, and they serve to put his works in Jerusalem into perspective. At his orders, in Baghdad the tomb of Abu Hanifa—the founder of the favoured Ottoman *madhhab*—was restored and enlarged; so was the mosque over the tomb of Jalal al-Din Rumi in Konya, an act which publicly affirmed that royal favour for Sufism which was foundational for the Ottoman state. Above all, in Mecca he restored the Ka'ba and the aqueducts and in Madina he restored the Masjid al-Nabi as well as building walls 12 metres high around the city, with a ditch in front of them. All this building work was clearly consistent with his activities in Jerusalem, and was of a piece with the Ottoman decision to arrogate to the sultan the appointment of the chief *qadi* of Mecca, formerly a privilege of the Grand Sharif of Mecca. Other sacred sites in Palestine also benefited from his patronage. Thus when, in 1552, the domes over the tombs of the patriarchs in Hebron collapsed—they had not been repaired since the time of the Burji Mamluks—orders for their repair were issued from Istanbul. Indeed, a stream of such orders for the repair of the Hebron shrine, together with provisions for creating extra *waqf* property to help with its upkeep and for looking after the stream of pilgrim traffic, and orders for skilled craftsmen to be sent there from Damascus, shows how seriously the Ottoman sultans took their obligations as guardians of the major Islamic shrines. Another example of a shrine that was extensively repaired and enlarged in the Ottoman period is the *maqam* of Nabi Musa. It is possible, incidentally, that in undertaking this impressive sequence

of pious foundations Sultan Sulaiman may have had it in mind to match the achievements of the Mamluk sultan Qa'itbai, whose memory would still have been green in the early 16th century and who, besides erecting a *sabil* in the Haram al-Sharif, built aqueducts for Jerusalem; he also erected a *madrasa* adjoining the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca and reconstructed the Masjid al-Nabi in Madina and its domed tomb. That said, Sulaiman's patronage in Jerusalem pales in comparison with his architectural enterprises in Istanbul—though in both cities there is a notably strong welfare element in his foundations.

Finally, the role of the Haram as a magnet for pilgrims needs to be taken into account. Nasir al-Din Rumi, writing in the mid-16th century, makes it clear that there is a set itinerary for the Muslim pilgrim to the holy places in Jerusalem. Perhaps the most famous guide to the Holy Places—Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem—is the *Dala'il al-Khairat* of the Berber mystic al-Jazuli (d. 869/1465), which, with much other material such as prayers for the Prophet, outlines these itineraries. Illustrated copies of this work with detailed views of the three Holy Cities became very popular in Ottoman times. Thus a list of key religious sites was easily available, and was often used by those seeking to acquire merit by such pious visitations, and by those paying for pilgrimage by proxy. The parallel with the Stations of the Cross is striking.

6. The nature of Ottoman patronage in Jerusalem

There is an obvious distinction to be made between royal and local patronage. To the first category belong the walls, the aqueducts, the re-tiling of the Dome of the Rock, the *sabils* and the Khassaki Sultan complex. With the exception of the *sabils*—which though beautiful enough in all conscience, and undeniably Islamic, are cheap—these all represent major financial investments in the city. All of them, moreover, the *sabils* included, are high-profile enterprises; they affected directly the daily life of every citizen of Jerusalem. The aqueducts and the associated *sabils* brought clean water within reach of everyone; the walls and the rebuilt Citadel assured the security of the whole population; the re-tiling of the Dome of the Rock could have been seen as a lavish gesture to honour the city's most famous and charismatic monument; and the Khassaki Sultan complex (like its eponymous counterpart in Istanbul, datable to 1536, which also fitted into a gap site and is also still functioning) was a massive welfare project targeting the poorest members of society. The sheer scale of that project is reflected in the size of the cauldrons from the kitchens, which are preserved in the Haram museum. All this is patronage on a grand scale.

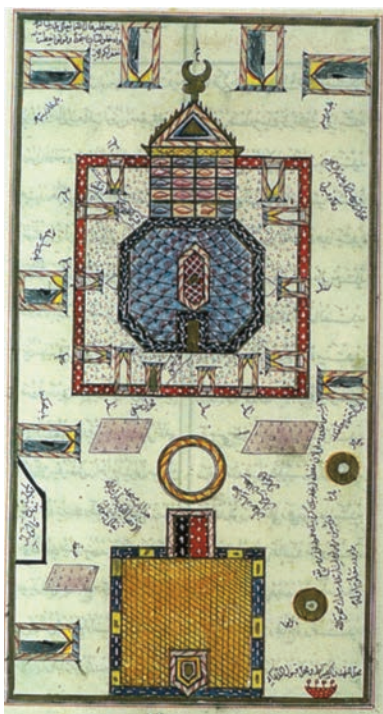
How is one to interpret this continuous enterprise?



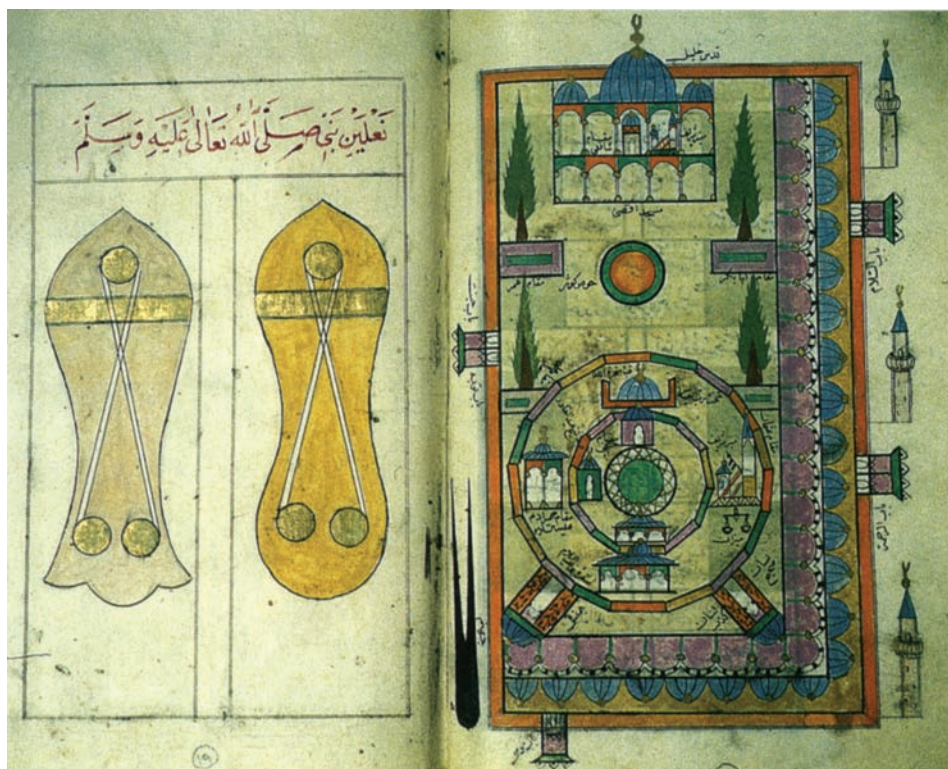
I Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem, with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. *Hajj Vekaletnamesi*, dated 951/1544-45, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library.



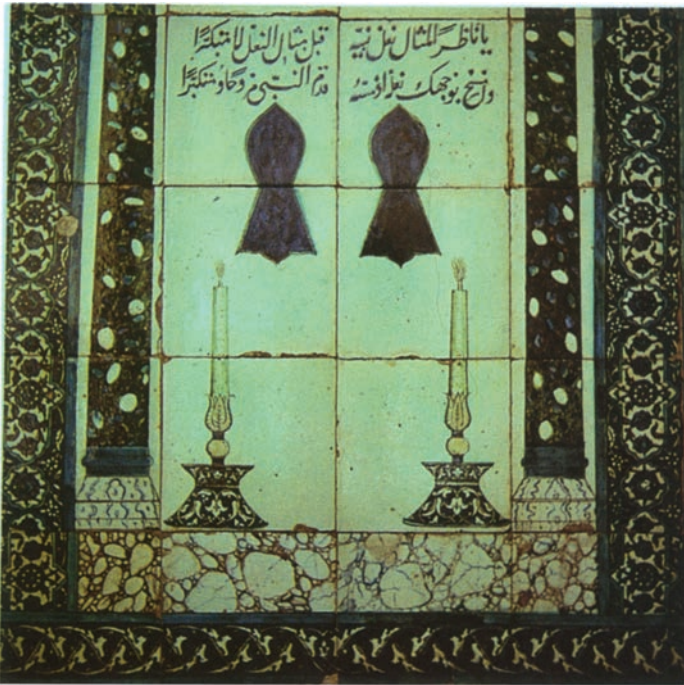
III Sandal of the Prophet with a kufic inscription which reads 'jimjime al-nabi'. *Nur-i vahhaj li tahsil al-ilaj*, decorated by the copyist Mustafa Kashif (*müzehhib*) in 1253/1857, Ms. Vat. Turco 125, f. 6v.



II Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem, with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. *Nur-i vahhaj li tahsil al-ilaj*, decorated by the copyist Mustafa Kashif (*müzehhib*) in 1253/1857, Ms. Vat. Turco 125, f. 26r.



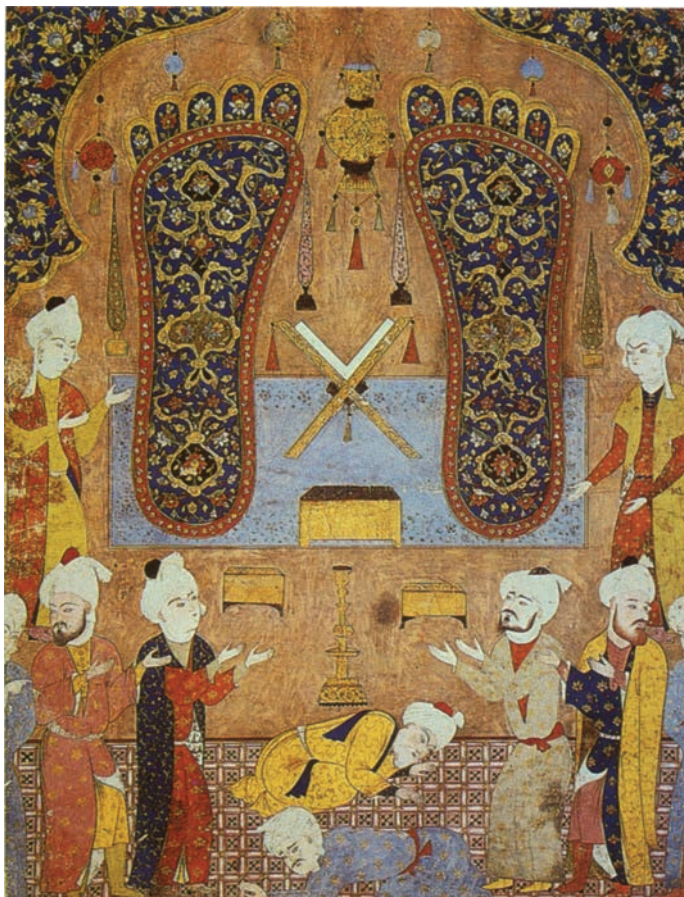
IV Sandals of the Prophet and the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Jerusalem, National and University Library, Yah.ms.Ar. 117, f. 41r.



V Sandals of the Prophet in an architectural frame. Ceramic panel from the Darwishyya Mosque, Damascus, dated 982/1574-75.



VII Dervish scene around the Dome of the Rock. *Falnama* attributed to Aqa Mirak. Tabriz 1550, Pozzi Collection, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, no.1971-107/34.



VI Footprints from the sandals of the Prophet. *Falnama* attributed to Aqa Mirak. Tabriz 1550, Pozzi Collection, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, no.1971-107/34.



VIII Marble slab with the representation of the footprint of Jesus Christ in the Quo Vadis Chapel, Rome.



IX Solomon's Library in the form of a labyrinth. *Nur-i vahhaj li tahsil al-ilaj*, decorated by the copyist Mustafa Kashif (*müzehhib*) in 1253/1857, Ms.Vat.Turco 125, f.20r.



X *Mundus imaginalis*. Cosmic representation of the heavenly world. *Nur-i vahhaj li tahsil al-ilaj*, decorated by the copyist Mustafa Kashif (*müzehhib*) in 1253/1857, Ms.Vat.Turco 125, f.45r.



XI Double frontispiece from the Qur'an endowed in 964/1556 in the name of Bayazid, son of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni. Although never in fact sultan, Bayazid is so named here.



XII Man's *qumbaz* from Jerusalem, c. 1930. White silk with red and yellow stripes, bound with ochre-coloured silk braid at the neck opening. A Turkish *entari*, although similar in construction, would not have had the tie at the front, and would most likely have had more elaborate trimming. International Folk Art Foundation Collection in the Museum of New Mexico, Accession no. FA.72-25-7.



XIV Dress from the Jerusalem region, c. 1920s or earlier. The main body of the dress is a striped silk produced in Syria, *qasabiya*. There are also three red and green taffeta skirt inserts, as well as a yoke of patterned velvet, perhaps of European origin. The dress is further decorated with an elaborately embroidered *qabba* and additional embroidery on the sleeves and skirt inserts. Both this dress and the one worn in the photograph in col. pl. XIII would have been part of a trousseau. London, Museum of Mankind, 1969 AS8 9.



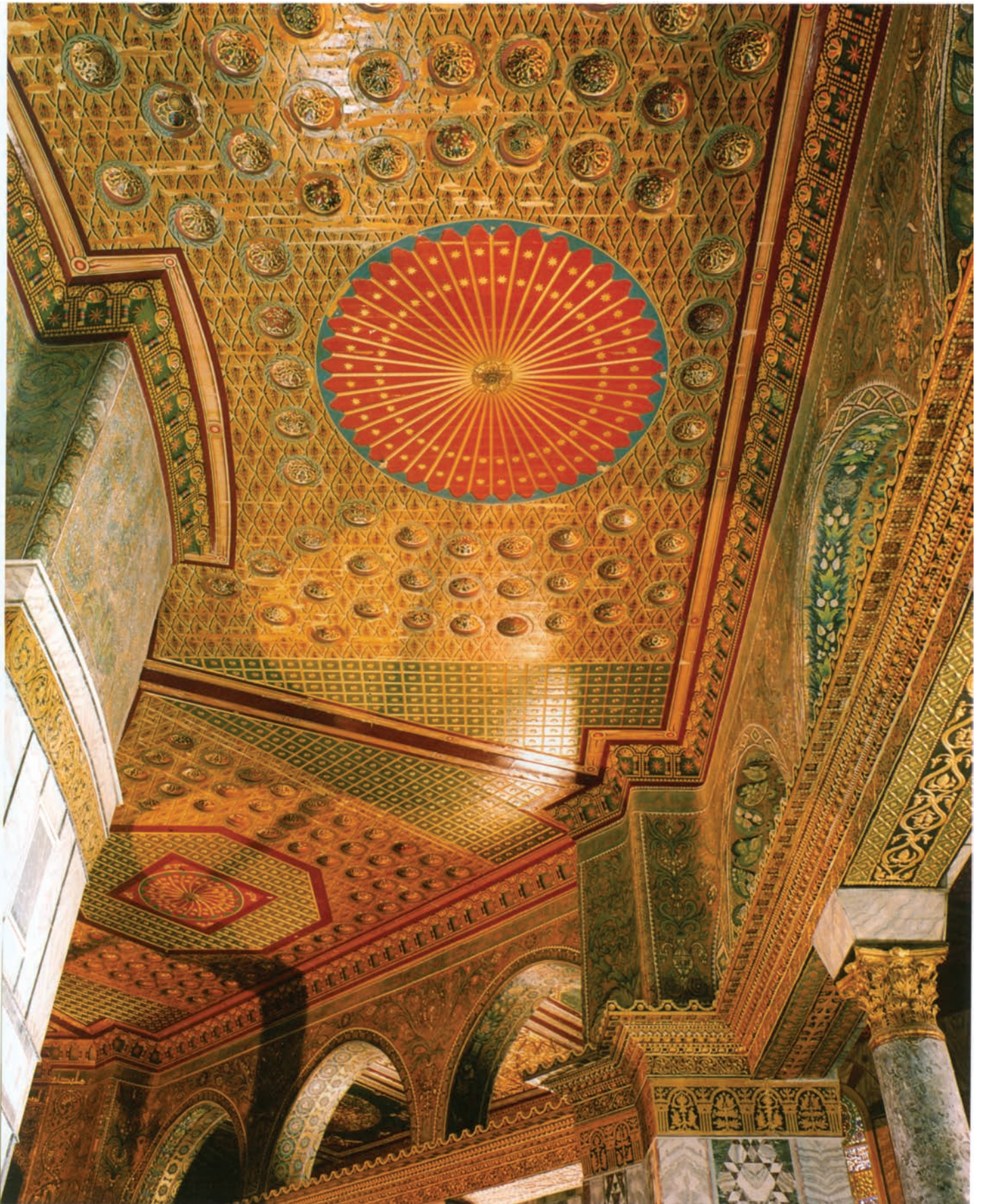
XIII Woman's wedding dress, *thub abu qutba*, from Jerusalem, c. 1850. The body of the dress is made up of pieces of handwoven red and green silk, arranged to form stripes. Gold silk panels are used on the sleeves. The shape of the dress, with its long triangular sleeves, round neck opening and slit at the neck is typical of dresses of the central region of Palestine. Apart from the decorative stitching used to piece the dress, the garment is decorated with a central panel or *qabba*, sparingly embroidered with scalloped silk in red, green and yellow, and silk tassels on the neckline cord. Museum of New Mexico Collection, Accession no. 3370.



XV Detail of the raised satin stitch (*sarma*) (Photograph © Garo).



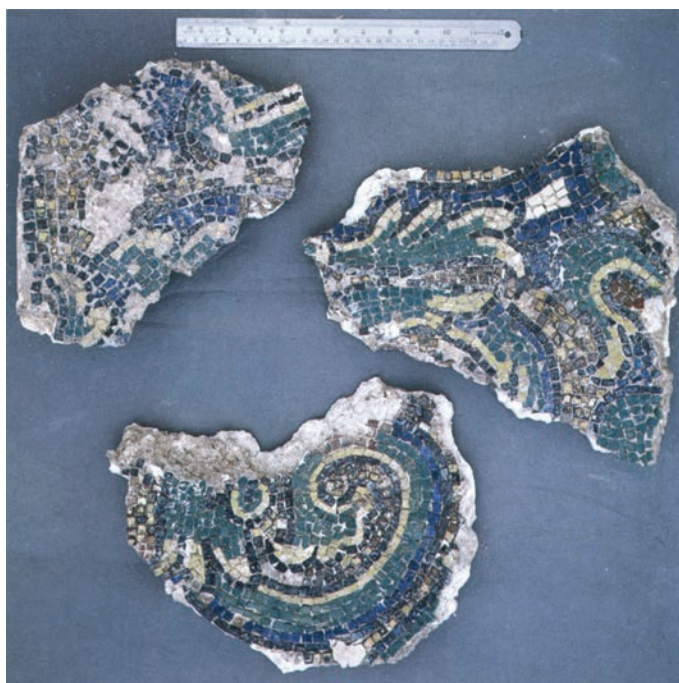
XVI Detail of a knotted wool carpet with a red ground; the pattern of blue-green six-petalled flowers with yellow centres is reminiscent of the same device found on stone roundels on the 'Imara al-'Amira, Dar Bairam Jawish and city walls. Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem (Photograph © S Auld).



XVII Dome of the Rock. The present wooden ceiling of the inner ambulatory (Courtesy of the Aqsa Mosque Restoration Committee).



XVIII Fragments of the original Umayyad mosaics from the parapet niches, uncovered in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



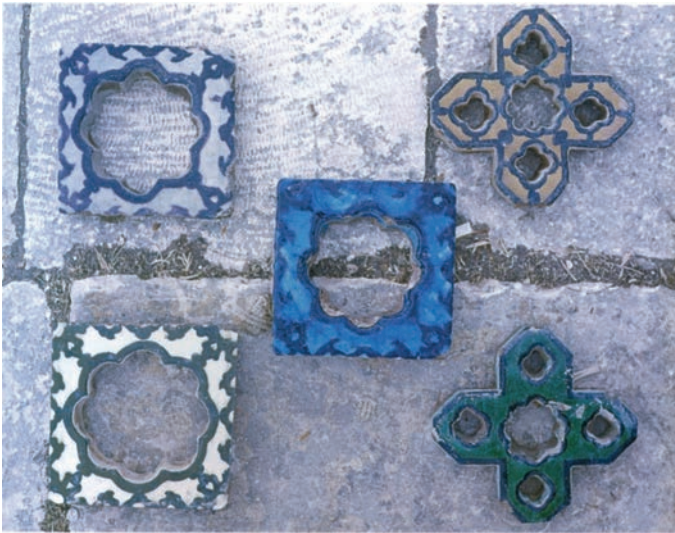
XX Fragments of the original Umayyad mosaics from the parapet niches, uncovered in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XIX Fragments of the original Umayyad mosaics from the parapet niches, uncovered in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXI One of the original waterspouts from the Dome of the Rock, decorated in black under a transparent glaze, c. 1560 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXII Examples of the original 16th-century glazed bricks used to screen the windows of the Dome of the Rock, removed in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXIII Hexagonal, triangular and square tiles decorated in black under amber or green transparent glazes, from Sulaiman's 16th-century restoration, removed in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXIV *Cuerda seca* tiles used to decorate the drum of the Dome of the Rock in the mid-16th century, removed in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXV Three underglaze tile panels, used in subsequent repairs to the Dome of the Rock; two are dated, AH 1233 and AH 1234. Probably Syrian manufacture (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXVI (Top) Four *cuerda seca* 16th-century tiles, removed in 1966. (Bottom) A tile showing the transition from *cuerda seca* to true underglaze decoration (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXVII Two underglaze decorated tiles, and plain glazed white, turquoise and manganese purple bricks, from Sulaiman's mid-16th century restoration, removed in 1966. The bricks clearly show the original copper pins used to lock them together, in turn fastened to the masonry façade (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXVIII This study of the (essentially) Ottoman Holy City was taken before the aesthetic and integrated balance of the skyline was marred by high-rise buildings in the second half of the 20th century (Photograph © Alistair Duncan).



XXIX Two rare imported Iznik tiles used in the redecoration of the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560. Removed in 1966 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXXI Detail of a *cuerda seca* tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560 (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXX Detail of a *cuerda seca* tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560 (Photograph © John Carswell)



XXXII Tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560, painted in underglaze cobalt blue, turquoise and black (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXXIII Tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560, painted in underglaze cobalt blue, turquoise and black (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXXV Tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560 (detail) (Photograph © John Carswell).



XXXIV Tile from the Dome of the Rock, c. 1560 (detail) (Photograph © John Carswell).

XXXVI The Dome of the Rock during the latter part of the restoration work of the late 1960s. In the foreground, Qubbat al-Arwah (Photograph © Alistair Duncan).





XXXVII Ceiling of the Pasha Room, Rabah Efendi Hussaini House (now The American Colony Hotel), in the Shaikh Jarrah Quarter, from 1865-76 (restored) (Photograph © Sharif al-Sharif).



XXXIX Detail with grotesque ornament from vaulted ceiling in the entrance of Imperial Hotel, near the Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, built by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in 1884-89 (Photograph © Sharif al-Sharif).



XXXVIII Detail of ceiling, decoration with baroque quatrelobe outline and bamboo octagon, from Coptic Patriarchate, Old City (Photograph © Sharif al-Sharif).



XL Ceiling corner detail, St Saba Monastery, with St Matthew in a baroque cartouche and a vase of flowers (Photograph © Sharif al-Sharif).



XLI Detail of a frieze in the Azar family house in Nazareth, showing a panorama of a seashore with two Ottoman castles and a steamboat behind a Palestinian village (Photograph © Sharif al-Sharif).



XLII Sabil Bab al-'Atm against the backdrop of the Aminiyya façade (730/1329-30).



XLIII Tile panel in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque.



XLIV Hujrat Islam Beg, west elevation.



XLV Hujrat Islam Beg, south elevation.



XLVII Dar al-Bairam Jawish, looking north, built as a *qantara* above Tariq al-Wad.



XLVI North-West Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, view of south and east façades with further *khalwas* in the background.



XLVIII North-West Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, east façade.



LI Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



XLIX Mastaba of Bab al-Maghariba.



LII Qubbat al-Nabi with Dome of the Rock in the background (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



L Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, inscription.



LIII Mastaba and Sabil Mustafa Agha. The *mastaba* is also known as Mastabat al-Basiri and the *sabil* as Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LIV North-West
Khalwa of Ahmad
Pasha, internal
doorway.



LV Mihrab 'Ali Pasha (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LVII Qubbat Yusuf (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LVI Burj al-Laqlaq (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LVIII Sabil Mustafa Agha (al-Shaikh Budair) (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LIX Sabil Mustafa Agha (al-Shaikh Budair): detail of SW column.



LXII Qubbat Yusuf



LX North-West Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha.



LXIII North-West Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha.



LXI Sabil Tariq Bab al-Nazir (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).



LXIV Sabil Bab al-Silsila (Photograph © Michael Burgoyne).

Since all of these works were carried out within the space of half a generation, their cumulative effect is hard to exaggerate. They far outshone any single Mamluk contribution to the embellishment of Jerusalem, and seem to lack that element of direct personal self-interest that marks so many medieval Islamic charitable foundations. They illustrate a type of patronage distinctively different from that of the Mamluks, for they are aimed at society at large rather than at a small segment of it—those people who would, for example, benefit from a *ribat*, *madrassa* or *khanqah*. Most Mamluk patronage was of this more specialised kind, although it did consistently lean towards private charitable institutions. Naturally there are exceptions: the work of Sultan Hasan in rebuilding the north-east part of the Aqsa and of Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad on Suq al-Qattanin do have wider perspectives. But Ottoman patronage was different even from this. It smacks of a plan drawn up in Istanbul rather than one worked out on the spot. This patronage at arm's length, so to speak, makes it unlikely that Sulaiman was actuated by a desire to match the patronage of the Mamluks in Jerusalem, or at least to continue their work. Enough has been said to indicate that royal Ottoman patronage fostered to a degree unprecedented in Islamic Jerusalem both the practical daily welfare of its people and their lively sense of the special destiny of their city. He was its last and greatest patron and he never set foot in it. Moreover, his interest in the city spanned almost his entire reign, from the Sabil Bab al-Mahkama (Qasim Pasha) of 1527 to the refurbishment of the Dome of the Chain in 1561-2. No later Ottoman sultan achieved very much in the way of architectural patronage in Jerusalem, and this too highlights the scale of his work there. Yet, as already noted above, this undeniably impressive achievement is dwarfed by the scale of his foundations in Istanbul itself, notably the gigantic *küllîye* named after him, of which the mosque is the core, half-a-dozen other large mosques, several *madrasas* and—as at Jerusalem—the reconstruction of the water system. The fact that no major new mosque was built in Jerusalem by any Ottoman sultan, while in Istanbul a whole series of them was erected in the 16th century, speaks for itself. Nor was it a matter of new mosques being confined to Istanbul; Cairo, for example, saw several major foundations in this period, such as the mosques of Sinan Pasha (1571) and Malika Safiyya (1610), to say nothing of literally hundreds of smaller buildings, including scores of *sabil-kuttab*s. In fact, this type of monument—virtually unknown in Ottoman Jerusalem—was almost a trademark of Ottoman Cairo; fifty of the sixty-three Ottoman *sabils* in Cairo have a *kuttab* or *maktab* in the upper floor, which comprises a single chamber.

Local patronage in Jerusalem was of course a much more modest affair. Indeed, anonymous patronage was virtuous according to some religious teaching. But

whether the patrons were named or not, the critical factor was, as ever, not a sudden drop in the capacities of the craftsmen, but in the amount of cash available for building activities. After c. 1600 political and economic decline, which had set in after the death of Sulaiman the Magnificent, accelerated, and restricted still further the scope of architectural patronage. But even so, in the previous century the absence of foundations by Sinan, the Chief Architect (*mi'marbashi*) to the Ottoman court from 1538 to 1588, is marked, especially as his work is so widely found in the Ottoman provinces. In the case of non-royal foundations there is no evidence of strict control imposed from Istanbul. Most of the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem were built by local men for local patrons. The city was given by the Ottoman authorities to its successive governors as a tax farm, and since their term of office was often no longer than two or three years, they had a strong incentive to make as much money out of the post as possible before relinquishing it. This was emphatically not a situation which encouraged such men to spend their money on public works. Similarly, in Ottoman Cairo the brief tenure of office allotted to the Turkish governors discouraged them from erecting major buildings.

In Jerusalem, the major exception to this trend favouring small structures are the foundations of Bairam Jawish. His *maktab* follows a familiar Mamluk pattern in that its prime function was not its ostensible one—i.e. a school for orphans—but to act as a burial place for Bairam Jawish himself, and the eastern chamber of the ground floor is given over to this purpose. Thus anyone entering the building could not have failed to notice the founder's tomb. But this tomb is not a self-contained structure; it is merely a cross-vaulted lower room in a much larger structure. Thus the Mamluk obsession with massive mausolea has diminished. But it remains a problem as to how children were taught in the context of this building, how big the classes were, and what age groups were catered for here. The simplicity of the facilities—essentially a succession of large halls or chambers—would lend itself to multiple uses. Perhaps this was indeed the original intention. Bairam Jawish was the administrator in charge of the neighbouring Khassaki Sultan, and thus he lived 'above the shop'. He would therefore have been well placed to oversee how his own foundation was being used.

The standard method of securing the future for a charitable foundation was, as it had been for many centuries, the pious endowment or *waqf*. Although the central government supported the Aqsa mosque and several other buildings (such as Kursi Sulaiman) by a sum (*al-surra*) sent annually to Jerusalem from Istanbul, most *waqfs*, including the best-documented ones, are those of the traditional Jerusalem families. Many others are recorded in the *sijills*, and a few specific examples will reveal something of how the system worked. Thus the *waqf*

of Bairam Jawish for his *ribat* (which functioned as a hospice for the poor) and *maktab* (here, a school for orphans) was originally registered in Gaza, even though it referred to a property in Jerusalem. Much of the *waqf* property in this case was located in Bethlehem. If Bairam Jawish's family died out, the endowment stipulated that the inspector of his *waqf* was to be the Nazir al-Haramain al-Sharifain (i.e. superintendent of Aqsa and Hebron). In this particular case, the rate of interest charged on the capital sum was 15 percent. This rate continued for another generation; the *waqf* of the *hujra* of Islam Beg, dated 1002/1593-4, was a capital sum of 500 gold *sultanis*, to be administered so as to yield a legal profit of 75 (i.e. 15 percent); the *mutawalli* was to avoid usury (*riba*). The money was to be spent on administration and on seven reciters of the Qur'an (the benefit of the readings and associated prayers was to go to the founder, his brother, the founder's family and all deceased Muslims). About a century later, Yusuf Pasha made a *waqf* of 95 *ghirsh as'adi* (gold coins) to pay for two reciters in the Dome of the Rock, oil to illuminate the cave of the Dome of the Rock and for people in charge of lighting the lamp, and for the administrator of this *waqf*; the annual amount was to be 14 and one third *ghirsh*, i.e. about 15 percent. Soon after, however, in 1665-6, *waqf* money was attracting interest at the standard rate for all transactions: an extortionate 20 percent, as the case of the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya shows. Here part of the original capital had been lost in the course of successive administrations. The running costs of this building were met in that year by the income from two houses, a single room, a stable, three chambers, a storage place, and a plot of land—all in the Maulawiyya complex or nearby. The *waqf* of the Sabil al-Khalidi is typical in the scrupulous care with which it defines the exact site of the building to be endowed; indeed, the setting for this vanished *sabil* has scarcely changed to this day from what it was in the early 18th century. Another *waqf* for the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya specifies 3kg of bread and 6kg of meat (presumably provided daily ?) and a reduction of the allowance to 1,470 *piastres* a month to feed all members of the order. The *waqf* of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha specifies that some of the money should be set aside for oil for the lamp (this is a common provision in the *waqfs* of Jerusalem) and for restoring the doors of the building. The *waqf* of the Qubbat al-Arwah, too—an open-plan aedicule in the middle of the largely empty upper terrace of the Haram—provides for a lamp to be lit throughout the doors of darkness, though the purpose of this provision is not specified. The *waqf* of the Khalwat Bairam Pasha mentions that *qusurmil* (building material) was provided for the monument, while that of the Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya covered such unusual annual expenses as mats for the floor of the *zawiya* and posts to support the

trellis of the grapevine over the main entrance and south wall of the *zawiya*. In other cases cash in the form of direct salaries, grants and stipends predominated. Thus the *waqf* of the *madrasa* of Ahmad Pasha states that the teacher (*mudarris*) will have a salary of 500 silver *misriyya* per year, and each of the four students a stipend of 50 silver *misriyya* per year. Teacher and students were to pray for the patron and his ancestors. The *sabil* of Mustafa Agha had a *waqf* of 40 gold coins, and the caretaker was allotted four gold coins annually, to be paid so long as this capital sum remained intact. In some cases cash and kind were combined. For instance, a *waqf* of 1038/1628-9 for the *hujra* of Muhammad Agha provided money for a Qur'an reader who every morning was to recite Sura 36 (*Ya Sin*) in the upper part of the *hujra*; the merit of the reading was for the soul of the Prophet Muhammad. For this he got 12 gold pieces a year, plus permission to live in the lower part of the building and to profit from cultivating the small garden attached to the *hujra*. Similarly, the *waqf* of the Sabil al-Shurbaji, which was based on the income from three and a half shops, paid for two people to run the *sabil*: a caretaker to keep it clean and illumine it during Ramadan and Sha'ban, and a water-carrier; while the *waqf* of the Odat Arsan Pasha stipulates that the reader had to recite the Qur'an and the normal petitions plus prayers to the Prophet and invocations to Allah.

The *waqf* of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya is one of the more interesting and informative examples and shows how a *waqf* could be rooted in the local neighbourhood and affect the local economy. It provides for only four members of the order to be housed in the building, and by the second half of the 19th century it was serving the Jerusalem poor with accommodation and food. Half of the *waqf* was for the descendants of the donor. Among the properties which were made *waqf* was a vegetable garden in the Ghawanima quarter. The income from the *waqf* was 162 *piastres* a year. The donor reserved for himself the position of caretaker (not a pension, because only 6 *piastres* a year were allocated for this post). Each Sufi was to receive 1 *piastre* per month for food and half a *piastre* for accommodation (also per month).

By contrast, the 1633 *waqfiyya* by Muhammad Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem, in favour of the Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, is an entirely cash operation: 1,000 silver *ghirsh as'adi*. The administrator of the *waqf* was enjoined to deal with this sum legally, producing 12 *ghirsh* for each ten *ghirsh*, and he was to avoid *riba*. Yet the rate of interest here is extortionate. The annual income was to be 200 *ghirsh as'adi*. The principal calls on this sum were the 11 Sufis resident in the *zawiya* (6 *ghirsh* annually each, i.e. 66 in all) and the food cooked for them every Friday night (72 *ghirsh*). How they ate the rest of the time remains unclear. The provisions of the *waqf* ensured that the 11 Sufis stayed

put, not being allowed to travel or to transfer their rights to another; and it was also mandatory for them to gather after every prayer and recite the Qur'an, for the benefit *inter alia* of the donor and his family. Thus the stipulations of the *waqf* translated into strictly enforced rules for the daily life of the beneficiaries.

As to the kind of buildings that were put up, they are for the most part small and insignificant, as if the intention were that they should blend into their surroundings and make no splash. In any case, the shortage of space meant that architects had to build upwards and not sideways, and not only had to take account of existing buildings but also to incorporate parts of them. This is especially true of the area around the *ribat* and *dar* of Bairam Jawish, which was a prime site for Ottoman building projects. Sometimes only a small detail, like a carved decorative band on that building, which betrays the remains of the original cornice, gives clues as to how the original structure looked. But small as most of these Ottoman buildings are, they are still a *prise de possession*: like the much more splendid Mamluk buildings, they assert the presence of an external authority. The difference is that the nature of these buildings suggests that the Ottomans saw themselves as guardians and even caretakers rather than as conquerors. For much the same reason, they did not lay claim to the local Mamluk buildings. If one excludes the Khassaki Sultan complex, the walls and the foundations providing Jerusalem with water, the great majority of these Ottoman structures do not serve a public or welfare purpose; again, competition with the Mamluks was just not feasible, so a different message had to be transmitted.

The effects of the developments sketched in broad outline in Section 2 above can be read in the record of Jerusalem's Ottoman architecture. It is this that explains the multitude of minor foundations, often anonymous. These were not built to perpetuate the memory of some *amir* and perhaps provide an income for his descendants. Instead they reflect the personal piety, the desire to procure religious benefit for the Muslim community at large—and, incidentally, the straitened financial circumstances—of their donors. The numerous cells and open-plan aedicules commemorating some holy event or traditional Islamic saint were too small to cost much. They were erected piecemeal, as the series of *khalwas* on the Haram esplanade shows, at the private instigation of modest patrons, for example members of the imperial militia and often local notables such as *qadis* or scholars. Occasionally a bolder or richer patron might, so to speak, think more laterally. Thus the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha is the perfect match for his North-Western Khalwa; the patron had secured for himself two prize locations abutting either side of the north-eastern *mawazin* colonnade. In other words, the two foundations were conceived together, to balance each other. This is, however, an exception to the general

trend of piecemeal, small-scale patronage. Larger building campaigns of the kind financed from the imperial purse would have resulted in a less haphazard distribution of these buildings. The constant re-use of earlier material points in the same direction. And this in turn follows from the disjointed nature of Ottoman patronage. True, an individual structure can display workmanship of an impeccable quality, but such excellence reflects the personal skill of that particular craftsman. It is not the natural product of sustained investment in new building. The results of that kind of investment can be seen in Mamluk Jerusalem: it raises the overall standard, from techniques of stereotomy to varieties of vaulting, from the design of an entire façade to the execution of a capital. It can be seen in the capacity to exploit a gap site or to incorporate standing elements into a new design without strain. As the building boom which had given Mamluk Jerusalem its distinctive character petered out, so did the level of expertise decline. People must have left the construction industry for lack of work. Not surprisingly, therefore, the best of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem is to be seen in the two generations following the Ottoman conquest, a period roughly co-terminous with the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent, when the accumulated expertise assembled in the course of the Mamluk period could still be drawn upon and had yet to be dissipated. Typically, too, the best Ottoman work can be found in projects which involve a single master rather than an entire team. The *sabils* are a case in point. Certainly they offer challenges of design and execution. But those challenges are well within the capacity of a single master. And the skills they require are those of the mason and the sculptor, not those of the architect. With the single exception, as always, of the Khassaki Sultan complex (and perhaps that of Bairam Jawish as well), the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem are deficient in the very lifeblood of architecture: a sense of space. This is a cruel irony when it is remembered that imperial Ottoman architects in the 16th century experimented more audaciously with spatial values than their counterparts in perhaps any earlier school of Islamic architecture. That was at least in part the result of massive investment in building campaigns, though of course it had much to do with the kind of building favoured by the sultans. Not even a distant echo of the hum of activity and eager experimentation in Istanbul can be heard in Ottoman Jerusalem. Its minarets attain barely a third of the height of those in the capital. Its monuments do not reflect the direct involvement of the top architects of Istanbul. The spatial experiment, the glamorous decoration, the precise stereotomy, the cascading curvilinear volumes of the great imperial Ottoman mosques evoked no comparable response in Jerusalem. And the provincial nature of this architecture became steadily more marked with the passing of time, and was compounded by the gradual decline in

building activity. In the course of the 18th century, for example, not a single monument of significance was erected in Jerusalem. It is perhaps no coincidence that it is from this fallow period that some of the *musallas* on the Haram—mere platforms of dressed stone, sometimes furnished with a *mihrab*—date.

Who were the major patrons, and what manner of people were they? They include Bairam Pasha, who, while governor of Egypt, donated 1,000 gold coins (*ghirsh*) to the buildings on the Haram; it was spent on porticoes for the Aqsa and near Bab al-Nazir and on Sabil Sha‘lan. He gave a further 1,000 silver coins (*qit‘a misriyya*) to the tomb of al-Nabi Da‘ud, plus textiles for it. His other major donations were for thirty-two Qur‘an readers on the Dome of the Rock platform, and for the *mu‘adhdhin* of the Haram. A later *waqf* of his indicates that he sent ready money yearly for his *khalwa*. The other major patrons were Bairam Jawish, Ahmad Pasha, Khudawirdi Abu Saifin and Muhammad Pasha. Several of them, as well as other lesser patrons, held appointments as Ottoman governors, and it may be that patronage of local building campaigns was a case of *noblesse oblige* for such men. Sulaiman Pasha, who built the Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, an open-plan pavilion of Turkish type, in 1233/1817-8 and also restored the Maqam al-Nabi Da‘ud for Sultan Mahmud II in the same year, was governor of Sidon and Tripoli. Ahmad Pasha, who built the North-Western Khalwa, was governor of Gaza; Yusuf Pasha, the patron of the *sabil*, *mihrab*, and *mastaba* which all bear the name Sha‘lan, was governor of Jerusalem; al-Hajj Arslan Pasha, who restored the small building now known as the Shurta al-Gharbiyya, was governor of Jerusalem, Nablus and Gaza; Muhammad Beg, who ordered the *mihrab* niche in the Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, was governor of Gaza and Jerusalem; Mustafa Agha Baraunazadeh, who ordered the domed tomb of one of the Naqshbandiyya *shaikhs*, Muhammad al-Salih al-Uzbeki, in the *zawiya* of that order, was governor of Jerusalem, as was Mustafa Agha, whose *sabil* in the Haram is the undisputed masterpiece of local 18th-century architecture. Muhammad Pasha, another governor of Jerusalem, endowed land for the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya and a plot of land on the Mount of Olives for the Sufis who came to Shaikh Muhammad al-‘Alami, and the Zawiya al-As‘adiyya, also on the Mount of Olives, in 1623. Indeed, all his patronage was for Sufi orders and in this he is unique among the great patrons of Ottoman Jerusalem. The reasons for this remain to be discovered, but may have something to do with the way that Sufis had risen to prominence in Jerusalem in the later 17th century, a time when the city had become a specially favoured place of pilgrimage. Among the other great patrons of Ottoman Jerusalem, Ahmad Pasha favoured the ‘*ulama* and Bairam Jawish the needy.

7. Architectural style in Ottoman Jerusalem

Yet this is not the whole story. As Eric Schroeder has wittily said, ‘To eschew the sacred wafer of Genius is no hardship to a man who chews the beefsteak of honest performance’. Good architecture is often a matter of good manners. And Jerusalem has long had a solid tradition in this respect. The ready availability of good building stone can be recognised at a glance in many an old street of the city. A city in which dressed stone is the standard building material will never lack stone-cutters and masons and the centuries of practical experience which they bring to their trade. Hence, at minimum, the sense of comfortable rightness, and more often the sober elegance, that characterises most Ottoman public buildings in Jerusalem. This architecture is admittedly not spectacular, but it is consistently good to look at. The architects took care that however widely rubble masonry and concealing layers of plaster were used inside a building, the best-quality stonework would be saved for the exterior.

Who were these architects? One of the major discoveries made by Dr Mahmud ‘Atallah, and confirmed by Dr Natsheh, in the *sijill* records was the existence of nothing less than a dynasty of local architects whose activity spanned five generations and almost two centuries: the Ibn Nammār family. Many of them bore the prestigious title *mi‘mar bashi*. A few of them played a major role in local financial and administrative affairs. Altogether, Dr Natsheh has unearthed the names of sixty master builders, mainly local men but also hailing from Hama, Aleppo, Cairo and Istanbul as well as such local towns as Hebron and Ramla. They included Christians in their number. It was standard practice for them to work in close concert with the *qadi* in the inspection of buildings and in carrying out the repairs that he decreed. An efficient system of checks and balances was in operation, and—to judge by the numerous cases heard before the court—it seems to have safeguarded the interests of the ordinary citizens, whatever their confessional loyalty, with conspicuous success. The picture that emerges is one of fruitful and harmonious teamwork between the law and the building trade.

(a) Building types: public architecture

The survival of almost sixty public structures of Ottoman date in Jerusalem, many of them accurately dated or datable by endowments preserved in the *sijills*, makes it possible to assess the local style in the round. Happily, too, these buildings are of the most varied type: open-plan aedicules commemorating some venerated prophet; simple local mosques; *zawiyas* serving the Sufis living in or visiting the city, sometimes so placed that buildings for separate *tariqas* adjoin each other; tiny residential open-air

madrasas, which also served to house the *shaikh* in charge; *sabils*; *mastabas*; minarets; simple domed cells; and two extensive charitable foundations fulfilling a wide range of functions.

Only a few of these building types are numerous enough to justify a general discussion. The *sabils* are an obvious case. Documentary evidence shows that they were intended as a package: Sabil Bab al-Nazir, which was made *waqf* in the name of Sultan Sulaiman five years after it was constructed, was one of nine *sabils*—which indicates that some of them have vanished in the course of the centuries. What was their purpose? Some refer in their inscriptions to the hope of the water of Paradise and compare their water to the water of Paradise. But other factors must also be considered. Several *sabils* are dated to the month of Muharram, and the semantic connection of that word with sanctity, and hence purity, is entirely appropriate to their function of aiding ritual purity. Not to be overlooked, either, are the Shi'ite pilgrims who thronged to the city; for them, there would be the added associations of the awful thirst suffered by the martyrs of Karbala. Indeed, the now vanished Sabil al-Husaini of 1724-5 refers in its surviving inscription to Husain the son of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, and thus to the battle of Karbala. The implication is that all who drank from the *sabil* were expected to pray for al-Husain. The family name of the founder, as it happens, was al-Husaini. It may also be relevant to some of these *sabils* that—as the local people would have known—the 16 Muharram was the day that Jerusalem was selected as the *qibla*. Both Sabil Sha'lan and Sabil Bab al-'Atm have prayer facilities attached (in the former case both a *mihrab* and a *mastaba*); perhaps it was usual to pray after drinking, but in any case the *sabil* in these two cases seems to have been intended for ablution as well as consumption. The latter was surely the primary purpose of such structures; an inscription on the Sabil al-Shurbaji of 1685-6 proclaims "Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji built the *sabil* so that thirsty people might drink.' Hence, too, their location at traffic nodes so that they could serve the largest number of people. The fact that these *sabils* are of such different sizes and designs suggests that they were the work of various craftsmen, and that there was little overall supervision. Certainly this is implied by the contrast between the most elaborate (Sabil Bab al-Silsila) and the simplest of all (Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam). Not all of the surviving *sabils* were the work of Sultan Sulaiman; Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, for example, may be one of three built, according to Evliya Çelebi, by Danyal Pasha. Like other *sabils*, it was endowed—in this case, with a brass cauldron and with money for buckets, ropes, and the daily hire of a water-carrier. The *sabil* has a strong claim to be the most typical building type of Ottoman Jerusalem, for it spans most of the Ottoman period, from Sulaiman's foundations to the *sabil* of Mustafa Agha some two centuries later. It would be

hard to choose a more fitting *envoi* for the type. It is a poised and elegant building, delicately proportioned, whose high plinth is an integral part of the design. A little gem and easily the finest building of the 18th century in Jerusalem, it fits perfectly into its context—the long arcade bordering the Haram precinct.

Still commoner are the domed squares which border the Haram or are scattered around it. The Qubbat Yusuf Agha of 1681 is typical of many of these little buildings in its extremely plain domed structure and in its isolation. Although certain formal sub-divisions for such structures do suggest themselves, these buildings follow a formula deeply rooted in Ottoman architecture from the early 14th century onwards. It was a notably flexible formula: effective on both a small and a large scale, it could accommodate adjoining structures without losing its character, and it readily lent itself to repetition. These qualities are well illustrated in the Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, a pair of adjoining domed squares which formerly had a three-domed portico, a canonical form in Ottoman Anatolia. The Khalwat Junbalatiyya, on the other hand, formerly had a two-bayed porch (the stone here has weathered only a little, which suggests that the porch was removed only recently), while in the case of the *madrasa* of Ahmad Pasha only a platform remains. Indeed, the disappearance of the porticoes of these cells seems to be a general and as yet unexplained pattern. In a few cases, the porches have been rebuilt and the bases of their columns now serve as capitals. This cavalier attitude to re-used material, which will shortly be discussed in greater detail, is typical of the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem.

As for their purpose, some of them probably housed the staff of the Haram, as is still the case for many of them, such as Khalwat Qitas, or Khalwat Barwiz, which is now the office of the Guards of the Noble Sanctuary, or the Qubbat Yusuf Agha, now the ticket office to the Haram. Other *khalwas* served for teaching and for Qur'an recitation. On the other hand, Evliya Çelebi writes of pilgrims being lent a cell for the duration of their visit—presumably pilgrims of a certain social standing. A rather different fate befell the Qubbat al-Khadr: in time it lost its original meaning, and was then used to store material belonging to the Aqsa mosque; other *khalwas* also served as storage space. This shifting of meaning, associations and functions from one site to another is typical of the Haram, as is the use of multiple names for the same site, which points in the same direction. The inscription of the Khalwat al-Dajani (1138/1725-6) calls it a *maqam*—'place'—as if the intention were to leave its actual function as broad as possible. Perhaps al-Dajani's primary aim was to erect a building—any building—on this coveted site. Its façades are grossly irregular, suggesting that its position, tucked into a corner of the staircase to the upper terrace, was the key factor in its design. Further information is given in the

waqf for the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, which stipulates that he has 'constructed and endowed cells in the mosque of Jerusalem. He has appointed to each cell a group of scholars from Jerusalem and allocated expenditure ...' He specifies the scholars, who are members of the Qadiriyya order, by name. Some of the money is for oil for the lamp and for restoring the doors.

Another common form was the open-plan octagonal (or occasionally hexagonal) aedicule, a type encountered all over the Muslim world at least from the 10th century onwards and functioning not only as a commemorative building—the category to which the many examples at Jerusalem belong—but also as a fountain (Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, Syria) or a mausoleum (Van, Turkey). The examples on the Haram are commemorative and the case of the two structures erected by Yusuf Agha in 1681—the Qubbat Yusuf (an open-plan aedicule) and the Qubbat Yusuf Agha (a closed domed square)—clearly suggest that, despite the identical terminology, different forms connoted different functions in Jerusalem at that time.

Nor should one forget structures of a more vernacular or industrial type, though these are not catalogued in this book: over a score of bakeries (here close dating is particularly difficult); *hammams*, though the few that survive are much denatured; two *khans* (one mentioned in the endowment deed of Khassaki Sultan as part of that complex, the other, Khan al-Sha'ara, in the present Jewish quarter); oil presses (though only two now survive, whereas more than a score were in operation a generation ago); and markets, notably Suq Khan al-Zait, Suq al-'Attarin, Suq al-Lahhamin, Suq al-Khuwajat, and Suq al-Husur.

(b) Building types: private architecture

At least thirty examples of the *dar* or private house for the élite survive. Some are extremely rare, like the Dar Bairam Jawish, of 953/1546, which is the only house datable to the 16th century in Jerusalem. Its north and south fronts both have an arch with a double tier of voussoirs, as does the façade of the *ribat* of Bairam Jawish. The lack of comparable structures makes it difficult to assess the originality of this feature. More generally, there are no known extant Mamluk precedents for this *dar*; the most appropriate parallel is the *dar* of Sitt Tunshuq, which is a palace rather than the private house of a notable. Another exception is the Dar al-'Izz of 1790-1, perhaps built as a private commercial guesthouse; this is a rare example of a dated secular private building in Ottoman Jerusalem, notable for the presence of a courtyard and garden on the first floor.

Since élite Ottoman housing does not figure largely in the book, it may be useful to give here a generic description of the type. A courtyard at ground floor level

surrounded by utility rooms is reached by a single external entrance. The principal rooms are at first floor level and are reached by a staircase which gives onto a balcony overlooking the courtyard. These are the rooms which contain ornament: external carved window frames, carved and painted plaster, and domes on octagons, so low that they are often only just visible from the street. Some of these houses are up to three storeys high, and narrow single or paired rectangular windows and suspended buttresses (that is, buttresses built into the wall but standing proud of it) enliven their outer walls. Although they are scattered all over the Muslim quarter, clusters of two or more of them are to be found in 'Aqabat al-Shaikh Rihan, Tariq Bab al-Silsila, Tariq al-Hakkari, 'Aqabat al-Khalidiyya, 'Aqabat al-Maulawiyya and especially 'Aqabat al-Saraya. Nor should one forget more humble types of dwelling, notably the *haush*. Many of these units still survive in Jerusalem; they house as many as six families apiece. They represent a remarkably economical exploitation of the very limited space for building available in the Old City, for they are fitted into the irregular spaces left over between larger structures, and are capable of expansion not only laterally but also vertically for several low storeys. Haush al-Hilu, for example, is entered by a low vaulted passage from 'Aqabat al-Saraya; this leads into the first courtyard. Off this courtyard are passages which lead to further dwellings which seem eventually to back on to Khassaki Sultan and Haush Shawish. Thus every crevice of space is utilised.

(c) The nature of the cityscape

Nonetheless, for all this variety of public, industrial, commercial, vernacular and private buildings, there are some telling absences which are enough in themselves to define Jerusalem as an economic and architectural backwater. The lack of major Ottoman mosques, palaces, and caravanserais clinches this unflattering description. The picture is very different from that of Aleppo and Damascus in Ottoman times, as already mentioned. The buildings in those cities are not only much more numerous—as is only to be expected given their much greater size—but of much higher technical quality, larger, more ambitious, and much more lavishly decorated. Thus their impact in the urban environment is much more assertive than those of Jerusalem.

Yet this very remoteness from the world of the great provincial cities, let alone from the imperial Ottoman metropolis itself, brings concomitant advantages in its train. Jerusalem offers an excellent opportunity to investigate the physical environment of a small provincial Ottoman town of only minor commercial importance. Despite the ravages of war and the relentless pressures of commercial and industrial development, despite its ballooning population and its flawed record of conserving historic buildings, the Old City, at the beginning of the new

millennium, can claim—against all odds—to preserve the essence of a pre-modern Palestinian town. It is wonderfully all of a piece. This is due in large measure to its wealth of domestic and vernacular architecture built in the local stone, amidst which the Ottoman public buildings are randomly scattered. In other words, it is precisely because they have not lost their original setting—the workaday context out of which they grew—that these public buildings seem so natural a part of the cityscape. They are constructed of the selfsame local stone as the streets and houses all around them. Those streets maintain a comfortable human scale; apart from the main arterial thoroughfares, they are neither so wide as to be grand nor so narrow as to be unpleasantly constricting. Designed for pedestrians and animals only—cars are tolerated only close to the city gates—they follow the natural topography in their rise and fall, with short flights of wide, easily negotiable steps to mark transitions or to modulate a long vista. At second-storey level or above, arches like flying buttresses bridge the street (hence their name: *qantara*) and support passageways and rooms, thus making it possible for a single house to spread comfortably across a public thoroughfare. It is also common for the bridge to belong exclusively to the house on one side of the street, so that the wall of the house opposite serves only as a support for one end of the bridge. Over two dozen of these bridges survive.

(d) Vaulting

The small scale of most Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem discouraged significant innovations in vaulting technique and even militated against a lively interest in methods of roofing. Indeed, the domes of many of the smaller structures are grossly over-built. The frequency of minor infelicities and adjustments suggests that many masons worked by eye, confident in their ability to muddle through somehow. Cramped and irregular sites generated asymmetrical spaces to be vaulted, and later modifications, additions and rebuildings created still further problems of this kind. Yet the solid competence of these masons ensured that such vaults worked efficiently, even if they were not of drawing-board exactness. The most popular types were pointed barrel vaults, groin vaults, domes on squinches, domes on pendentives and pendentive domes, ribbed saucer domes, cross vaults over rectangular spaces (sometimes with tiercerons), domical vaults, umbrella domes, sail vaults, folded vaults with a hexagonal or octagonal crown or a saucer dome, and star vaults with 12, 16, 20 or 24 points. The 'Mamluk' cell (North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha) in the north colonnade even has a dome featuring 32 whorled ribs with 4 pendentives and 8 folded triangles; this ribbed dome rests on a star-shaped vault whose points touch the springing of the supporting arches, which in turn are of uneven height and thus have their apices follow a rising and falling rhythm. Qubbat

Yusuf has a dome on pendentives whose 38 ribs have a double zigzag frame. The Zawiya al-Muhammadiyah has a domical star vault with a scalloped outer rim, and also a dome on pendentives, whose collar is marked by a continuous open arcade. The interior acquires monumentality from the four arches which carry the dome and whose springing begins just above floor level. It would be a useful study to collect the terms used by local masons for these very varied forms of roofing; similar work done in Iraq by Reuther, Langegger and Herzfeld or in Morocco by Paccard suggests that every form had its own name: 'father of four', 'almond', 'spider's web', or 'four oil lamps'. Naturally the more complex types tended to be those in the most ambitious foundations, such as Khassaki Sultan and the *ribat* and *dar* of Bairam Jawish. On the other hand, the visible surface of the vault, with its lines picked out sharply in plaster, may not always correspond to what lies beneath, especially in cases where elaborations of the design are executed only shallowly in the plaster. In a few cases the dome bears external ribs in high relief.

(e) Capitals and plinths

The readiness of Ottoman architects in Jerusalem to use spolia explains the frequency of non-matching columns and capitals in their buildings. The variations in scale are especially intrusive. This suggests that the savings in time and money represented by the re-use in a new setting of existing Islamic capitals and columns counted for more than visual harmony. That said, the simple re-use of earlier capitals, such as basket- and bowl-shaped capitals, is rare. So too is the partial re-use of antique capitals, for example those with foliate scrolls in the upper part of the capital and Ottoman lanceolate niches below. All this is remarkable in view of the many scores of re-used antique capitals in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque, whose presence shows that in the early Islamic period at least there was no inhibition about re-using earlier building material. A typical example of the variety of capitals encountered in a single building is provided by the Qubbat al-Arwah. Here some capitals are admittedly similar to each other, but only two are identical; they illustrate basket, *muqarnas* (some fully carved, some with large blank spaces between the *muqarnas* cells, some with plain cells, some whose cells have added internal ornament of vegetal or faceted type, some double-tiered and some triple-tiered) and debased and simplified Corinthian. In one case an extra block of white stone has been inserted below the capital to raise it to the required level. The abacus varies from one capital to the next, but the shafts are identical—which suggests that only the capitals were re-used.

Very little research on the forms of capitals in Islamic architecture has been carried out; there is, for example, no study devoted entirely to Ottoman capitals. This is a pity, for their variety is remarkable. Perhaps the

easy availability of antique models in the great Islamic shrines of the city—which, despite the fact of their re-use, were nevertheless sanctified by their Islamic context and thus became suitable models to be copied—inspired the general layout of the standard Ottoman capital. That typical Ottoman capital can be explained quite naturally as a schematised and abstracted version of the successive tiers of foliation in a Corinthian column. The space created by two half-leaves and the meeting-points of their tips resolves itself into a pointed niche which in turn becomes an element integrated into a *muqarnas* system. Similar forms are known in the capitals of late Ottoman Baghdad. Even the volutes of a Corinthian capital may be recognised, much reduced and denatured, in those capitals whose uppermost tier has a middle section which is empty, leaving elaborately carved corners, or conversely is crammed with ornament and leaves the corners quite plain. In both types the ghost of the classical volute can be sensed. It is an instructive example of how Islamic craftsmen understood and re-interpreted the classical heritage, and it is no less revealing even though the model was at that time more than a thousand years old. The sense of natural growth which permeates the classical original has been replaced by a love for regular repetitive pattern; there is variety enough, but each pattern is confined by its niche and cannot develop freely. In similar fashion, the essential three-dimensionality and spatial freedom of the Corinthian capital is toned down to such a degree that the volumes of these Ottoman capitals are compressed, even imprisoned, and thereby lose that suggestion of burgeoning life so appropriate to vegetal ornament. This Ottoman vegetal ornament is rigidly geometricised—for example, the treatment of the cypress motif—and it is not suffered to stray beyond the boundaries set for it. Even the sense of interpenetrating levels which makes classical foliate capitals so lifelike is ironed out so as to separate each tier from the one above or below it. Accordingly it is not surprising that some capitals display a clear hierarchy in their visual vocabulary, with a steady growth in complexity of ornament from the lowest to the topmost tier. Often a heavily ornamented level is set against a plain surface, such as a dossier.

Basically the interest of Ottoman capitals resides in the experiments made with the *muqarnas* form. When these variations are closely analysed, they prove to be very close to each other, but their sculptors managed to make them look different by various means. One was to alternate plain fields for the individual cells with vegetal (e.g. almond or cypress shapes) or geometric infill for them. Another was to contrast a richly carved upper structure for the capital with a plain lower one, or vice versa. Yet another was to leave the central upper portion of the capital plain. Occasionally the *muqarnas* theme is confined to chamfered corner cells. Other and somewhat aberrant types include open papyrus

capitals, globular capitals with scalloped bases, *jeux d'esprit* that combine the Ionic with the palm leaf capital, and capitals with plunging angular folded planes, a form possibly inspired by the folded vaults so popular in Ottoman Jerusalem. The abacus is often strongly emphasised, often with an intermediate *cyma recta* or torus moulding. The latter two mouldings are standard in plinths too, but *muqarnas* and basket designs are also encountered there.

(f) Arches

Such a wide range of arch types was in use during the Ottoman period in Jerusalem that no one type could be termed standard. The varieties include round or hemispherical, slightly pointed, four-centred, lancet, ogee, trefoil, equilateral, transverse and depressed arches. Segmental arches, often stilted, shouldered and flat-topped, are repeatedly found crowning the niches of *sabils*, and the horseshoe form turns up occasionally, though the return is much less pronounced than in Maghribi and Spanish architecture. These multifarious arch forms acquire extra visual interest by the use of two-colour voussoirs and by various mouldings, sometimes as many as six per arch. On occasion the keystone stands out by virtue of its rhomboidal shape, or because it breaks the contour of the arch, or thanks to the carved medallion which it bears. All these arches are of stone masonry.

Given the prevailing sobriety of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, the special attention paid to doors and windows is particularly striking. A wide range of lintels is employed for both forms. Flat lintels may consist of a simple horizontal stone beam, often singled out from the surrounding masonry by its smoothness and by its different colour and material—for example, marble. But they often stand out by means of joggled bi-coloured voussoirs, tapering stepped blocks at their centres, or by the flaring or irregular cut of their constituent blocks. Sometimes a shallow relieving arch, itself perhaps in two-tone masonry or bearing a carved medallion, surmounts the lintel. The arches of the door or window may exhibit some of these characteristics.

(g) Stonework

This stonework repays close attention. It is noticeable that subsequent repairs have frequently disfigured these walls, especially in that later repointing has tended to enlarge the apparent width of the joints and thus to blur the previously sharp edges of the stonework. This may seem a small detail, but it is enough to transform a wall and to blunt its sense of mass. Over-lavish use of mortar also serves to mask how often stones were cut precisely to fit some irregularity in the wall. A brief look at any one of the façades of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha is enough to reveal that the masons used stones of many different

dimensions and deliberately exploited this variety to add life to the wall. There are sufficient examples of the transgression of the main horizontal masonry courses to indicate that these breaks in rhythm, too, were deliberate. The eye is not allowed to dismiss the wall as a piece of mechanically accurate coursing made up of blocks of equal size with regular vertical and horizontal accents. Thus stones of exceptionally large size are framed by others which are exceptionally small. The rising joints zigzag unpredictably along the vertical axis. Nor are the differences in stonework confined to size and colour; texture is an equally significant factor. Thus the extreme smoothness of marble—particularly the grey marble used for lintels and sills, whose natural horizontal graining emphasises this tactile quality—contrasts with the pitted surface of the bulk of the stonework. Rustication was not part of the repertoire of the 16th-century Palestinian stonemason, but the outer surface of some stones is worked with such deliberate roughness that some sculptural effect seems to have been intended. Some of these stones are pock-marked or pitted, others veined, yet others relatively smooth. Rustication is employed in the hall of the Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, but since it is found only there it seems likely that it dates from some time other than the rest of the building (see below).

An assured stonework technique is the key to this architecture. Stonework can also have wider implications. Thus the different size of the blocks and the method of stonecutting employed on them sometimes has dating implications; for instance, the presence of different stonework at the lower level in many *khalwas* suggests that many of these monuments are mere superstructures to earlier buildings which respected the emptiness of the upper platform. In that case it would have been the location of these earlier buildings that dictated that of the Ottoman *khalwas*. No studies detailed enough to establish dating criteria on the basis of tools used, stone sizes and treatment of surface have yet been carried out. Nevertheless, it is plain that for much of the Ottoman period local fashion preferred a pitted surface to smooth ashlar, though sometimes a compromise was effected whereby the two types of surface were juxtaposed for greater contrast. Thus marginal drafting is employed for the outer edges as a frame for the roughly finished square or rectangular central area. The resultant cloisonné appearance has parallels in earlier Ottoman architecture, for example at Bursa, where—following Byzantine precedent—brick was used to frame stone blocks. In late Ottoman times the technique of rustication was introduced, presumably from Europe; the façade of the Dar al-‘Adl is a good example.

It would be wrong to characterise Ottoman masonry technique as even. The wall of the bakery at the Khassaki Sultan complex shows stones with a wide range of sizes and of smoothness; some are heavily, some lightly

pitted, and there is no pattern to where these variations occur, nor to where blocks are slightly recessed into the wall. Occasionally a course of narrow horizontal blocks breaks up the wall, or long and short blocks are juxtaposed. By such means the wall itself is animated. The stones of the Khalwat al-Dajani have several different types of dressing—one variety is roughly faceted and betrays the use of a pointed chisel—and this suggests that they were not quarried together but were in secondary use. Special care was taken with the external cladding of domes, for which stones of a uniform size were selected, as the roofscape of Dar Bairam Jawish shows. The stones used in this fashion to ‘pave’ the exterior of a dome were laid so that their largest surface area was visible. Nevertheless, the tiny size of the stones used for so many Ottoman buildings implies that speed and cheapness of construction were paramount factors. ‘Big’ in this context is 40cm x 1.92m (e.g. cat. no.25). Moreover, ashlar masonry, even in the buildings of higher quality, served only as a facing for much rougher masonry. Indeed, the *madrasa* of Ahmad Pasha uses plastered rubble for the area behind the façade—a ‘cheap and cheerful’ solution for surfaces not intended for normal public view.

(h) Windows

It is not surprising that an architectural style that developed in a crowded urban context should rely so heavily on ways of accentuating the street façade. Many devices to this end had been developed by the Mamluks, but under the Ottomans other original features also evolved. Among them the oriel window deserves special mention. Essentially a combination of balcony and window, and situated high up on the outer façade, it was not only a source of light but also gave the inhabitants of a house an excellent vantage point from which to view the street without being observed themselves. The balcony itself may be of stone or wood, and above it may be as many as five windows on the same level (Dar Muhtadi). Many windows were fitted with iron grilles which not only served to modulate the light that entered a room but also served to articulate a façade. Sometimes the window is framed by quoins, or a broad horizontal lintel may crown it. This suggestion of a boundary may be heightened by the sparing use of *ablaq* masonry or of joggled voussoirs.

In the case of windows, it is not the treatment of arch or lintel that is visually decisive, but its surroundings, and especially its superstructure. The ensemble of which the window is the centrepiece comprises a narrow recessed vertical panel. Apart from a richly moulded frame, the window itself is apt to be flanked by quoins alternating with stone blocks of a different colour or texture. Above the window proper an elaborate multi-tiered design unfolds, in which contrasting colours of stone, joggled voussoirs, glazed blue faience insets, carved roundels, medallions and

stars, flat *muqarnas* panels and a stalactite cornice may all play a part.

(i) *Pottery screens*

Often the bridges or private pathways over the streets—of which more than two dozen survive—are lightened by being constructed over tiers of hollow baked clay pipes whose openings are so disposed as to form triangular patterns. These pottery screens also serve to modulate light filtering into the areas behind them. Such pottery walls are also employed as screens marking off the top of courtyards and demarcating boundaries at parapet level. They are not peculiar to Jerusalem but are a feature of pre-modern Palestinian architecture, as at Ramla. Similar forms were also common in late Ottoman Baghdad.

(j) *Applied ornament*

It was standard practice to reserve the best decoration for key locations; thus the *madrasa* of Ahmad Pasha displays more decoration on the *qibla* side than elsewhere. But of course applied ornament has obvious financial dimensions, and in view of the obviously limited budget for most Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem it is not surprising that most of them rely principally on the aesthetic effect of good-quality stonework for their appearance. Blank recessed panels sometimes articulate a façade in an understated way. But the entire dimension of colour (see below) is much reduced, for no painted plaster survives and the only colour is that of the stone masonry itself, which is red, ochre and white; the latter has sometimes weathered to grey but often has a creamy tint. The black hue of much of this stonework is also not its natural colour; it has various causes, among them the effect of water, wind, shadow or fungal growth. The resultant contrast of surfaces can be quite startling: thus the *hujra* of Islam Beg has a main façade of predominantly white stone and a rear façade of predominantly black stone, all apparently due to weathering.

A very few buildings, notably the *sabils*, display varied and complex ornament. Qubbat Yusuf (1681) is another good example. This is a smaller building than the Qubbat Yusuf Agha by the same patron, but much more richly decorated. Why? The reason may be that it is on the upper terrace, where space is much more limited, and where a bigger building that might upstage the Dome of the Chain, let alone the Dome of the Rock, was excluded. But the very choice of the upper rather than the lower terrace (where the Qubbat Yusuf Agha is located) created an extra prestige and aura of sanctity for the building and made lavish decoration all the more appropriate. Indeed, this was the best available way of expressing extra importance where size was not an option. The inclusion of an inscribed Ayyubid plaque gives the *qubba* an ancient pedigree and, as van Berchem has argued, extra prestige.

Perhaps the favourite decorative theme of Ottoman architects in Jerusalem was the *muqarnas*. It turns up in all kinds of guises. Thus Sabil Birkat al-Sultan has a tympanum with three tiers of *muqarnas*, each one differentiated from the others; this is a highly developed use of this theme. Sometimes, as at Sabil Bab al-'Atm, the *muqarnas* is even used upside down. At the Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, as at Nabi Da'ud, a shallow *muqarnas* niche just above eye level marks the junction where two external façades meet at right angles: a modest but elegant boundary indicator. The *maktab* of Bairam Jawish has on its first-floor elevation a band of ten and a half triangular lancet panels of *muqarnas* type, all different. The *muqarnas* also serves a useful role as a support for the gallery of local minarets.

The range of mouldings is somewhat limited. The denticulated frieze used at the Qubbat al-Khadr to outline (and over-emphasise) the main arches on the external façade recurs in several other buildings of the period of Sulaiman and later in Jerusalem: Maqam Nabi Da'ud, the minaret of the Citadel, Sabil Bab al-Silsila and Sabil Bab al-Nazir. Other mouldings are more or less accurate versions of such classical types as the *cavetto*, *cyma recta* or *cyma reversa*. Occasionally they are serrated or bear applied ornament such as diaper-work. Roll and billet mouldings were also popular.

Cornices, too, follow set patterns. That on the Qubbat al-Khadr consists of a miniature arcade with a leaf form in the field of each arch. Another common form for cornices was a *muqarnas* system, whether single- or multi-tiered, or a band of faceted triangles or denticulations. The formula customarily involves a long or short perpendicular plane at the top of the cornice, with convex, concave or indented planes immediately below.

Much use is made of stone roundels with carved geometric (often stellar) designs. These are used as grace notes rather than as a regular element in the mason's repertoire. In this they conform to the taste for the sparing use of decorative accents. The fullest collection of these roundels is to be found on the city walls, but they also occur within each of the lower lobes of a trilobed arch, at the centre of the tympanum of a *sabil*, and more generally to highlight spandrels, to mark or crown the apices of arches, and to emphasise the key central and outer points of the entablature crowning doors and windows. Similar forms, but pierced, also serve as windows. A few examples of stone sculpture also deserve mention. The *sabil* of Mustafa Agha has hexagonal columns, of which four sides are decorated (all differently) and two are plain, and the same system is found at the *mihrab* of the Iwan of Sultan Mahmud II. Thus the capacity for applied ornament in stone was there, as in contemporary Damascus and Aleppo, ready to be called forth by the right kind of patronage.

What of the dimension of colour? This has many aspects. In general, it is much reduced, for no painted plaster survives and the only colour is that of the stone masonry itself. The nature of the local stone is therefore crucial. Its colour, as already noted above, is far from consistent, varying as it does from a blackish grey to off-white. Often quite marked variations occur on a single block of stone. Sometimes it takes on a mottled brownish tinge; in many cases it has weathered to black. The masons proved adept at varying the colour harmonies of their façades and creating accents at specific or random intervals by the placing of a single lighter or darker block, or by varying the colour as well as the tonality. The patchwork result bears a startling resemblance to certain types of modern abstract art. Grey, white, red and yellow stone or marble used in contrasting colours—a continuation of Mamluk *ablaq*—comes into its own for the decoration of window frames, *mihhrabs*, the fields of blind arches, two-tone or joggled voussoirs, or even simple single or double string courses, arch profiles, keystones, jambs and quoins, as at the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha. The *mihhrab* of 'Ali Pasha uses four tones: white, grey, red and black, while two-tone marble floors are quite common. Coloured stone or marble, sometimes heightened by the use of tiny blue faience inserts in the shapes of stars or triangles, was ideal for the six-pointed star—often known as Solomon's Seal and perhaps intended too as a flattering reference to the great Ottoman sultan himself—which is such a leitmotif on these façades. The masterpiece of such marble compositions is to be found in the door-frame of the ancillary chamber of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, whose beauty lies in its very understatement. The muted pastel tones set each other off to perfection, and because they are applied in such broad bands the cartouches and stars placed at such intervals along them function as grace notes to an abstract colour composition rather than as the focus of interest. This is also the role of the square glazed *tesserae* used so sparingly in these buildings; it is perhaps a reflection of the poverty of Ottoman Jerusalem in comparison with, say, Ottoman Damascus that—apart from the very special case of the Dome of the Rock, which represents an intrusion of top-level imperial patronage—the Iznik-style tilework of Damascus is so conspicuously absent. This is truly remarkable, especially as the enormous task of re-tiling the exterior of the Dome of the Rock meant that local workshops were established. Clearly their production was set aside for that building alone. Such tilework as survives elsewhere in the city is not only so rare as to be insignificant, as shown for example by the tiles over the doorway of Maktab Bairam Jawish, but of indifferent quality.

Colour is also used somewhat unexpectedly to create *mihhrabs* in floors. Sometimes this theme is echoed in

the elevation; thus the Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi has a diminutive niche with a central red band running through a line of concave cylindrical indentations, a blind arcade, thereby emphasising—and in the same colours—the *qibla* already announced by the Mamluk *mihhrab* laid in reserve on the floor. It is not easy to explain the preference for reserved *mihhrabs* (*mihhrab makhtut fi 'l-ard*), for some of which two- or three-tone marble or stone is used. This is not an Ottoman idea; it was already in use at least in Mamluk times if not earlier. One may suggest that this type of *mihhrab* was used so as not to encroach too obviously on the more holy monuments all around.

(k) Spolia

Spolia are part of the stock in trade of the local architects. Indeed, the *sijills* are full of references to the sale and purchase of ready-made building materials. A *sijill* reference from 1530 indicates that a block of dressed stone fetched a silver piece at that time. Clearly, then, there was no lack of incentive for a thriving trade in these materials to develop. Re-used material came from several sources: whether spolia from destroyed buildings, gleanings from ruins or merely fragments from the stock kept by local masons. The prevalence of spolia is not surprising because Jerusalem was such a rich quarry for buildings of pre-Ottoman times, many of them non-Muslim and inadequately protected from despoliation. In a few cases, such as Sabil Bab al-Silsila, a foreign origin is manifest: here a truncated Crusader rose window is crammed into the tympanum. Similarly, at the Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam a Crusader arch and Crusader columns with a plaited central braid sit rather uneasily alongside Ottoman *muqarnas* work, while Sabil Bab al-'Atm uses a non-Ottoman chevron motif, and the Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya has a chevron arch. It remains an open question why these spolia were such a marked feature of the *sabils* founded by Sultan Sulaiman. In any event, this use of spolia follows precedents set in Nurid, Ayyubid and Mamluk times, as illustrated by the antique patinas (*sigma*-shaped tables) re-used in 12th-century Syrian mosques and *madrasas*, the Turbat al-Nahawiyya on the Haram, Christian columns in Maghribi architecture, Byzantine capitals in the Aqsa mosque, and—most eye-catching of all—the Gothic portal of the church of St John at Acre, which was incorporated into the funerary *madrasa* of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo. Nor were such spolia confined to the *sabils*. The Qubbat al-Arwah boasts not only a chevron and gadrooned arch but also two Crusader columns and capitals. Indeed, it is a hotchpotch of borrowed elements, and shows how variously, therefore, Crusader spolia were incorporated into the Islamic repertoire. A triumphalist intention here, though politically quite outdated, is possible in this case because the concentration of foreign material is so strong and because this aedicule is close to the Nahawiyya, which

suggests an Ottoman sensitivity to making the same point as that building and in the same visual language.

Often enough, however, the spolia carry no extra charge of triumphalism. In the Hujrat Islam Beg, the shafts are in secondary use, which implies the desire to save money and an indifference to appearances even on the Haram. These are jerrybuilt columns, made up of slightly uneven blocks, and they carry disproportionately huge capitals. Columns are of different height, diameter and colour in a single building; sometimes a structure with only eight capitals will have no two that are identical. This readiness to use second-hand material betrays a certain indifference to the visual aspect of a building, which in turn may help to explain the gross asymmetries and disparities which disfigure façades that in other respects display exemplary craftsmanship, such as the four façades, each one quite different from the next, of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha. Such details bespeak not only a lack of coherence, a lack of vision about the project as a whole, but also an absence of oversight.

The structural dimension of using spolia should not be forgotten. Very often metal bands are applied around the columns. This is not only a sure sign that the elements thus joined had not been carved to be used together, but also suggests that the structure was perceived to be weak, perhaps even damaged, in which case such bands could serve to conceal the fact. They may also be a precaution against earthquake. Further uses for metal clamps are to be seen in the Qubbat al-Arwah, where rivets are employed to join some of the blocks forming the raised border of the floor and a metal tie-beam has been inserted at springing level.

(l) Inscriptions

It is too early to state definitively that a standard Ottoman local form for inscription panels evolved. The necessary detailed research remains to be done. Nevertheless, some continuity from earlier periods is quickly recognisable. In the Masjid al-Saif, the inscription in the name of Sulaiman continues Mamluk modes, especially the Qa'itbai style in its use of *naskh* not *thulth* and its uneven tripartite design. Further noteworthy features here are the thick forms of the letters and the unusual positioning of this inscription at the keystone of the *mihrab* arch. Equally unusual is the thick and chunky *naskhi* inscription on the Kursi Sulaiman. While a rectangular format for inscription plaques—another Mamluk heritage—was standard, the octagonal form was also known. Such panels were lightly ornamented with rounded corners or a plain fillet border; lobed cartouches, some of them richly ornamented with flowers, branches and leaves of various kinds, are also known. Sometimes these panels are recessed. A few inscriptions,

including those with a date, are in Ottoman Turkish, and sometimes both languages are used together. Many inscriptions are in Arabic poetry, and it is standard practice to give the date by chronogram as well as in figures. Two buildings only—the Qubbat Yusuf and the Qubbat Yusuf Agha—have two dated inscription panels of similar content.

The content of these inscriptions has not received separate study as a body of connected material. Not surprisingly, however, there are references or allusions to the special sanctity of Jerusalem, to the hope of paradise, to the performance of *ziyara* or to prophets who have a particular link with the city. Thus an inscription from Kursi Sulaiman quotes from the Qur'anic story of the encounter between Solomon and Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba, and thereby confirms that its popular name today accurately reflects the original purpose of the building, namely to commemorate Solomon.

(m) Summary

The local style changed remarkably little in the course of the Ottoman period. This in itself is an index of the remoteness of Jerusalem from the fashions which came and went in larger centres. The baroque and rococo elements which transformed later Ottoman architecture elsewhere occur only intermittently, like the rustication on the façade of the Dar al-'Adl. This architecture possessed the virtue of straightforward good manners, expressed in simple forms, clean, consistent, sober stereotomy, a generally uniform colour and material, restrained articulation and parsimonious ornament. Its preferred forms were simple, strong, cubic. These characteristics, though they may sound rather unexciting, do bear further scrutiny, and they work together very harmoniously.

Formal inventiveness is not the strong suit of local architects. It is well, however, to remember the modularity of Ottoman architecture, with its unflagging focus on the domed square as the base unit of the design. Thus the architecture of Jerusalem is thoroughly in tune with the spirit of Ottoman architecture generally. That domed square unit recurs repeatedly both in open-plan designs like the so-called *iwān* of Mahmud II and in the constricted space of the typical *khalwa* on the Haram terrace. Moreover, its visual impact could vary quite dramatically, not only according to its size but also to whether it was isolated, doubled, or attached to other forms such as the great arcades of the Haram. A popular fashion was to place a multi-domed arched portico in front of one or more domed squares, a formula very popular for small mosques from early Ottoman times onwards. No matter whether the buildings are large or small, the aim of their architects is consistent: to achieve maximum monumentality with minimum means.

8. Conclusion

The present book represents the first serious attempt to record the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem in a comprehensive manner, but even so it cannot hope to say the last word on any of them, and should rather be regarded as a foundation on which future research can be based. It does show, however, that the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem, which grows so naturally out of the rich Mamluk heritage in the city, repays close study. The absence of major buildings of international importance is less significant than the preservation, in largely excellent condition, of an entire pre-modern town. That town is overwhelmingly an Arab one, and to this day it is cherished by its Muslim inhabitants. Written records corroborate oral traditions that many of its distinguished families have been there for centuries. This book owes a great deal to the love which the local Muslims have for Jerusalem, and it is a matter for celebration that the city's heritage of Ottoman buildings has now been recorded in detail here.

Ottoman architects in Jerusalem had inherited from their Mamluk and still earlier predecessors an enviable confidence in the working of the local stone and a keen awareness of its possibilities. In general, their taste was austere, even minimalist, in comparison with Mamluk work. Buildings are often generically akin with their Mamluk counterparts, but have as it were lost their decoration. The beauty of the stonework and the simplicity of the basic forms—arcades, aedicules, domed squares, façades with recessed vertical panels—is allowed to speak for itself. The articulation is pared down to mouldings, capitals, plinths, embrasures and the like, and is consistently set off by expanses of plain stonework.

The Ottomans were the last major Islamic dynasty of international stature to rule Jerusalem. Theirs was by far the most sophisticated and powerful of the late medieval to early modern Islamic states; indeed, in some sense this was

the supreme Islamic dynasty. It brought to fruition many trends and ideas which were latent in earlier Islamic polities. It imposed its stamp on much of the Islamic world and for centuries it symbolised that world to the West. The Ottomans are the final link in a chain which, apart from a brief rupture under Crusader rule, stretches back well over a millennium to the beginning of Muslim rule in 638. The Islamic presence, then, is no transient episode; it is fundamental to an understanding of the city, past, present and future. Indeed, despite the evidence of Christian and Jewish presence in the Old City over the centuries, this is a Muslim town through and through. The intrinsically Islamic nature of the physical fabric of the Old City is frequently undervalued and even ignored in the West. It is sometimes demoted in the media to mere local colour. Yet even the most casual and uninformed visitor to the city cannot fail to notice this pervasive Islamic dimension. Most of the fabric which is an integral, tangible part of that dimension is of Ottoman date. Every stone of that fabric is part of a precious heritage and it deserves loving protection.

Note

I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Dr Sylvia Auld, who proved a fount of wisdom, information, ideas and inspiration at every turn in the preparation of this chapter. Her extensive knowledge of Jerusalem, built up over more than three decades, which she shared so generously with me and which is nourished by her deep personal commitment to the city and its people, was absolutely indispensable. My warm thanks go also to Martin Dow for much useful information on vernacular architecture in the city, and to Dr Yusuf Natsheh for his kindness in showing me around the Ottoman buildings to which he has devoted so much of his life. This chapter should be read in conjunction with those of Dr Natsheh and Mr David Myres; while all three inevitably cover a good deal of the same ground, the differences of approach and emphasis should ensure that the picture of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem that finally emerges from these three contributions is a fully nuanced one.

Chapter 1

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Abdul-Karim Rafeq

The political history of Ottoman Jerusalem is usually divided into two phases. The first begins with the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1516 and ends with the Egyptian occupation in 1831. The second phase extends between 1831 and 1917 when the British forces took over the city from the Ottomans. In both periods, the events in Jerusalem, and elsewhere in Ottoman Palestine and Syria,¹ were influenced by a number of factors on the local, regional, Ottoman and European levels. The factors and the events varied in intensity from one phase to the other.

Administratively and politically, Jerusalem, in the first phase, was not much different from the other towns in Palestine. Its history was identical to the other *sanjaqs*² attached to the governor of Damascus. But in this period Jerusalem witnessed, not unlike the other major Arab cities, a number of architectural works reflecting the peak of Ottoman power in the 16th century under Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) and Sulaiman the Magnificent (also called

the Lawgiver) (1520-1566). Signs of weakness, however, became apparent in the Ottoman state toward the end of Sulaiman's rule, and continued unabated throughout the 17th century. Weakness manifested itself basically in the devaluation of the currency and also in the economic, political and military spheres. Decline set in in the 18th century for the same reasons which had become aggravated with time. The vicissitudes in Ottoman power played into the hands of provincial potentates who began to challenge Ottoman authority.

Being the third most holy place for Muslims, after Mecca and Madina, Jerusalem received attention from the first two Ottoman sultans. Selim I is reported to have visited Jerusalem in late December 1516 while on his way to Egypt (al-'Asali 1990). It was, however, left to Selim's son and successor Sultan Sulaiman to undertake restoration work and to endow Jerusalem with a number of important structures. Foremost among the buildings he restored and decorated is the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra). He also rebuilt the wall of the city which runs for about two miles. According to the Franciscan Father Noë Bianco, who visited Jerusalem in late August 1527, the wall of the city was almost in ruins at the time (Yerasimos 1984). The wall was intended to shield the city from attacks and to control access to it through authorised gates.

Caring about the welfare of Jerusalem's population and anxious to ensure the flow of water to the city, Sultan Sulaiman ordered the repair and the building of canals and pools inside and outside Jerusalem, some of which still carry his name or his title. The most important of these are the three pools, known as the Pools of Sulaiman (Birak Sulaiman) located to the south of Bethlehem. They bring

¹ Syria, a term of Semitic origin, was first used by the Greeks for the country extending between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and between Anatolia and Egypt. The Arabs referred to 'Syria' as *Bilad al-Sham*, meaning the country on their left, or to the north of Mecca. Palestine is called after the Philistines, the Sea People from the Aegean Sea who invaded the Biblical land of Canaan in the 12th century. Neither appellation was used in the Ottoman administrative divisions in Syria. A province of Syria appears only in 1864 during the Tanzimat period.

² The Turkish term *sanjaq* means 'standard' (in Arabic *liwa*). The *sanjaq* was carried in front of the governor of a sub-province or district, hence the governor's title is *sanjaq beg* or *amir liwa*. Since the term *sanjaq* was used more often than *liwa* for Jerusalem and its dependencies in the Ottoman writings, it will be used throughout this study.

water to Jerusalem and to the Pool of the Sultan (Birkat al-Sultan) outside the Khalil (Jaffa) Gate. A water fountain (*sabil*) was built next to this pool. A soup kitchen (*'imara*) to feed the poor was constructed in Jerusalem in 1551 at the request of Sultan Sulaiman's wife, the mother of Selim II, Khassaki Sultan (the former Russian Roxelana). *Waqfs* (charitable endowments) were created for the upkeep of these buildings.³ Revenue from *waqf* villages in five *sanjaqs* (Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus, Safad and Sidon) was allocated to cover the expenses of the *'imara* (Heyd 1960: 90 n.1,2).

Despite all these works of restoration and renovation initiated by Sultan Sulaiman, Jerusalem still lacked municipal attention. When the French ambassador to Istanbul, Le Chevalier d'Aramon, visited Jerusalem on 18 July 1549, he mentioned the wall built by the Turks but he noted that it did not have a moat around it. He described Jerusalem as being of medium size, not overcrowded, and that its streets were narrow and unpaved (d'Aramon 1887: 113-27). The inhabitants of Jerusalem at the time were estimated by the Spanish Franciscan, Father Antonio de Aranda, who visited the city in 1530 and stayed in a monastery on Mount Zion, at 4,000. He says that 1,000 of these were Christians, 500 were Jews and the rest Muslims. But he makes the observation that the inhabitants could have numbered more in the past, judging by the ruins seen everywhere which accounted for about one-third of the total size of the city (Yerasimos 1984: 83). Another Portuguese Franciscan Father, Pantaleao d'Aveiro, who stayed in Jerusalem for twenty months in 1563-4, estimated the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants at 5,000 of whom 2,000 were Christians and 600 were Jews. He also observed ruins in some sectors of the city (Yerasimos 1984: 92). A century later, the Frenchman d'Arvieux, who came to Syria as a merchant in 1658 and then became French consul in Aleppo, mentions upon his visit to Jerusalem that it had a strong wall with defensive towers and a moat without water. He estimated the wall's circumference at 4,500 paces and its thickness at two metres (d'Arvieux 1735: 101-84).

Jerusalem was then one of ten *sanjaqs* which constituted the province of Damascus (Sham Sharif, 'Noble Damascus') in the early years of Ottoman rule. Syria was at the time divided into three provinces, Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli, to which the province of Sidon, carved out from the province of Damascus, was added in 1660. The ten *sanjaqs* of the province of Damascus were: Damascus, the seat of the governor, Jerusalem (Quds-i Sharif), Gaza, Safad, Nablus, 'Ajlun, Lajjun, Tadmor (Palmyra), Sidon with Beirut, and Karak with Shawbak.⁴ Seven of the *sanjaqs* are in Palestine or

across the Jordan. The *sanjaq* of Jerusalem consisted of Jerusalem, the seat of the sub-governor (the *sanjaq beg* or the *amir liwa*), and its dependencies which consisted of 184 villages (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 18). The geographical and administrative extent of its borders changed with time. Occasionally, the same governor would govern both Jerusalem and Nablus, as happened in 1030/1620-1 (al-Muhibbi 1966: 108).

The reasons behind the existence of several administrative units in Palestine are many. These include the varied nature of the terrain, the presence of several rural and nomadic chieftains entrenched in the valleys, the hills and the plains, and controlling the nearby cities who had been pushed there by the major tribes in control of the Syrian desert; the closeness of the *sanjaqs* to the main pilgrimage route (*al-Tariq al-Sultani*) between Damascus and the Hijaz, and its diversion, at times of danger, through Gaza; and the need of the Ottoman government to keep a close watch over the chieftains to ensure the safety of the pilgrimage and the security of the trade route, the Via Maris, linking Syria with Egypt. Like the pilgrimage route, the trade route within Palestine necessitated the building of several fortresses, post-stations and caravansarais to service and defend the caravans.

Since the chieftains were in control of their regions, in order to circumvent their misdeeds and to make good use of them, the Ottoman government legalised their position by appointing them *sanjaq begs* and tax farmers of their regions. More importantly, the state appointed them commanders of the Damascene pilgrimage and of the *jarda* (the convoy that carried supplies to the returning pilgrimage and escorted it on the way back to Damascus) in place of the defunct Mamluks in Syria. The Damascene pilgrimage assembled yearly in Damascus and consisted of about 15,000 to 20,000 pilgrims from Syria, Anatolia, the Balkans and even from Persia. The Persians were not allowed to have a separate pilgrims' caravan because the Ottoman sultan did not want to share his religious prerogatives in the Hijaz with any other ruler, let alone a Shi'i one. The identity of the commander of the pilgrimage and that of the *jarda* reflect to a large extent the political realities and the struggle for power within Syria in general, and between the *sanjaq begs* of Palestine and the other powers in the provinces of Damascus and Sidon in particular.

The appointment of the commander of the pilgrimage in the 16th and part of the 17th century from among the chieftains of Palestine indicates the prominence of the chieftains and the pragmatism of the Ottoman government which, by recognising the chieftains, managed to co-opt them and use them to serve its own interests. The governor of Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza, 'Ajlun or Lajjun was appointed commander of the pilgrimage, not so much because of the importance of the town he governed but

³ For more details about these structures, see al-'Asali 1984: 200-02; *al-Mausu'a al-Filastiniyya*, (under Birka) 1984, 2: 541-3.

⁴ The divisions are based on the following works: Lewis 1954: 469-501; Mantran and Sauvaget 1951; Belin 1870, 15: 274-6.

because of his own power as a prominent chieftain. If the chosen chieftain was not already a governor, upon his appointment as commander of the pilgrimage he would be made one. Being mostly of Bedouin origin, the chieftains were in a better position to manage the Bedouin tribes who might threaten the pilgrimage along the route to the Hijaz.⁵ The appointment would also persuade the chieftains to contribute to the expenses of the pilgrimage from the taxes they collected in their capacity as tax farmers, and from another tax known as *mal al-hajj* (money for the pilgrimage) which their territories were under obligation to pay (cf. Heyd 1960: 76-8, 105-6, 116).

The chieftains of the *sanjaqs* of Palestine, including those of Jerusalem, provided security for the pilgrimage for over a hundred years. The Muslims were pleased and so was the sultan, whose title of servitor/custodian (*khadim*) or protector (*hami*) of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, Mecca and Madina, first bestowed on Sultan Selim I by the preacher in the Friday prayer in Aleppo upon its conquest, would thus be justified. Also, by investing the governor of a Palestinian *sanjaq* with the command of the pilgrimage, Damascus would be spared the depredations of the troops accompanying him had the commander been the governor of Damascus. The *sanjaq* governor-commander would wait with his troops outside Damascus at a place called Bab Allah (the Gate of God, abbreviated as *bawwaba*, which still exists) where he met the pilgrims and accompanied them to the Hijaz.

Fakhr al-Din Ma'n II, paramount *amir* of Mount Lebanon (1590-1635), weakened the chieftains of Palestine by eliminating some of them, interfering in the affairs of others and splitting their ranks. In 1623 he extended his rule over the *sanjaqs* of Safad, Nablus and 'Ajlun. Jerusalem was safe but its chieftains were weakened. With the defeat and execution of Fakhr al-Din by the Ottomans in 1635, Janissary chiefs from Damascus, Ottoman officials and the remaining chieftains, were appointed *sanjaq begs* in Palestine and commanders of the pilgrimage. The aim was to fill in the power vacuum in Palestine after the weakening of the chieftains, collect taxes for financing the pilgrimage and keep the troops accompanying the commander of the pilgrimage out of Damascus. During the period between 1031-48/1621-39, the chieftain Muhammad ibn Farrukh, governor of Jerusalem and Nablus, who succeeded his father in this office, was appointed commander of the pilgrimage for eighteen years. His two sons also succeeded him in both positions (Muhibbi 1966, 4: 108-10). In 1053/1643-4, Amir Mansur, son of Amir Hasan the governor of Gaza, was appointed commander of the pilgrimage and governor

of Nablus. When Amir Hasan died, his son Amir Husain succeeded him as governor of Gaza. Husain's son Ibrahim was appointed governor of Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards, Husain made Ibrahim governor of Gaza and he became governor of Nablus and commander of the pilgrimage for two years. Ibrahim died in the Biqa' valley in 1071/1660-1 in the service of the Ottoman governor who was fighting the Druzes. Amir Husain was executed in Istanbul in 1073/1662-3 (Muhibbi 1966, 2: 88). This example sums up the situation in Palestine and in Istanbul at the time. It shows the rise of a family of chieftains to prominence in Palestine between 1643 and 1663 and the appointment of its members to local governorships, including Jerusalem, and to the command of the pilgrimage. The weakness of the chieftains *vis-à-vis* the state at the time is evidenced by the upper hand it had over them. The Köprülü grand viziers in Istanbul were infusing vigour into the Ottoman administration during their tenure of office (1656-76). Janissaries and Ottoman officials stepped in to fill the power vacuum in the Palestinian *sanjaqs* created by the weakening of the local chieftains. They were appointed as *sanjaq begs* and commanders of the pilgrimage. The Ottoman official Ahmad Pasha Tarazi, for instance, was nominated in 1087/1676-7 as governor of Lajjun and of Jerusalem and also commander of the pilgrimage after the end of the rule of the local family of Turabay in the region of Lajjun.⁶ In 1098/1686-7, Ahmad Pasha, the son of the governor of Damascus, was appointed commander of the pilgrimage and governor of Jerusalem.⁷

The appointment of Janissary chiefs and government officials as commanders of the pilgrimage and at the same time governors of *sanjaqs* in Palestine, including Jerusalem, caused dislocation in the relationship between this new type of commander and the Bedouin along the route to the Hijaz. The commanders tried to withhold part or all of the customary annual payment, known as *sarr* (wrapped amount of money) made to the Bedouin to buy them off and to secure the right of passage in the desert. The payment was normally made in two instalments, one on the way to the Hijaz and one on the way back. With their income diminishing, Bedouin attacks on the pilgrimage intensified. A disastrous attack by the Bedouin on the pilgrimage, then commanded by a Janissary chief, occurred in 1081/1671 (Muhibbi 1966, 4: 434; al-Muradi 1966, 2: 63). A later attack in 1102/1690-1 was devastating. It occurred because of the neglect of the commander, the deposed Sharif Yahya of Mecca, who was appointed governor of Jerusalem and commander of the pilgrimage that same year (for more details, see Rafeq 1968: 229). Sharif Yahya was deposed, and the command

⁵ Muhibbi 1966, 1: 187-9; 2: 417; 3: 271, 299; 4: 108-10, 426-7; al-Ghazzi 1945-59, 3: 201; al-Burini 1959, 1966, 1: 186, 191-2, 202.

⁶ Muhibbi 1966, 1: 222; al-Mahasini 1960: 126; for the Turabays, see Abu-Husayn 1985: 183-98.

⁷ Mahasini 1960: 187; Ibn Jum'a 1949: 45 (trans. Laoust 1952).

of the pilgrimage was entrusted from 1708 onwards to the governor of Damascus. This shift in the command of the pilgrimage had far-reaching consequences for Damascus (Rafeq 1970: 56-8), and for the *sanjaqs* of Palestine, including Jerusalem.

The entrusting of the command of the pilgrimage to the governor of Damascus corresponded with the appointment of the governor of either Sidon or Tripoli as commander of the relief force, the *jarda*. The authority of the governor of Damascus was thus strengthened *vis-à-vis* the *sanjaqs* of his province, especially because he now insisted that a son or a member of the family be appointed as governor of either Sidon or Tripoli to enable him to lead the *jarda*. Thus, from sometimes in the past being commanders of the pilgrimage, the governors of Jerusalem were now deprived of this privilege.

Jerusalem from time to time profited from the money which the Ottoman sultan sent annually, in the form of a purse (*surra*) to the poor of the holy cities in the Hijaz. But there is no evidence that Jerusalem had a regular share in this purse. It seems, however, that a separate *surra* was sent annually from Istanbul and Egypt, apparently from *waqfs* created for this purpose, and possibly from the *waqfs* of the Two Holy Sanctuaries (*auqaf al-haramain*), to the poor in the city of Jerusalem (Stanford Shaw 1962: 261; cf. al-'Asali 1990: 220).

During the 18th century, Jerusalem not only lost its participation in the command of the pilgrimage, but it became politically a backwater. This occurred after a failed popular revolt there early in the century which was led by Naqib al-Ashraf Muhammad al-Husaini in protest against the injustices and atrocities committed by the newly-appointed Ottoman governor, Jurji Muhammad Pasha. The governor was expelled by the rebels and the Naqib al-Ashraf assumed *de facto* authority. Fresh troops soon regained control of the city, and the Naqib was eventually executed by Istanbul in 1707 (al-'Asali 1990: 215). The Jerusalem revolt seems to have been inspired by, or occurred simultaneously with, a similar rebellion in Damascus at about the same time. Top Damascene '*ulama*' defended the people against the injustice of the Ottoman governor who tried to extort money from them. As in Jerusalem, the rebels were suppressed and the leading '*ulama*' were exiled in 1707 (Rafeq 1968: 221).

The centre of political activity in Palestine in the 18th century moved to Upper Galilee, to Acre which Zahir al-'Umar al-Zaidani had fortified and made the seat of his government. The governor of Damascus, being commander of the pilgrimage, became directly responsible for financing the pilgrimage. It became imperative for him to make the annual tour (*daura*) of his province, prior to the departure of the pilgrimage, to collect the taxes from the local tax farmers. When the tax farmers refused to pay, the governor was forced to fight them. This was the case

with Zahir al-'Umar (c.1730-75), paramount chieftain and tax farmer in the region of Safad-Tiberias in Upper Galilee, and later governor of Acre, Haifa and Jaffa. Thus Zahir carved out for himself a semi-autonomous Arab principality in defiance of the Ottoman governors of Damascus and Sidon and ultimately of the sultan. Jerusalem and the other *sanjaqs* were politically dwarfed *vis-à-vis* Zahir. In 1770-1, Zahir joined the rebellious Mamluk 'Ali Beg of Egypt in occupying Damascus (10-17 June 1771) and defying the state. After the Ottomans ended their war with Russia (1768-74), their navy laid siege to Zahir in Acre in 1775, and he was killed by his own mercenary troops.⁸

Jerusalem was not within Zahir's zone of influence nor was she affected by his downfall. The governors of Damascus still retained control over it. In 1725, for example, the son of the governor of Damascus, 'Uthman Pasha Abu Tauq, was appointed governor over Jerusalem.⁹ The governor of Damascus, Isma'il Pasha al-'Azm, included the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem in his tour (*daura*) while collecting taxes (Rafeq 1970: 103-4). During the campaign launched by the governor of Damascus, Sulaiman Pasha al-'Azm, in 1742 against Zahir al-'Umar in Tiberias, the governor of Jerusalem and the governor of Gaza and Ramla were ordered by the sultan to support Sulaiman Pasha (Rafeq 1970: 159-60).

In 1756 Jerusalem was apparently made a province for no other reason than to be given to the governor of Gaza, Husain Pasha ibn Makki, the protégé of the Kizlar Agha (chief eunuch in the sultan's inner chambers—the *harem*—in Istanbul) who had much influence at the time. The boundaries of this province caused a controversy in the French consulate in Sidon. If it was restricted to the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem then the French gift to Husain Pasha would be less than if Ramla, which was important to French trade, were added to it. It turned out that the new province of Jerusalem included, besides the *nahiyas* attached to it, Gaza and Ramla as well (AE B1 1031: Sidon 16.1.56, Sidon 4.2.56). Husain Pasha remained governor of Jerusalem for nine months, after which he was deposed. He returned to his former governorship of the *sanjaq* of Gaza. Jerusalem then reverted to the jurisdiction of the governor of Damascus.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards, through the support of the same Kizlar Agha, Husain Pasha was made

⁸ Muhibbi 1966, 4: 434; al-Muradi 1966, 2: 63. For details about Zahir's career, see Rafeq 1970: 126-31, 155-60, 193-7, 241-82, 292-308; Rafeq 1990; *al-Mausu'a al-Filastiniyya, al-Qism al-Thani, al-Dirasat al-Khasa* 2, 1: 717-18.

⁹ Archives Nationales, Affaires Etrangères, Paris, B1, Correspondance Consulaire, St Jean d'Acre, vol. 978, dispatch dated 10 February, 1725 (short reference, AE B1 978: Acre, 10.2.25), Acre, 15.2.25, Acre, 23.2.25, Acre, 27.3.25, Acre, 14.4.25.

¹⁰ AE B1 1031: Sidon, 1.9.56, Sidon, 20.9.56; Muradi 1966, 2: 61; al-Budayri 1959: 188.

governor of Damascus in 1757. Under his weak command, the pilgrimage was almost annihilated by Bedouin attack on it (for details see Rafeq 1970: 213-22).

During the invasion of southern Syria by Mamluk troops from Egypt in 1770-1 and the occupation of Damascus by the joint troops of 'Ali Beg and Zahir al-'Umar, Jerusalem remained loyal to the Ottomans. Also, after the elimination of Zahir al-'Umar and the domination of Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar and his Mamluk troops in the province of Sidon (1776-1804), and his appointment four times to the province of Damascus, Jerusalem managed to remain neutral and was spared the atrocities of al-Jazzar (literally the 'butcher'). When Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Syria from Egypt in February 1799 and laid siege to Acre, Jerusalem was again spared attack. The French, however, by occupying Ramla and Jaffa, blocked access to Jerusalem from the coast. The road through Gaza, which the French had already occupied, was likewise blocked. French troops also occupied the fortress of Safad to cut off the road leading from Damascus to Palestine. When the Ottomans launched a counter-attack across the river Jordan and threatened the French troops at al-Fula near Mount Tabor, Napoleon hastened from Acre to relieve the French troops and defeated the Ottomans on 17 April 1799. The French then occupied Safad and Tiberias. Jerusalem was not threatened at the time because the initial aim of the French was to occupy Acre. They were, however, forced to withdraw altogether from Syria in May 1799.¹¹

The prestige of the governor of Damascus in the Palestinian *sanjaqs* of his province was rather low at the time. He had earlier failed to prevent the Mamluks and Zahir al-'Umar from occupying Damascus. The centre of power shifted to the province of Sidon under its able governors Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar, his Mamluk successor Sulaiman Pasha al-'Adil (1804-18) and 'Abdallah Pasha (1818-31). Any military revolt in Palestine would be put down by these able governors. In 1807, for example, Sulaiman Pasha al-'Adil of Sidon put an end to the revolt of Muhammad Pasha Abu Maraq, the governor of Jaffa and Gaza, who had also extended his rule over Jerusalem. These towns were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Damascus, but the fact that the governor of Sidon intervened in their affairs indicates his growing influence in the region and the weakened position of the governor of Damascus. The governor of Damascus at the time was focused more on ensuring the security of the pilgrimage and providing for its finances than on the immediate affairs of his province. In 1806, for instance, the governor of Damascus, accompanied by three thousand troops, passed through Jerusalem while on the *daura* to collect taxes. He attacked the villages dependent on Jerusalem, extorted

money from their inhabitants, and sold in the Damascus market the cattle and horses he had confiscated from them as booty. After his withdrawal, the villagers, who had scores to settle among themselves, began attacking each other (de Châteaubriand 1950: 156-62). When rebels in Jerusalem took advantage of Abu Maraq's rebellion and rose in revolt against their governor, it was again the governor of Sidon who put down their revolt and reinstalled the ousted governor sent to them by Damascus. The governors of Damascus and Sidon, when not the same person, co-operated with each other because of the common threat posed to them by Wahhabi expansion from the Arabian Peninsula, as happened in 1809. Worried by the Wahhabi threat, the sultan in 1810 appointed the governor of Sidon, Sulaiman Pasha al-'Adil, governor of the provinces of Damascus and Tripoli as well. He was also entrusted with the *sanjaqs* of Jerusalem and Nablus (Rafeq 1990: 854-6).

In 1816, at the request of the sultan, Sulaiman Pasha al-'Adil renovated the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem as well as the shrine of al-Nabi Da'ud, all of which cost him a lot of money (al-'Awra 1936: 159-91, 195, 267-8, 292, 297, 332).

The polarisation of power between the governor of Damascus trying to regain his authority over southern Syria and the governor of Sidon attempting to extend his authority reached dangerous proportions when the governor of Sidon, 'Abdallah Pasha (1818-31), a former aide to Sulaiman Pasha al-'Adil and like his master a Mamluk, called upon Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt for help against the governor of Damascus, who was supported by Istanbul and by Amir Bashir Shihab II of Mount Lebanon. Taking advantage of this polarisation of power, the inhabitants of the regions of Jerusalem and of Nablus rose in revolt and refused to pay the excessive taxes that the governor of Damascus had imposed on them under the pretext of financing the pilgrimage. The Bedouin chieftain, Ibrahim Abu Ghosh, who was in control of the road between Ramla and Jerusalem, supported the rebels. The Abu Ghosh family claim to have been entrusted with the security of this road by Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent. Their headquarters were originally in the village of Qubaiba or 'Umwas, to the north west of Jerusalem, but they later on moved to the village of Qaryat al-'Inab, also known as Qaryat Abu Ghosh, to the west of Jerusalem. Encouraged by support from the Abu Ghosh family, several villages in the vicinity of Jerusalem in early 1825 refused to pay taxes to the governor of Jerusalem. The governor, referred to in the local sources as *mutasallim* (deputy), called upon his superior, the governor of Damascus, for help. Some villagers fled their villages as happened in Silwan, east of Jerusalem, in al-Malha, 'Ain Karem and Walaja, west of Jerusalem, and in Bait Hanina and Baitin to the north of it. The governor of Damascus laid siege to the

¹¹ For a detailed study of Napoleon's expedition into Syria and the military operations, see Rafeq 1990, 1: 719-27.

monasteries, both outside and inside Jerusalem, where the fleeing villagers had taken refuge. Fearing the worst, the villagers bought the governor off. The same happened in Bethlehem. Upon the return of the governor to Damascus, the villagers resumed their rebellion in early June 1825. The rebels in Jerusalem took control of the citadel, the walls and the gates of the city, and expelled the *mutasallim*. They also appointed two chiefs from among their ranks, Yusuf 'Arab and Ahmad Agha, to govern the city. Sultan Mahmud II was occupied at the time with the Greek War of Independence and with the abolition of the rebellious Janissaries in 1826. He therefore ordered 'Abdallah Pasha of Sidon to deal with the rebels. The commander sent by 'Abdallah Pasha bought off Abu Ghosh and proceeded safely to Jerusalem. Its inhabitants held out for seven days and defied the additional troops dispatched to the city. Dissension, however, weakened the resolve of the rebels to resist. Food shortages, caused by the blockade, and the prevalence of poverty within the city brought about a split in the ranks of the rebels. They surrendered after being promised that no extra taxes would be raised from them and that their leaders would be pardoned. The revolt came to an end in late 1826 (for additional details, see Spyridon 1938: 74-83). Other revolts were taking place at the time in different regions of Palestine, the most important one being in the Nablus region under the leadership of the Jarrar family. The occurrence of these revolts on the eve of Muhammad 'Ali's invasion of Syria was a welcome signal to him. And indeed his campaign did not encounter popular opposition.

The Ottoman attitude toward Jerusalem during the period between 1516 and 1831 is rather mixed. After the architectural contributions by Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent to Jerusalem in the early years of Ottoman rule, no similar contributions were made by the later sultans. This is not to say that Jerusalem was neglected, but the lack of interest in it on the part of the later Ottoman sultans seems to have been largely due to their declining quality and their preoccupation with wars on almost all fronts. Jerusalem, nevertheless, fared better than other towns in Palestine by the appointment of a top judge to it, apparently because of its pre-eminence in Islam and also because of the religiously important towns and sites attached to it, such as Khalil and Nabi Musa. In fact the jurisdiction of the official Hanafi judge of Jerusalem extended far beyond the limits of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem (Heyd 1960: 42, cf. 154-5). The judge of Jerusalem communicated directly with the sultan, as happened in 1568 when the judge pleaded with the sultan against levying troops for the Yemen campaign and financing them by raising additional taxes from the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Khalil. To make his plea stronger, the judge communicated to the sultan the contents of a previous *firman* absolving the inhabitants of the two cities from extra

levies and dues. The sultan concurred and ordered that the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Khalil be exempted, but not the villages of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem (Heyd 1960: 71-2 cf. 117).

The Ottomans were keen to establish security and order in the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem and to combat illegal dealings by top officials (see, for example, Heyd 1960: cf. 87-8). They also took great care in raising feudal troops to ensure the security of the pilgrims departing from Jerusalem and Khalil to the Hijaz, apparently while on their way to join the Damascene pilgrimage. They also provided protection to the pilgrims visiting the tomb of Moses (Nabi Musa) near the Dead Sea (Heyd 1960: 76, cf. 85, 101). To achieve security, the authorities in Jerusalem took hostages from the troublesome tribes and villages to guarantee their good behaviour. The hostages were to be rotated every year to maintain equal punishment for all (Heyd 1960: 98).

To conclude the first phase of Jerusalem's political history under the Ottomans, it is noticeable that although Jerusalem did not figure as a major centre of political activity on its own in the way that Acre had figured under Zahir and al-Jazzar, its chieftains were by and large law-abiding and they also provided commanders for the Damascene pilgrimage. By ensuring the security of the pilgrimage, the chieftains served the interests of the sultan and satisfied Islamic religious opinion.

The second phase of Jerusalem's history begins with the establishment of Egyptian rule in Syria in 1831. Jerusalem then came to the forefront among the cities in Palestine. It became more active politically and also attracted much attention from abroad. Already in 1825-6, Jerusalem and its hinterland had risen in revolt against the state's attempt to levy troops and impose extra taxes on the inhabitants. The fact that the rebels in Jerusalem got what they wanted legitimised their role as defenders of the people's interests and established among them a revolutionary tradition which they invoked in similar circumstances. Indeed, the first revolt against Egyptian rule in Syria began in Jerusalem only three years after the Egyptians had conquered the country.

Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt occupied Syria for a number of reasons, chief among them his desire to make Syria a buffer zone shielding Egypt from the Ottomans, and to lay his hands on Syria's resources of timber, cotton, silk and tobacco. Their import from Syria was draining Egypt of much of its revenue. Important to Egypt too was control of the long-distance trade routes passing through Syria. The local, regional, Ottoman and European conditions were all favourable for Muhammad 'Ali's invasion of Syria. Revolts had already taken place in Jerusalem, Nablus and, more importantly, Damascus where the Ottoman governor Salim Pasha was killed by the Damascenes in 1831 (for details see Mikha'il al-Dimashqi

1982: 76-9). The governor of Sidon, 'Abdallah Pasha, and the amir of Mount Lebanon, Bashir Shihab II, were the protégés of Muhammad 'Ali. The Ottoman empire, on the other hand, had been weakened by its defeat in the Greek War of Independence and by its abolition of the Janissaries. The international situation was also favourable. Britain was occupied with the reform movement and Chartism, France was anxious to stabilise its internal politics after the 1830 revolution and also had to cope with the revolt in Algeria in 1831, and the Habsburg empire in Vienna was threatened by a revolt in Poland.

Muhammad 'Ali occupied Syria without opposition from its people, who must have seen him as a liberator from the injustice of the Ottoman governors and the local chieftains. Indeed, the redoubtable Abu Ghosh, had forty thousand armed followers, dominated the hilly section of the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem and who imposed irregular payments on passengers, was brought to heel by Muhammad 'Ali's son, Ibrahim Pasha, who was in charge of the Syrian campaign. No one before had questioned the origin of Abu Ghosh's authority nor its legality. It was merely recognised and obeyed as long as it stood unchallenged. Ibrahim Pasha apprehended Abu Ghosh's brother and freed him only upon representations from the French traveller, Alphonso de Lamartine, who interceded in his behalf at the request of Abu Ghosh (de Lamartine 1855, 6-2: 284-90).

From being a liberator, Ibrahim Pasha soon turned into a coercive occupier. Although he established security, expanded the frontier of settlement by keeping the Bedouin at bay, opened up Syria to Western influences and outbid the Ottoman sultan by introducing reforms and emancipating the Christians in Syria from Ottomans restrictions, he nevertheless antagonised the people by enforcing on them conscription, disarmament, forced labour (*corvée*) and heavy taxation. The *farda*, a *per capita* tax on male adults aged fourteen years and older, weighed heavily on the people. The *farda* was collectively levied on the members of a craft, a quarter, a village and a city. The emigration of a number of inhabitants and conscription of their adults were not accepted as excuses to decrease the amount of the *farda*. The remaining people therefore had to pay more for the collective *farda* tax. Conscription was the most detested measure because it deprived the working families in the cities and the countryside of their breadwinners. It also had no time limit. Ibrahim Pasha had warned his father against the early application of conscription in Syria and also requested a review of the *farda*—for what applies to Egypt does not necessarily apply to Syria.

A series of revolts occurred in Syria between 1834 and 1838 in protest against the malpractices of Egyptian rule. The revolts were basically rural and tribal occurring in the hilly, rugged countryside. Jerusalem stands out in this regard as the starter and the leader of the revolts. The rural

neighbourhood of Jerusalem was under obligation to provide 1,500 conscripts, the city of Jerusalem 200, Nablus and its countryside 2,000 and Hebron (Khalil) and its countryside 2,000. The meeting point of the rebels was Jerusalem. A crowd estimated at ten to twenty thousand persons from Jerusalem, Nablus, Khalil and their vicinity assembled there and attacked the Citadel, the symbol of authority. Ibrahim Pasha headed from Jaffa toward Jerusalem, defeating a group of rebels on the way at Qaryat al-'Inab, the stronghold of the Abu Ghosh family. Upon his approach to Jerusalem, the rebels there, who were suffering from famine and plague, fled the city. The Egyptians then took control of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Gaza and Acre while the rebels were disseminated throughout the countryside. The rebels, however, began regrouping, and a large number of them, estimated at 65,000, led by Shaikh Qasim al-Ahmad and Shaikh 'Isa al-Barqawa, headed toward Jerusalem to attack Ibrahim Pasha there. Ibrahim Pasha came out with his troops and defeated them. The rebels then resorted to a policy of launching surprise attacks to wear down Ibrahim Pasha and his troops. But he was able to defeat them three times at Bethlehem, Bait Jala and Bait Sahur. The rebels, however, were still in control of roads, and they managed to prevent supplies from reaching Ibrahim Pasha. Under increasing pressure, Ibrahim Pasha, at the insistence of the heads of the monasteries, agreed to waive the *farda* and accept money in lieu of military service. Before leaving Jerusalem on 20 June 1834, he entrusted its government to Shaikh Qasim al-Ahmad.

Strengthened by the arrival of his father, Muhammad 'Ali, from Egypt at the head of fresh troops, Ibrahim Pasha undertook the pacification of Palestine. He defeated the rebels and eliminated their chiefs in the regions of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus and Karak. The revolt had already spread to the Hauran and Jabal al-Duruz in southern Syria and to the 'Alawi/Nusairiyya mountain in western Syria. Ibrahim Pasha managed to suppress the rebels in all these places.¹²

When the international situation changed and the European powers, notably Britain, began in earnest to support the sultan against Muhammad 'Ali, the latter, abiding by the decisions of the London conference of July 1840, began to withdraw from Syria. The bulk of the Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem withdrew on 26 October, and the Ottoman army regained the city on 22 December 1840.

The Ottomans were able to restore stability to the

¹² For more details on the revolts, see Spyridon 1938: 80-120; Rustum 1938: 54-82; Anon. 1918, 'Translation of a Letter (dated Jerusalem 16th July 1834) in an old Welsh Magazine vol. XII (1835), by an Unknown Welsh Traveller', *PEF Quarterly Statement*, 142-3; E Finn 1879: 35-7; Macalister and Masterman 1906: 37-40; see also Anon. 1925 *Mudhakkirat Tarikhiyya*, 95-120; Rustam 1930-4, 2: 131-8; Qara'li 1937: 42-50.

northern and coastal regions of Palestine, but they failed to do the same in the highlands of Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron. A revolutionary tradition had already established itself in those regions among the various clans who were ready to fight each other if they could not fight the state. Qaisi-Yemeni factionalism divided them, setting village against village and quarter against quarter in the same town. The Qaisis were known by their red banner and the Yemenis by their white banner.¹³ Tribal factionalism inherent in the early history of the local clans found the right milieu to persist and grow in the hilly regions of Palestine where geography, culture and economy kept these divisions and rivalries alive. Olive trees many decades old constituted the main revenue for the local inhabitants, were the major victims in the inter-factional wars.

To stabilise the situation, the Ottomans reverted to their traditional policy of recognising the chieftains who had proven their ability to survive and to lead. Thus they recognised Shaikh Mustafa Abu Ghosh, a Yemeni chieftain, as governor over the hilly region of Jerusalem, and also entrusted him with securing the roads leading to Jerusalem. A Qaisi rival, Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman 'Amru, was made governor and tax farmer of Jabal al-Khalil (Macalister and Masterman 1906: 40-50).

The clans who predominated in the region of Jerusalem belonged to the Bani Hasan tribe which controlled about ten villages. Their main centre was in the village of Qalaja. To the north east of Bani Hasan were the Bani Malik who controlled about twenty villages. One of their major families were the Abu Ghosh, headed at the time by Mustafa Abu Ghosh whose centre was in Qaryat al-'Inab. To the east of Jerusalem, in the region of al-Wadiya, the 'Uraiqtat family predominated. Their chieftain was Shaikh Muhammad 'Uraiqtat, their main centre was in the village of Abu Dis and they controlled eight villages.

In the mountain of Jerusalem (Jabal al-Quds), which includes Jerusalem itself, four families predominated: the family of 'Abd al-Latif Samhan al-Kuswani centred in the village of Bait Iksa, the family of Ahmad 'Ali in the village of Dair Dibwan, the family of Hasan 'Abdallah in the village of Bait 'Anyā ('Aizariyya) and the family of 'Umar al-Shamma' in the village of al-Birah. To the north of Jerusalem, the region of Bani Harith was divided into two parts: Northern Bani Harith (Banu Harith al-Shamaliyya), where the Samhan family predominated and whose chief Shaikh Isma'il was killed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1834, and Southern Bani Harith (Banu Harith al-Janubiyya or al-Qibliyya) dominated by the Qa'raha family. Next to Northern Bani Harith were the Bani Murrah family, and to the east of them were the Bani Sulaiman family. To the north of Northern Bani Harith

were the Bani Zaid family to whom the wealthy and cultured Barghuthi family belong.¹⁴

There is some ambiguity in the available printed sources as to the exact administrative status of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem, its composition and its relationship with the provinces of Damascus and of Sidon and also with Istanbul following the resumption of Ottoman rule in 1840. According to one source, the *liwa'* (*sanjaq*) of Jerusalem, consisting of the *qada's* of Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron, was attached to the province of Sidon until 1864 when the province of Syria was created and the *liwa'* of Jerusalem was included in it. In 1852 to 1855, the *liwa'* of Jerusalem was attached to the province of Damascus. In 1874 and until the end of Ottoman rule, according to this source, the *liwa'* of Jerusalem was made into a *mutasarrifate* consisting of the *qada's* of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron and Gaza and was attached directly to Istanbul ('Abd al-Aziz 'Awad 1983: 10-12). Another source states that the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem was enlarged to include the *sanjaq* of Gaza-Jaffa and in early 1842 the *sanjaq* of Nablus as well (the first permanently and the second until 1858). It also mentions that the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem was separated from Damascus and put under the governor of Sidon. After that, according to this source, and until the fall of the Ottoman empire, the governors of Jerusalem were on the whole appointed directly by the central government (Abu-Manneh 1990: 8-10). Still another source mentions that in 1841 Jerusalem was made a district dependent directly on the centre (Gerber 1985: 6). A later source quoting others concludes that at times, as in 1841-54, Jerusalem was even placed directly under the Porte for short periods (Schölch 1993: 13).

There is no doubt that the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem was enlarged in 1841 to include the districts of Jaffa, Gaza and, for a short period, Nablus. This was part of the administrative reorganisation of certain regions in the Ottoman empire, like Mount Lebanon, which occurred in the early years of the Tanzimat period (1839-76). It was apparently at this time that the title of the governor of Jerusalem was changed from *mutasallim* (deputy) to *mutasarrif* (provincial governor). It is not clear, however, whether the governor of Jerusalem was at the time under the jurisdiction of the governor of Sidon or of Damascus, or whether he was directly answerable to Istanbul. A register from the court records of Gaza, found in the Damascus archives, which covers the period between 1273-7/1857-61, suggests that an *eyalet* (province) was established in Jerusalem at the time. It quotes an order dated 12 Jumada II 1273/7 February 1857 by the Jerusalem governor Isma'il Kamil Pasha emanating from the *divan* of 'our *mutasarrifate* the *eyalet* of Jerusalem, Nablus and Gaza'

¹³ For Qaisi-Yemeni rivalry in Palestine, see Haddad 1921: 209-14; Hoexter 1973: 249-311.

¹⁴ For more details about these families, see Macalister and Masterman 1905: 353-5; see also the recent study by Abu-Manneh 1990: 1-44.

(*min diwan mutasarrifiyyatina eyalet Quds Sharif wa-Nablus wa-Ghazza*). Governor Mustafa Pasha Thurayya, who succeeded Isma'il Kamil Pasha, referred to himself as *mutasarrif* of Jerusalem and *wali al-alwiya* (governor of the *liwa's*, meaning Nablus and Gaza under the jurisdiction of the governor of Jerusalem).¹⁵

The inclusion of Gaza, Jaffa, and, for a short period, Nablus within the jurisdiction of the governor of Jerusalem was not paralleled by the establishment of the governor's authority in these areas. The Swiss traveller Felix Bovet, who arrived in Jerusalem on 28 March 1858 by way of Jaffa and Ramla, describes the lack of security on the roads. Besides the Abu Ghosh, there were a number of local rebels who also attacked the caravans (Bovet 1895: 151). Apparently because of this chaotic situation, the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem was eventually attached to the newly-created province of Syria in 1864. This administrative arrangement continued until 1873, when the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem became independent and answerable directly to Istanbul.

In the *Salname* (official yearbook) of the province of Syria from 1288/1871-2, some two years before Jerusalem was made an independent *mutasarrifate*, the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem consisted of the following administrative divisions: the *qada'* of Jerusalem, encompassing the city of Jerusalem and the *nahiyas* (each *nahiya* is composed of several villages) of Bani Zaid, Bani Murra and Bani Salim, Bani Malik, Bani Hasan, Wadiya (including Bethlehem), Bani Haritha North and Bani Haritha South, and Jabal al-Quds; the *qada'* of Gaza composed of the city of Gaza and the *nahiyas* of Khan Yunus, Majdal and Gaza; the *qada'* of Jaffa made up of the city of Jaffa and the *nahiyas* of Jaffa and Lydda and the city of Lydda, and also the *nahiyas* of Ramla and the city of Ramla; and the *qada'* of Khalil (Hebron) consisting of the city of Khalil and the *nahiyas* of Khalil, 'Amama, Bait Jibrin and 'Arqub (Schölch 1993: 20-3). The total number of the inhabitants of the whole *sanjaq* or *liwa'* of Jerusalem according to this *Salname* was 186,642 (Schölch 1993: 17; see also *Salname* 1288/1871-2 *Daf'a* 3: 149-68).

In 1873 the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem was made into a separate *sanjaq* or *mutasarrifate* attached directly to Istanbul.¹⁶ This arrangement, similar to the arrangement already made for Mount Lebanon in 1861 and 1864,

continued until the British occupation of Palestine in 1917. The limits and the administrative divisions of the new *mutasarrifate* of Jerusalem, according to the *Salnames* of the late 19th and early 20th century, differ from the past divisions. They also changed periodically in matters of detail regarding the number of villages, towns and farms in each *qada'*. However, the *mutasarrifate* of Jerusalem consisted for most of the period of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem (Quds Sharif), as the centre of the *mutasarrifate*, and the *qada's* of Jaffa, Bi'r Sab', Gaza and Khalil.

In the general *Salname* (*Salname 'umumi*) of the Ottoman empire of 1323/1905-6, the *sanjaq* (*mutasarrifate*) of Jerusalem consisted of 5 *qada's*: the *qada'* of Jerusalem which had 126 villages and farms and 4 *nahiyas* (Bethlehem, Ramallah, Safa and 'Ibwin); the *qada'* of Jaffa which had 126 villages and farms and 2 *nahiyas* (Ramla and Na'lin); the *qada'* of Bi'r al-Sab' which consisted of 5 tribes (the 'Azazima, Tayyaha, Jabarat, Tarrabin and Hanajira); the *qada'* of Gaza which included 75 villages and farms and 3 *nahiyas* (Majdal, Faluja and Khan Yunus); and the *qada'* of Khalil made up of 25 villages and farms and 2 *nahiyas* (Bait Tab and Bait Jibrin). The total for the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem is 5 Bedouin tribes, 407 villages and farms, 11 *nahiyas* and 5 *qada's*.

Six years later, in the *Salname 'umumi* of 1329/1911, the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem had different numbers: the *qada'* of Jerusalem now has 9 Bedouin tribes attached to it, where none were mentioned before, 120 villages and farms (6 less than before) and 5 *nahiyas* (Jericho—Ariha—is now added); the *qada'* of Jaffa has 95 villages and farms (31 less than before) and 2 *nahiyas*; the *qada'* of Bi'r al-Sab' has 5 Bedouin tribes (as before) and 2 new *nahiyas*: Hafir and Malaiha; the *qada'* of Gaza has 62 villages and farms (13 less than before) and 3 *nahiyas* (as before); and the *qada'* of Khalil has 62 villages and farms (10 more than before) and 2 *nahiyas* (the same as before). The total is 14 Bedouin tribes (9 tribes more than before), 339 villages and farms (68 less than before), 14 *nahiyas* (3 more than before) and 4 *qada's* (the same as before). Thus there was an increase in the number of tribes and *nahiyas* and a decrease in the number of villages and farms. All this indicates more centralisation and control and fewer rural centres and farms.

Within Jerusalem four families of notables—the Husainis, the 'Alamis, the Nashashibis and the Khalidis—figured in the various councils in the city and occupied top religious positions. The position of Hanafi *mufti* was monopolised by the Husainis and that of Naqib al-Ashraf by the 'Alamis. The Khalidis began their administrative career as secretaries in the courts. One of their members, Yusuf al-Khalidi, was appointed head of the municipality (mayor) after this institution was established in Jerusalem in the early 1860s. Later on, members of the Husaini, 'Alami and Dajani families shared with the Khalidis the appointment to this prestigious office. The city council of

¹⁵ Rafeq 1980; Law Court Register of Gaza (in the Damascus Archives) 12, case dated 12 Jumada II 1273/7 February 1857, cf. p. 59.

¹⁶ Some authors mention the year as 1874. Al-Qasatli 1876: 3 gives the date as 1873. Qasatli was well informed and was employed by the Palestine Exploration Fund expedition in Palestine; Abu-Manneh 1990: 43, n. 189, gives the date as 1872 and faults Schölch for giving the date as 1874. Apparently Schölch was quoting 'Awad 1983: 10. Schölch later repeated the 1874 date (1988: 79-80).

Jerusalem in 1908 was composed of ten members; according to Schölch, six of the members were Muslim, two were Christians and two were Jews (Schölch 1990: 228-48, see especially 239-40).

Factionalism, however, divided the notables in Jerusalem as it did in the countryside. The Husainis and the Nashashibis, for instance, were Yemenis; the 'Alamis and the Khalidis were Qaisis. Factionalism indeed went beyond Jerusalem and the Qaisi-Yemeni rivalry, cutting across city and countryside. But the Ottoman state in its drive for more centralisation was able to control the notables through their appointment to the municipality, the administrative positions, and even to the general council of representatives that was established in Jerusalem in 1913 (Schölch 1990: 24-41).¹⁷

European influence reached its peak in Jerusalem in the 19th century. Between 1838 and 1857, eight states established consulates in Jerusalem. These were Britain in 1838, Prussia in 1842, Sardinia and France in 1843, Austria in 1847, Spain in 1854, America in 1856 and Russia in 1857 (Schölch 1990: 224). In the *Salname* of 1312/1894-5, two more European countries, Greece and Portugal, are mentioned as having consuls in Jerusalem. The consuls of Prussia and Sardinia, after the unification of Germany and Italy by these two states, became the consuls of Germany and Italy respectively. Other states, like Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Rumania and Brazil had deputy consuls in either Acre, Jaffa or Haifa (*Salname 'umumi* AH 1312: 952-72).

Most of the Oriental Christians had patriarchs in Jerusalem. The Ottomans traditionally recognised as *millets* (defined groups with a large degree of internal autonomy over the personal status of their members) the Greek Orthodox, the Gregorian Armenians and the Jews. European missionaries and churches were already established in Jerusalem, such as the Latins, the Franciscans, the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. Under European pressure, the Ottoman sultan recognised in the 1840s and the 1850s the Oriental Catholic and Protestant churches which had split from the local mother churches over the previous two centuries.

European royalty highlighted the growing interest of Europe in Jerusalem and the Holy Land in general by paying several visits to the country in the course of the 19th century. The most important of these visits was that by the German Kaiser Wilhelm II in late 1898. He visited Jerusalem and other places in Palestine as well as Damascus (for details of his visit see al-Aswad 1901: 97-136). The German Protestant Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem was consecrated in the presence of the German emperor in 1898 (Schölch 1990: 233). Wilhelm II visited the German colonies of the Templars, one of which was

established to the south west of Jerusalem in 1873. In 1882, 257 persons lived in the Jerusalem colony, mainly craftsmen and their families. Three Templars' colonies had already been established—one in Haifa and another in Jaffa in 1869, and a third in Sarona in 1871 (Schölch 1990: 235). The Templars, according to Schölch, were 'a pietistic sect from Württemberg', who had set for themselves the goal of 'bringing together the people of God' in Jerusalem. They declared their principles in 1861 stating that 'The mind of the German nation should be directed toward the building of the Templars in Jerusalem and the occupation of Palestine' (Schölch 1993: 73; see also Schölch 1982: 82).

The Russians had their own establishments on the outskirts of Jerusalem. On 14 December 1872, the French traveller de Vogüé paid a visit to these establishments where the Russian consul had his residence. The establishments, built by Russian contributions, included a sixty-bed hospital, a pharmacy, a guesthouse catering for poor Russian pilgrims, and a church and annexes. De Vogüé refers to this complex as '*la Petite Cité Moscovite*' (al-Qasatli ms. 1874-5, 2: 5). The French also had their own buildings in Jerusalem. These included in 1880, according to the French traveller Gabriel Charmes who visited the city that year, a hospital and three vocational schools. He also refers to the French-based Alliance Israélite which opened, for the benefit of the Jewish community, hospitals, schools and houses for the elderly. He comments that this activity was opposed by the conservative Jews (Charmes 1891: 151-3).

Industrial Europe dominated the markets of the Middle East, indeed the world, with its highly competitive goods. Local manufactures suffered tremendously from this competition. European goods found their way into the interior largely through the port of Jaffa. In imitation of the Beirut-Damascus carriage road inaugurated in 1863, a carriage road linking Jaffa to Jerusalem was built in 1868 at the initiative of the Ottoman government. It cost more than ten times the cost of the Beirut-Damascus road, according to the French traveller Gabriel Charmes, because of the nature of the terrain and its topography (Charmes 1891: 151-3). It was primarily intended to facilitate the transport of an increasing number of foreign pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. In 1868, 12,000 pilgrims used this road. Their nationalities were as follows: Greeks 3,000, Americans 2,000, Russians 1,000, Jews 2,500, locals 2,500, and Turks 1,000. Non-pilgrims using the road amounted to 600 of whom 250 were Americans, 250 English and 100 of other nationalities.¹⁸ The road was badly built and had to be repaired at short intervals later on. The road was followed by the building of a railway connecting Jaffa with Jerusalem. The concession to build the railway was given to a French Company, Sociétés des Travaux Publiques et

¹⁷ For a detailed study of the role of Jerusalem's notables, see Abu-Manneh 1990: 14-43.

¹⁸ National Archives, Washington DC (NAW), M453, film reel (R) 1, dispatch from the American Consul in Jerusalem dated 30 September 1868 (henceforth, NAW, M453, R1, Jerusalem, 30 September 1868).

Table 1.1

<i>Qada'</i>	No. <i>Nahiyas</i>	No. villages	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Jerusalem	7	117	35,715	12,850	48,565
Jaffa	3	61	28,395	3,615	32,010
Gaza	3	55	45,535	325	45,860
Hebron	4	52	28,100	1,000	29,100
Total	17	285	137,745	17,790	155,535

Table 1.1b

<i>Qada'</i>	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Others	Total	Male	Female
Jerusalem	54,364	19,506	7,105	84	81,059	41,945	39,114
Jaffa	45,175	5,174	394	1,106	51,849	27,530	24,319
Gaza	59,517	812	—	—	60,329	31,979	28,350
Hebron	40,557	74	611	291	41,533	22,243	29,290
Total	199,613	25,566	8,110	1,481	234,770	123,697	111,073

Constructions à Paris. Work started on 31 March 1890 and was completed in the summer of 1892. On 27 August of that year, the first train arrived in Jerusalem.¹⁹ A telegraph line was extended between Jaffa and Jerusalem in 1865 (Schölch 1990: 236-7).

The building of the road and the railway between Jaffa and Jerusalem to facilitate the transport of the increasing numbers of pilgrims and passengers was paralleled by intensified building activity in Jerusalem to accommodate the growing number of inhabitants both legal and illegal. In the early 1780s, the French traveller Volney, who had access to consular statistics, estimated the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants at between 12,000 to 14,000 (Volney 1959: 334). Shortly afterwards, in 1797, the traveller W G Browne estimated the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants somewhere between 18,000 and 20,000 (Browne 1799: 360-4). A French military source gave the number of its inhabitants in 1799 as between 12,000 and 15,000 (Hauet 1801-6: 80-114). In 1858, the Swiss traveller Felix Bovet, quoting the Prussian consul in Jerusalem, estimated the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants at about 15,400, of whom 3,400 were Christians, 5,000 were Muslims, and 7,000 were Jews. Fourteen years later, towards the end of 1872, the French traveller de Vogüé gave the number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as 26,000, of whom the Jews counted for 14,000, the Christians between 7,000 to 8,000 and the Muslims between 4,000 and 5,000 (de Vogüé 1922: 210-13, 232-5). In 1874, the Damascene traveller and member of the Palestine Exploration Fund's expedition in Palestine, Nu'man al-Qasatli, estimated the population of Jerusalem at 40,000 inhabitants of whom 6,000 were Muslim, 12,000 Christian, and 22,000 Jewish. He also says that out of the 40,000 inhabitants, about 5,000 to 6,000 were living outside the walls of the city (al-Qasatli ms. 1874-5, 2: 5). These figures clearly indicate the

growth of Jerusalem's population, the building activity that was going on to accommodate these people, and the high rate of increase in the Jewish population.

If the figures below are compared with the figures given in the Ottoman sources, a clearer demographic and political picture emerges. According to the *Salname* of 1288/1871-2, the number of Muslims and non-Muslims in the *qada'* comprising the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem are as shown in Table 1.1.

The first Ottoman census of 1893 breaks down the population in the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem as shown in Table 1.1b.

The percentage of Muslims in the *qada'* of Jerusalem amounts to 67.06 per cent, Christians 24.06 per cent and Jews 8.76 per cent. The percentage of Muslims in the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem as a whole is 85.02 per cent, Christians 10.88 per cent and Jews 3.45 per cent. Despite its shortcomings, the Ottoman census was based on official records kept by the administration. It certainly did not take into account the illegal infiltration of Europeans, mostly Jews, into the city.

Two years before the Ottoman census in 1893, the American consul in Jerusalem, S Merrill, conducted a search to establish the actual number of Jews in the various cities of Palestine. He contacted Jewish organisations, heads of colonies, school principals, hospitals, hospices and houses for the elderly, and consuls providing protection to Jews. The number of Jews he arrived at for the city of Jerusalem was 25,322.²⁰ In the Ottoman census of 1893, the total number of Jews in the whole *qada'* of Jerusalem, meaning the city and the *nahiyas* attached to it, was a mere 7,105. The actual number of Jews, according to the American Consul's estimation, is thus 3.56 times their official number—an indication of the influx of Jews in their thousands into Jerusalem and its dependencies. Qasatli had estimated the number of Jews in Jerusalem in 1875 at

¹⁹ NAW M453 R4, Jerusalem, 14 August 1890, Jerusalem, 23 September 1890, Jerusalem, 5 September 1892, Jerusalem, 24 October 1892, see also R5, Jerusalem, 17 March 1902.

²⁰ NAW M453 R4, 'Report on the Jews and Jewish Colonies in Palestine', Jerusalem, 30 October 1891.

22,000 out of a total population of 40,000 for the whole city. This is a closer approximation to the figure given by the American consul in 1891. Qasatli also predicted that in a short time the population of Jerusalem would increase tremendously due to the immigration of Jews into the country from all over the world (al-Qasatli ms. II 5).

As early as the 1850s, the Ottomans had taken precautions to control the selling of property to foreigners in Palestine. An order from the governor of Jerusalem to the judge of Gaza, Sayyid Mustafa Efendi 'Alami Zadeh, dated 2 Jumada II 1275/7 January 1859, urges him to scrutinise the identity of the buyer of property to ascertain that he is an Ottoman subject. If he is a Christian, the order says, then the head of his religious community has to establish his identity. The judge was also asked to make sure that the property on sale had no legal impediment preventing it being sold (Rafeq 1980: 41; Law Court Register of Gaza, case dated 2 Jumada II 1275/7 January 1859). Although the Jews were not referred to in the order, the citing of a Christian was meant as an example. The Jews had the advantage of acquiring the citizenship of foreign countries which gave them immunity from Ottoman prosecution by virtue of the capitulations granted by the Ottomans to these countries at different times. In 1877, for example, there was a total of 1,416 Austro-Hungarian nationals in Jerusalem, Hebron (Khalil) and Jaffa of whom the overwhelming majority were Jews (Schölch 1993: 120). This assumed nationality worked well for the Jews, as attested in the court records of Palestine, when they bought property as foreign nationals; for the Ottoman government had issued a law in 1867 giving the nationals of England, France, Austria, Belgium, Sweden and Norway the right to buy property in the Ottoman empire.²¹

The increasing number of Jews in Jerusalem enabled them to dominate trade, the property market and the building industry. The municipality in Jerusalem issued, between March and August 1882, 15 permits for the restoration of houses, 63 permits for enlarging existing houses and 65 permits for building new houses. Two-thirds of all the permits were issued to Jews receiving aid money from abroad (NAW M453 Jerusalem 16 December 1886).

Many of the Jews in Jerusalem before 1882 were of Russian origin who stayed there during the Crimean War (1854-6) between Russia and the Ottoman empire and its allies. The Russians lost their right to return because they had stayed outside Russia for more than the five-year validity of their passports. The American Jews in Jerusalem protested to the American consul in 1879 against giving American money to the poor Jews from Russia, Austria and Germany who in Jerusalem numbered about 10,000 out of a total of 15,000 at the time (NAW M453 Jerusalem

15 March 1879).

The year 1882 is taken as the dividing line between two epochs in regard to the intensity of Jewish immigration to Palestine. The first wave of Jewish immigrants, the so-called '*aliya* (ascent to Zion) from Russia, reached Palestine in 1882. Thus an Askhenazi concentration of Jews was added to the Oriental and Sephardic Jews in Palestine. The first '*aliya* brought about 20,000 to 30,000 Jews, mostly Russians, to Palestine in the period between 1882 and 1903. The second '*aliya* (1905-14), in the wake of the failure of the 1905 revolution in Russia, brought about 25,000 Jews to Palestine. Other '*aliyas* occurred later on, bringing Jews mostly from Eastern Europe and Germany to Palestine.

The Ottoman empire under Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II (1876-1909) officially opposed the immigration of Jews to Palestine, fearing the creation of yet another national problem for the already battered empire which was suffering from nationalism in the Balkans and among the Arabs. Pressured by the European powers, the Ottoman government in 1888 allowed Jewish individuals, not Jewish mass immigrants, to settle in Palestine. Since the Jews were buying property rather easily, largely from Arab and non-Arab absentee landowners, the Ottoman government ordered an end to the sale of land to Jews. A year later, however, the Jews were allowed to buy land as individuals, provided they had entered Palestine legally (NAW M453 R5 Jerusalem 12 August 1893). In the meantime, Theodor Herzl was sending emissaries to Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid, and also met with him in person, promising to write off the Ottoman debt to Europe if the sultan would agree to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The sultan refused, but no effective measures were taken by the Ottoman administration to stop the flow of Jewish immigrants into Palestine and their purchase of property.²² The convening by Theodor Herzl of the first Zionist conference in Basle in Switzerland in 1897, which proposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and the formation of the World Zionist Organization to implement it, alarmed Arab intellectuals in Palestine, in Istanbul and abroad. The Young Turks who came to power in the Ottoman empire in 1909 proved to be ineffective in dealing with the Palestine issue.

The British occupation of Palestine in 1917, the issue by the British government of the Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917, promising the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, and the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Syria in October 1918 put the Arabs, the Jews and the British in the forefront of events. Jerusalem was and continues to be not only the concern of Muslims, Christians and Jews but the conscience and responsibility of humanity at large.

²¹ Law Court Records, Damascus, vol. 601 1; see also AE (France), Correspondance Commerciale vol. 5, Damas, 18 Avril 1872, Damas, 8 Août 1872.

²² See the detailed study of Jewish immigration to Palestine and the attitude of the Ottoman government in 'Awad 1983: 26-93; see also 'Arif al-'Arif: 1951 236; Mandel 1980: 11-13.

Chapter 2

THE LEADING INTELLECTUALS OF LATE OTTOMAN JERUSALEM AND THEIR BIOGRAPHIES

Khairia Kasmieh

Introduction

The object of this study is to introduce some eminent figures in the intellectual life of Jerusalem in the late Ottoman period. To a certain extent, my intention is to revise the conventional image of a cultural desert at this time. It would seem advisable, before we review the biographies of these figures and before we sum up their intellectual achievements, to clarify two dimensions of our subject—those of place and time.

As to the first of these, Jerusalem is unique in its status among the cities of the world because of its spiritual wealth. It is the focus (*qibla*) of three major religions. Jerusalem, as the third holiest city in Islam, was held in special reverence by the Ottoman sultans (Abu-Manneh 1990: 3).

The rise of Jerusalem under the Ottomans was not due to its importance in the realms of commerce, finance or communications—it was, rather, a function of the various and growing religious and political interests focused on the city. From the time of Egyptian rule (1831–40) its development reflected the rhythm of the interaction between Ottoman policies, European penetration and the response of the regions (Schölch 1989: 228, 230). As a result of the Ottoman Tanzimat policies there was a marked change in the political life in Jerusalem. One factor was the establishment of a municipal council (*majlis baladi*) in 1863 (Dabbagh 1975: 201). The important role of this council throws light on the rise of Jerusalem from a local perspective (Abu-Manneh 1990: 39–40).

European penetration of Jerusalem (and of

Palestine in general) took place on two interconnected levels: the ‘state level’ of diplomatic activity of the Great Powers, and the level of various churches, associations, movements and groups. In this way, Jerusalem became an arena for contemporary European rivalries (Schölch 1988: 42–59).

In order to counter-balance this European activity, the Porte tightened its own control over Jerusalem. In 1874 the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem became independent and its governor was made directly responsible to Istanbul (Dabbagh 1975: 42). One of the most important administrative developments of the late 19th century was the emergence of Jerusalem as a major administrative centre with a privileged status in Bilad al-Sham, and in a sense as the capital of Palestine, becoming identifiable as a political administrative entity beneath the fluctuating Ottoman divisions (Schölch 1989: 228).

The second aspect—that of time—is also important. A study of intellectual life in Jerusalem during the late Ottoman period must include a descriptive assessment of the cultural environment of Syria in general and of Palestine in particular. Palestine was historically not an independent unit within the region defined by Arab geography as ‘Bilad al-Sham’, for it is impossible to set up barriers that separate its culture from that of the neighbouring areas; they have many elements in common. If there are any apparent differences between them, they are a matter of detail only.

Palestine was experiencing the same social, economic and cultural changes that affected the whole region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (R Khalidi

1991: 57). These cultural changes were manifested in many different ways:¹

(a) Scholarly writings about language, literature and history. The group of Arab scholars who emerged at this time rediscovered the classical Arab literary heritage. Most of their views, which emphasised Arabic rather than Islamic culture, were obviously secular in nature (Abu-Manneh 1990: 42).

(b) There was also a rapid spread of missionary education, both private and state-sponsored. The educational institutions varied a great deal in their standards and their socio-political orientations. The rich and the class of notables clearly had greater access to education (Tibawi 1956: 21) but poor students of merit and members of non-notable classes also had a far greater chance of obtaining an education than ever before. This marked the beginning of a broadening of the 'élite' and the inclusion among its ranks of other classes in prominent roles (R Khalidi 1991: 65-6). The Christian Arabs were at first more vulnerable to Western influence than the Muslims (Tibawi 1956: 21). By the beginning of the 20th century, the competing Western school system had succeeded in attracting both Christian and Muslim Arab students (T Khalidi 1981: 61-2). Furthermore, the colleges in Cairo, Beirut and Istanbul were attracting increasing numbers of Palestinian students (al-Asad 1970: 18).

(c) A large number of Arabic newspapers and journals were to appear in Palestine—as in the whole region—after the restoration of the constitution in 1908, and these offered a free forum for the expression of all points of view (T Khalidi 1981: 63). They tried both to foster the greatness of Arab cultural achievement and to disseminate the best scientific and literary thought of the West. At the same time they evolved a modern Arabic style suitable for the expression of Western ideas (Abu Ghazaleh 1972: 5).

It is from this period also that Zionism began to attract the attention of Palestinian journalists (Lesch 1977: 285-6). On the eve of the First World War, the Arabic press in Palestine, as well as in cities like Cairo and Beirut, had become fully alive to the dangers of the Zionist programme.²

These developments in the cultural life of Palestine and her neighbours failed to convince the traditional establishment of the importance of change. Consequently a kind of cultural dualism created a gap between two groups of people who were quite different in their approach. The first of these represented people who had been educated in the traditional way; they called for a

return to heritage, *al-turath*, stood by its essential tenets and advocated teaching it to the new generation. The other group represented intellectuals who had acquired modern culture (as well as full knowledge of *al-turath*); they considered Western ideas and trends an aid in their desire to catch up with the march of progressive civilisation ('Abbas 1990: 17).

The figures who have been selected for this study from among the many representatives of the intellectual élite in Jerusalem during the late Ottoman period all belong to the second of these groups. Their education was multifaceted and followed diverse paths. It was seldom that any of them specialised in one sole intellectual field. I found it difficult for two reasons to make a choice among the possible candidates to act as representatives.

Firstly, it is almost impossible to draw distinct borders between Jerusalem and the neighbouring areas. The cultural source for many of these people was in institutions and universities outside Jerusalem, and this inevitably had an effect on their work. Some came to Jerusalem from different districts, but most of their output was within the Holy City. Others worked, contributed and settled abroad in search of wider fields for their intellectual development, and this altered the outlook which they had acquired from their initial cultural roots.

Secondly, it is quite difficult to make a temporal distinction between this period and the one that follows. Very few of the intellectuals chosen here had stopped production by the end of our period; many completed their life's work following the maturing of their views and the adjustment of their development in accordance with changes in political circumstances. Any study of their contribution during the period must therefore be in a sense insufficient. And this is the reason that some names who might have been expected to appear here have been omitted—by this stage, their output had not yet reached any great significance.

Yusuf Diya' al-Din al-Khalidi
(*b. Jerusalem 1842; d. Jerusalem 1906*)³

Born into one of the most prominent families of 19th-century Jerusalem, Yusuf was a unique figure in a city which was heading towards a new future under the impact of the Tanzimat policy. He acquired a kind of education that was different from that of other young men of his age and station. First he studied at an Anglican school (established by Bishop Gobat) in Jerusalem, then for two years at the Protestant College at Malta, and then for a short time at Robert College in Istanbul before returning

¹ For factors and manifestations of the Arab cultural revival, see Abu Ghazaleh 1972: 24; see also Zaidan 1922, vol. 4, for a general view of the modern awakening.

² For a full account of Arab reaction, see Kasmieh 1973: ch. 4.

³ Al-Asad 1958: 30; W Khalidi 1971: 31-90; Dabbagh 1975: 359, 361; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 4: 653; Schölch 1989: 241-5; Yaghi 1968: 329, 579; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 8: 245.

home. With such a cultural background, it is not surprising that Yusuf was well acquainted with foreign languages and was deeply aware of European penetration. The strength to face this had to be acquired through a modern education and an intellectual regeneration.

A supporter of reform policy (*islah*), he was appointed mayor (*ra'is al-baladiyya*) of Jerusalem in 1867, despite his comparative youth. He remained in this post for six years, devoting all his energies to this new task. Early in 1874, he was called by the foreign minister to Istanbul to serve in the Porte's translation bureau, and then as Ottoman consul in Poti on the Black Sea. He returned to Jerusalem to resume his function as mayor.

Early in 1877 Yusuf was elected to represent the *sanjaq* in the first Ottoman parliament (1877/8). In Istanbul, Yusuf became an ardent defender of the constitution against arbitrary measures by the sultan. He demanded a new political philosophy, at the centre of which he placed the concepts of freedom, patriotism and a sense of duty. The political trend to which Yusuf belonged shows his adherence to the idea of *islah*. He remained a liberal and loyal Ottoman reformer. The American consul general in Istanbul at the time observed that Yusuf was almost 'as liberal as a French republican both in politics and religion'.

As one of the leaders of the opposition he had to leave the capital following the dissolution of parliament. He reached Vienna where he accepted a position as teacher of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish at the Oriental Academy. A little later he held several administrative posts in various Syrian and Anatolian districts.

Yusuf al-Khalidi was one of the first Arab intellectuals to become aware of the Zionist problem. He wrote a letter in 1899 to the French Rabbi Zadok Khan, who was an acquaintance of Herzl. He implored the Zionists to leave Palestine in peace. If they insisted on their programme, he predicted a popular movement against the Jews which nobody would be able to quell.

All contemporaries of Yusuf Diya' acknowledged his literary culture and his aptitude for languages. Whenever he took up a post in a foreign country, he soon mastered its language. He wrote a book about the grammar of the Kurdish language entitled *al-Hadiyya al-Hamidiyya fi 'l-Lugha al-Kurdiyya* ('The Hamidian Gift in the Kurdish Language'), which was published in 1903.

In 1880 he edited and published in Vienna a collection of poems by the pre-Islamic poet Labid ibn Rabi'a. As a postscript to the edition Yusuf Diya' added some remarks which shed light on his own views: 'We have a strong hope that the Arabs will soon be restored to their place among the leading civilised nations ...' He thanked the European orientalists for their translation of many Arabic books into European languages, hoping that their

example would arouse Arab zeal (*al-hamiyya al-'arabiyya*). He is considered one of the pioneers who collaborated with orientalists in work on manuscripts and this enterprise became a fundamental academic base for the revival of the Arabic language. He left a collection of memoirs and views called *Ana* ('I') as well as many lectures. With the support of a number of other intellectuals, he set up a literary market called Ukaz in Istanbul.

Nakhla Zuraiq
(b. Beirut 1861; d. Jerusalem 1920)⁴

Nakhla was educated first at his Orthodox community school and then at the school of Mu'allim Butrus al-Bustani. He also attended circles of scholars of the Arab cultural revival in Beirut. He mastered Arabic and learned some English. He came to Jerusalem in 1889 at the request of the Anglican missionaries to run a religious bookstore. In 1892 he was elected headmaster of Madrasat al-Shubban al-I'dadiyya (The Boys' Preparatory School—later known as the English College), where he was responsible for teaching Arabic. Al-Mu'allim Nakhla was extremely proud of the language and a great admirer of the eloquence and rhetoric of the Holy Qur'an. He also had wide knowledge of Arab Islamic literature, the Hadith, poetry, proverbs (*amthal*) and the ancient glories (*ayyam*) of the Arabs.

The name of Nakhla Zuraiq features among those of outstanding teachers who transmitted their pride in the treasures of classical Arab history and literature to their eager students. He was a figure who enjoyed enormous respect and affection from his many followers. He strove not only to instruct his pupils but to transform their lives in accordance with the idea of Arab *adab*. He compiled a collection of his students' verses which he printed in Jerusalem in 1903. His house in Jerusalem became a shrine for scholars and intellectuals who listened attentively to him while he lectured on literature, poetry, the Arabs and Arabism. His rich library was full of masterpieces in the fields of language, literature and history.

His career as a teacher did not allow him the space to write books himself; he was, however, given credit for reviving Arabic after a long silence at the *kuttab*. He was so proud of his Arabism that he chose to wear the traditional Arab *kufiyya* and *'uqal*, despising the fashion of imitating Western civilisation, despite his companionship and friendship with Europeans.

⁴ *Al-Kitab al-'Arabi al-Filastini* 1946: 55;22; al-Asad 1958: 55-7; al-'Awdat 1978: 234-6; T Khalidi 1981: 63; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 4: 458.

Ruhi al-Khalidi
(b. Jerusalem 1864; d. Istanbul 1913)⁵

Ruhi was another scholar born into the well-known Jerusalem family. He received his education first at the *kuttab* and then at the government elementary school in Jerusalem. Later he joined the Rushdiyya School at Nablus, going from there to the higher secondary school in Tripoli.

After his return to Jerusalem, Ruhi attended classes at al-Aqsa Mosque where he studied jurisprudence, rhetoric, elocution and similar subjects. He also attended classes at the Alliance School and the Salahiyya School in order to become acquainted with different religions and foreign cultures.

He then went on to attend the Sultaniyya School in Beirut. He managed to get a place in Istanbul to join the Mulki Shahani (a higher institute for administrative and political studies) whose certificate he received in 1893. Because he frequented the Jamal al-Din al-Afghani circle in Istanbul, he was forced to leave Ottoman territory and went to France. He joined the political science school in Paris for three years, and then attended the Sorbonne where he studied philosophy, Islamic studies, and oriental literature. During this period he became familiar with various aspects of modern culture.

He was assigned to teach Arabic at the Foreign Languages Society in Paris, where he used to participate in scholarly seminars and conferences, to give lectures in Arabic and to explain oriental, Arabic and Islamic issues. In 1898 he was appointed consul general of the Ottoman empire in Bordeaux. In the meantime, he published articles in Arabic newspapers and journals in the Lebanon and in Egypt under the name of 'al-Maqdisi'.

In 1908, on the proclamation of the constitution, al-Khalidi was free to return to Jerusalem where he was elected deputy of his city in the Ottoman parliament and where he was chosen as the first vice-speaker. He was re-elected in 1912. After parliament was dissolved that same year, he visited Jerusalem briefly before returning to Istanbul, where he died at the age of fifty.

A study of Ruhi's biography and an analysis of his books and articles lead to the conclusion that he was both a prominent intellectual and a considerable writer. He was known for his love of knowledge and his eagerness to obtain it from many different sources. During his studies

he became acquainted with modern European culture in addition to his own mother tongue. His far-reaching scholarly interests were diverse and the range of topics in which he dealt was sweeping—history, politics, sociology, language, literature and criticism. His abundant works—articles, essays, lectures and books, some of which are still in manuscript form—are spiced with critical observations and personal views, usually derived from his own personal experience. His simple and symmetrical style reflects a deep concern for objective precision in the use of words.

Among his published work is *al-Muqaddima fi 'l-Mas'ala al-Sharqiyya* ('An Introduction to the Eastern Question'), where an account is given of the origins of the Eastern Question up to the second quarter of the 18th century. It is in fact a neo-Ibn Khaldunian *Muqaddima* in which the fate of the Ottoman empire is placed in the much older context of the pendulum of conflict between East and West. The work was originally presented as a lecture in Paris in 1897, and was only much later published in Jerusalem in 1925.

His other published work is *Ta'rikh 'Ilm al-adab 'inda 'l-afraj wa'l-'arab wa Victor Hugo* ('The History of Science of Literature among Europeans, Arabs and Victor Hugo'). The book contains an important series of comparisons between Arabic and European literature at intellectual, literary and, occasionally, doctrinal levels. Al-Khalidi's endeavours to present selected works of Victor Hugo provided Arab readers with an accurate translation of specimens of French literature. The work was originally a series of articles published in *al-Hilal* in 1902-3. It was then published as a separate book by al-Hilal Press in 1904 under the name of 'al-Maqdisi'. It was only in a later edition in 1912 that the true name of the author was revealed.

Ruhi's most prominent manuscripts were *'Ilm al-Alsina* ('Comparative Linguistics') and *al-Syunizm* ('The Zionist Question'). Both are in the possession of the Khalidi family. In his unpublished essay on Zionism, written between 1909 and 1912, Ruhi gives a sweeping and brilliant account of the history of the Jews, especially in Russia and the Ottoman empire, and his own observations on Zionist activity in the Ottoman capital in the late 19th century. He highlights the socio-economic factors in the rise of Zionism. He describes Herzl's role as one of transforming the 'Zionist question or the colonisation of Palestine' from its early origins as a charitable and agricultural movement to an economic and political one, and he ends by listing all Zionist establishments in Palestine. As a member of the Ottoman parliament, he was a consistent and forthright critic of Zionism, right up to the time of his death.

⁵ Al-Asad 1970; al-'Awdat 1976: 155; Dabbagh 1975: 363; Daghir 1955: 333-5; T Khalidi 1981: 70-2; W Khalidi 1990: 37-81; al-Khatib 1990: 346-54; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 2: 491; Yaghi 1968: 527-32; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 3: 34-5.

Bandali Saliba al-Jauzi
(b. Jerusalem 1871; d. Baku, USSR 1942)⁶

Born in Jerusalem, Bandali received his first education at the Orthodox Dair al-Musallaba School, and then at the Orthodox Kifteen School near Tripoli. He had mastered Arabic by the time he was seventeen. He left for Russia to study theology in Moscow but instead enrolled as a student of orientalist studies and Semitic languages at Kazan University near the River Volga, which had been founded in 1804 and was one of the many cultural establishments in the city. His research for his MA in 1899 was *Al-Mu'tazila—Historical and Scholastic Research into Islam*.

He was in due course appointed a professor of Arabic at Kazan University, and later nominated to the Chair of Arabic Language and Literature at the University of Baku, a port on the Caspian Sea. He remained there until his death, visiting his homeland three times in 1909, 1928 and 1930.

Al-Jauzi mastered many ancient and modern languages—Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, French, German, English and Russian. He also produced early translations from German as well as books on teaching Russian and English to Arabs. Orientalists describe him as their 'fruitful source', calling him Pendéli. Together with other Palestinian intellectuals who were graduates of the Russian schools, Bandali worked hard to develop orientalism at the Russian universities and to present Arab culture in a Russian milieu. Al-Jauzi is considered a scholar in linguistics and an accurate historian and his work reflects his persistence and patience in collecting and investigating texts.

He published extensively both during this period and later in the Arabic press in Egypt and Syria, where he excited much attention for the novelty and profundity of his subject matter and its treatment. Where the East-West theme is concerned, his historical works, like those of Ruhi al-Khalidi, are of special merit. Among his works completed during our period in Arabic and Russian (all of which except the last were printed in Kazan) the following deserve special mention: *Al-Mu'tazila—Historical and Scholastic Research in Islam*, 1899; *Tuhfat al-'Arus fi Lughat al-Rus*, 1903 (a Russian dictionary); *Muhammad al-Makki and Muhammad al-Madini*, 1903; *The History of the Jerusalem Church*, 1910; *Mount Lebanon, its History and Present Status*, 1914; *Researches in the Qur'an*, 1914; *Muslims in Russia and their Future*, 1917.

Beyond our period, Bandali continued to write on

history and in particular the intellectual movements and civilisation of the Arab Muslims.

Khalil Baidas
(b. Nazareth 1875; d. Beirut 1949)⁷

Khalil Baidas received his elementary education at the Orthodox School in Nazareth. He then joined the Russian Teachers' Training Centre for Men in Nazareth in 1886. Following graduation in 1892, he was appointed headmaster of Russian elementary schools in many parts of Syria and Palestine. He was in particular interested in Arabic and trained a generation of Arab intellectuals. In 1908 he was transferred to Haifa.

Following the proclamation of the constitution, he founded the journal *al-Nafa'is al-'Asriyya* in Haifa and became widely known in cultural circles. Owing to his efficiency, the Arab Orthodox of northern Palestine selected him to represent them at the Combined Council of Arab Orthodox and Greek clergy which was charged to administer Orthodox community affairs in Jerusalem.

Baidas left the Orthodox School in Haifa and settled in Jerusalem, to which he transferred *al-Nafa'is al-'Asriyya* in 1911. It was printed at Dar al-Aitam al-Suriyya (the Syrian orphanage connected to the German Protestant mission). Baidas was in full control of *al-Nafa'is* technically, editing most of its contents himself. It became a mouthpiece for all active writers in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and al-Mahjar, and was distributed widely in these countries. He turned *al-Nafa'is* into a distinguished institution, which benefited from the universal study of literary and scientific matters. The journal ceased production during the First World War, and then resumed publication for nine years during the Mandate period.

In Jerusalem, Baidas established a unique library of old manuscripts and valuable books. In addition he contributed to the Arab movement and wrote articles in *al-Ahram* and *al-Muqattam*, urging the Turks to treat the Arabs fairly. Once the Arab Revolt began, he was sentenced to death; he took refuge in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem until British troops entered the city.

Khalil Baidas' education was on a solid basis of classical Arab culture. He made use of his Russian education to encourage knowledge of the Russian language and in particular Russian literature. He was also interested more generally in European culture as a whole, especially with its humanitarian and social aspects. He called for a

⁶ Al-Asad 1958: 32-4; al-'Awdat 1976: 90-1; Dabbagh 1975: 378; Daghir 1955: 279-80; T. Khalidi 1981: 71-2; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 1: 425-6; Yaghi 1968: 75, 108; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 2: 75.

⁷ Abu al-Shabab 1990: 141-2; *al-Kitab al-'Arabi al-Filastini* 1946: 12, 17, 20, 22-3; al-Asad 1958: 64-5; al-'Awdat 1976: 67-70; Daghir 1955: 313-14; al-Khatib 1990: 354-6; Khuri 1976: 16; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 2: 367; Yaghi 1968: 441-50, 452-6; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 2I: 313.

comprehensive revival of modern culture. His activity was multi-faceted—literary journalism, translation of fiction and novels, educational textbooks, works on linguistics, presentation of the Russian language to Arab readers, Arab and European writers of history, and so on.

He had the specific effect of drawing readers' attention to the significance of narrative art from the intellectual, social and moral points of view. He laid down this specific aim in the preface to the first issue of *al-Nafa'is* with the statement that he considered novels to be one of the great pillars of civilisation in the enlightenment of the mind. Together with a number of other Palestinian interpreters, Baidas introduced the heroes of Russian literature—Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Gorky and others—to the Arab reader. His technique in translation was peculiarly his own: he translated freely, adding or omitting until he achieved what he considered to be the basic aim of the novel, that which is derived from everyday life and human nature. His style tended to be naturally elegant, humorous and sarcastic.

His works during the period in question were prolific. As already stated, he began his literary career by translating from Russian, and in 1898 he published three Russian novels in Beirut—*Ibnat al-Qubtan* ('The Captain's Daughter'), *al-Quqazi al-Walhan* ('The Distracted Caucasian'), and *al-Tabib al-Hadhiq* ('The Skilled Physician'). That same year he also published in Lebanon a book on the history of ancient Russia and several educational books and textbooks on arithmetic.

After 1908 Baidas published a collection of novels translated from Russian in serial form either in *al-Nafa'is*, or at the end of each volume of his journal, or in their entirety. These included *Shaq'a al-Muluk* ('The Misery of Kings') published in 1908 and transposed from English into Russian, *Ahwal al-Istibdad* ('The Terrors of Totalitarianism') in 1909, *al-Hasna' al-Mutanakira* ('The Disguised Beauty') which had been translated into Russian from the Italian, and *Henry al-Thamin wa zawjatahu al-sadisa* ('Henry VIII and his Sixth Wife') in 1912-13, which had been translated into Russian from German.

His historical and educational books were *al-Tayaran* ('The History of Flight'), Cairo 1912, *Rihla ila Sina* ('Trip to Sinai') Beirut 1912, *Muluk al-Rus* ('The Kings of Russia') Jerusalem 1913, *Darajat al-hisab* ('Grades of Arithmetic') in 2 parts, Jerusalem 1914, *al-Qira'a* ('Grades of Reading') in 7 parts, 1913-21, *Umam al-Balkan* ('The Balkan States'), Jerusalem 1914.

Baidas' career both as translator and author continued during the Mandate period.

Khalil al-Sakakini
(b. Jerusalem 1878; d. Cairo 1953)⁸

Sakakini passed his earliest years in the Orthodox School in Jerusalem, after which he joined the Anglican School (GMS). Finally he went to the Boys' Preparatory School which was later to be known as the English College. Nakhla Zuraiq was his tutor in Arabic, and Khalil greatly admired him for his efficiency and grace.

Sakakini finished his schooling in about 1893 and began to teach in Jerusalem. He became a member of the literary society called *Zahrat al-Adab* (The Flower of Literature) which had been established in 1898. His intention was to leave for Russia to study medicine, but instead he later travelled to England in 1907 and then on to the United States of America to continue his studies at Colombia University. However, his financial situation prevented him from continuing his studies and he moved from one job to another in order to survive, working in a store and a factory, and writing for the journal *al-Majalla* published by Farah Antone. Travel broadened his perspective.

After a year or so he decided to return home following the restoration of the constitution. In his diaries, Khalil expressed the hope that this step would provide the citizens of Palestine with the opportunity to establish schools, newspapers and youth circles. Once he had arrived home in Jerusalem, he began to revise drafts for the journal *al-Asma'i* and for the newspaper *al-Quds*. He also gave private lessons in Arabic to foreigners as well as writing articles. He joined a branch of *al-Ittihad wa'l-Taraqqi* (Union and Progress) Society in Jerusalem; he was also one of the founders of a branch of *al-Ikha' al-'Arabi al-'Uthmani* (The Arab-Ottoman Fraternal Society) there. Sakakini was an activist in the Orthodox movement *al-Nahda* (Awakening) whose aim was to resist domination by the Greek clergy, and to reform the conditions of the Orthodox community, but his efforts were unsuccessful.

In 1909, together with other Jerusalemite Muslim and Christian men, Sakakini established a national school called *al-Madrasa al-Dusturiyya* (The Constitutional School). Students of all religions were enrolled and a modern curriculum was adopted. Arabic was to be the medium of instruction. The school aimed to disseminate Arab national awareness amongst its students. In 1914 he was appointed a member of the administration of *al-Ma'arif* (education) in the *sanjaq*. At the outbreak of the First World War, Sakakini was appointed a teacher of Arabic in the Salahyia College which had been established by Jamal Pasha. In 1917, as the British troops advanced,

⁸ Al-Asad 1958: 57-9; al-'Awdat 1976: 273-84; Dabbagh 1975: 392-4; Daghir 1955: 458-60; al-Khatib 1990: 367-71; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 2: 371-2; al-Sakakini 1955; Yaghi 1968: 342-6; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 2: 321.

the Ottoman authorities decided to exile Sakakini to Damascus so that he could be imprisoned. His friends exerted a great deal of pressure in order to secure his release at the beginning of 1918. After he was freed, Sakakini returned to his work of private English tuition. At the same time, he was meeting his colleagues in cultural seminars. In August 1918 he and a group of his friends left Damascus to join the Arab Revolt for which he composed a national anthem. Early in 1919 he returned to Jerusalem after a short stay in Egypt to resume his activities in the field of education.

Sakakini was another multi-sided man of letters—a linguist, teacher, orator, gifted writer of prose and criticism, and eminent poet, although after the war he stopped writing verse. His role in the modern Arab cultural revival was very important both during this period and later. He recorded in his diaries all the events which affected his life, as well as his views on politics, literature, society, religion and education. Sakakini was an innovator in several fields, and a rebel against old traditions. He revolted against Ottoman totalitarianism; he also rejected Greek authority in the Arab Orthodox church and inflexible ecclesiastical rites. Long before many others, he recognised the danger of the Zionist movement ‘because it tries to construct its existence on the destruction of others.’ He called for national unity and felt contempt for sectarian division. In every way he was ahead of his contemporaries in his awareness of nationhood—he wrote in his diaries ‘it is my duty to endeavour to awaken this depressed nation.’

Sakakini saw schools as the best and most important medium to prepare the new generation. At al-Dusturiyya School, he chose works from Arabic literature that would arouse enthusiasm in the hearts of the students. But on the other hand, Sakakini also displayed a spirit of tolerance which was at the time a prominent characteristic of educated Arabs. He favoured internationalism, seeing in militant nationalism a threat to the welfare of the world. ‘Nationalism’, he wrote, ‘implies morality, enlightenment and orderly behaviour.’

Sakakini’s name was connected to that of Is‘af al-Nashashibi despite their differences in origin, standpoint and opinion. They both concentrated on Arabic and devoted their lives to enhancing it and defending it in the face of biased attack. But their views differed widely. While Nashashibi called for linguistic conservatism and elegance of expression, Sakakini was one of the most eminent supporters of flexibility and tolerance in the technique of writing, for his deep concern was with the priority of content over artificiality, rhetoric and embellishment. Sakakini’s innovatory approach was not a rejection of the heritage of classical Arabic but rather a step on the way to understanding it once again. Sakakini’s opinions did not lead to a break with Nashashibi because it was understood that both stood for the preservation of Arabic in ways that

were both similar and original.

Sakakini enriched Arabic literature both at this period and later by adding to it books, textbooks and essays which greatly profited future generations of Arabs. He, like Nashashibi, had an effect on his contemporaries which was greater than the sum of his books and articles. Apart from his many diverse essays and diaries, two works of the period should be mentioned—*al-Ihtidha bi-hidha’ al-Ghair* (‘Follow an Example of Model’) published in Jerusalem in 1896, and *al-Nahda al-Urthudhuyya fi Filastin* (‘The Orthodox Renaissance in Palestine’) Jerusalem 1913. But the period after 1917 witnessed the production of the majority of Sakakini’s work.

Muhammad Is‘af al-Nashashibi
(b. Jerusalem 1895; d. Cairo 1948)⁹

Muhammad Is‘af was born to a well-known, wealthy family in Jerusalem where he studied first in its primary school (*kuttab*). At the age of twelve, he finished this elementary stage of his education, and his father registered him at the Patriarchal School in Beirut, *al-Dar al-Hikma*, where he stayed for four years. His tutors there were among others Shaikh ‘Abdullah al-Bustani and Shaikh Mustafa al-Ghalaiyini, and one of his contemporaries was Prince Shakib Arslan. There he had his first taste of literature and became infatuated with the Arabic language and the elegance of its vocabulary. He also learned a good deal of French so that he could read newspapers and scientific books in that language.

When he returned to Jerusalem before the proclamation of the constitution, he began to read, to write and to compose poetry. He tried to make contact with the educated classes, most of whom were graduates of foreign schools, but he remained closest to Khalil al-Sakakini. Muhammad Is‘af was deeply attached to literature and this led to a dispute between him and his father, because he refused to invest in his father’s estates.

After 1908 he began to write literary essays for several Jerusalem journals (*al-Asma’i*, *al-Manhal*, *al-Nafa’is*) as well as other Arab literary publications. After Sakakini’s return from America, Nashashibi renewed contact with him and they both wrote as circumstances inspired them.

Muhammad Is‘af greatly admired Badi‘ al-Zaman al-Hamadhani and tried to emulate his style. In the meantime, he devoted himself to reading other masterpieces of classical Arab literature. During the war, he was

⁹ Al-Asad 1958: 59-60; al-‘Awdat 1976: 626-30; Dabbagh 1975: 383-4; Daghir 1955: 84-88; al-Khatib 1990: 364-6; Muhafza 1987: 98; *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 1984, vol. 4: 136-7; al-Sakakini 1955: 381; Yaghi 1968: 350-9; al-Zirikli 1979, vol. 6: 30-1.

appointed a teacher of Arabic at al-Salahiyya College. At the end of it, he turned back to teaching, writing and reading.

Muhammad Is'af devoted his life to two inter-related causes: linguistic revival and moral awakening. He exerted all his efforts to serve both. Although he was a mouthpiece of the higher social class of society and took the more conservative viewpoint, he insisted on the necessity of keeping up with modern progress to a certain degree.

Nashashibi was greatly in love with the Arabic language; he had a vision of Arabic as the leader of all other languages of the world. None of Nashashibi's contemporaries in Palestine defended it with such genuine passion and this coloured his speeches. He had a unique facility with rhetoric and within the Arab world was given the appropriate name *al-Adib al-'Arabiyya* (The Arabic Man of Letters). Sakakini described him as 'the dictionary of *Lisan al-'Arab* who walked on two feet' because of his wide knowledge of the language—a knowledge which was morphological, syntactical and rhetorical. He continued his work into the later period, following a clear trend in technical writing and a tendency to maintain the classical *turath* in an original and effective way. Although his methods did not coincide with those of Sakakini, there is no doubt that literary life profited greatly from the different approaches of both intellectuals.

Nashashibi enriched Arabic literature with various

collections of his work—including speeches, lectures, essays, prefaces and discussions of particular issues—most of which were printed at a later date. Besides his educational production, in his youth he also wrote enthusiastic nationalistic poetry, most of which was published in *al-Nafa'is* from 1908-14. After the onset of war, however, he no longer wrote verse.

His linguistic publications during the period were *Al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya wa su' Haliha* ('The Arabic language: its Bad State') *al-Nafa'is* 1911 and *Amthal Abi Tammam al-Ta'i* ('The Proverbs of Abi Tammam al-Ta'i') and *al-Nafa'is* 1912. Most of his points of view, scattered through his various publications, were collected together in books at a later period. In his book *al-Islam al-Sahih* ('The Genuine Islam'), published in Jerusalem in 1935, he stressed that 'Islam, if truly understood, is capable of solving all problems faced by Muslims today.' In his book *Kalima Mujaza fi Sair al-'Ilm wa Siratuna ma'hu* ('A Brief Word on the Process of Science, and our Story within it') published in Jerusalem in 1921, Nashashibi demonstrated that his understanding of Islam did not prevent him from backing Darwin's theory of evolution, just like Shmeyyil and Antone. Nor did his faith prevent him from supporting Western civilisation in his book *Qalb 'Arabi wa 'Aqil Urupi* ('An Arab Heart and a European Mind'), Jerusalem 1923. As in the case of Sakakini, the effect of Nashashibi as a person on his own generation was far greater than the effect of his written work.

Chapter 3

THE 'ULAMA' OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

Abdul-Karim Rafeq

Jerusalem had a large number of Muslim 'ulama' due to the fact that it is the third most Holy City in Islam and contains important religious monuments and institutions. The Aqsa Mosque, associated with the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad to Heaven, constitutes the nucleus of a religious complex known as the Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary) which encompasses the Mosque (Dome) of the Rock, schools and other religious sites revered by the followers of the three major monotheistic religions. Other religious monuments outside the confines of the Haram also generate much scholarly activity in the city. Scholars from other cities in Palestine and also from nearby Bilad al-Sham (Syria) and Egypt, as well as from more distant regions of the Muslim world, visit Jerusalem throughout the year to see its religious monuments. Many visitors stay in Jerusalem for some time, while others settle there as residents (*nuzala*'), usually in the neighbourhood of religious shrines as *mujawirs*. North Africans (*Maghariba*), for example, had a quarter, a mosque and a *zawiya* (*sufi* retreat) in Jerusalem, all of which carry their name. One of the gates leading to the Haram is also known after them (*Bab al-Maghariba*). Indians and Afghans had their own *zawiyas* which were also used as schools.

Jerusalem's native 'ulama' in turn visited other towns in the Muslim world to study or for other religious purposes, and many of them settled there and were known as *Qudsis* (after al-Quds, Jerusalem). Generations of *Qudsis* thus settled in the major Arab cities, such as Damascus, Cairo, Mecca, Madina and Baghdad. These 'ulama' deserve special study on account of their large numbers and the contributions they made to the culture of the host cities.

Many of the Arab travellers who visited Jerusalem

mention the 'ulama' of the city. 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, for example, who twice visited Jerusalem in 1690 and 1693 (al-Nabulsi 1990), spent most of his time in Jerusalem in the company of 'ulama', notables and *sufis*. The information provided by the Arab travellers about the 'ulama' of Jerusalem is voluminous and diverse. Given the large number of these 'ulama', it would be impossible to list all of them in this short survey or even to find a common denominator which would classify them as upper or lower, eminent or popular, or orthodox or *sufi*. The Medinese traveller Ibrahim al-Khiyari, who paid a short visit to Jerusalem between 9 and 11 December 1670, exaggerates when he says that he failed to find in the Haram al-Sharif a single accomplished 'alim with whom he could converse. He wrote: *wa-fi khilal hadhihi al-mudda wa-ana altamis bi jaddin wa-ijtihadin taliban li'l-'ilm wa-'uhurwi al-isnad 'aliman yashuhu li'l-diraya aw rawiyan tu'khadhu 'anhu al-riwaya fa-a'yani dhalika al-talab wa-akda sa'yi duna an ya'laq bi marami sabab* (al-Khiyari 1969-80, 2: 184). Al-Khiyari's statement should not be taken literally (al-'Asali 1990: 213). The fact that al-Khiyari was a Medinese scholar visiting Jerusalem apparently for the first time, staying in it for less than two days, occupying himself with visits to various religious places, praying and going to a public bath certainly did not give him the opportunity to really look for the accomplished 'ulama' of Jerusalem. Unlike al-Khiyari, later travellers, like 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, Muhammad Khalil al-Bakri al-Siddiqi, who visited Jerusalem in 1710 (al-Siddiqi ms. 6149 Mq 466), and Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi, who made his visit to the city in 1731 (al-Luqaimi ms. 5248), met large numbers of 'ulama' in Jerusalem. The biographical dictionaries written by

Damascene scholars during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, which are dependable, selective and comprehensive, provide us with the names of several eminent '*ulama*' of Jerusalem.

Many of the '*ulama*' of Jerusalem figure among the eminent Muslim '*ulama*' at large (the *a'yan*) who are mentioned in the Damascene biographical dictionaries century after century. Thus, for the 10th Hijri century (16th century AD), there is the biographical dictionary of Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi which is entitled *al-Kawakib al-Sa'ira bi-A'yan al-Mi'a al-'Ashira* (1945-59); for the 11th Hijri century (17th century), there is the biographical work of Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Hadi 'Ashar* (1966); and for the 12th Hijri century (18th century), there is the work of Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi, *Silk al-Durar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Thani 'Ashar* (1966). There are also other works of a biographical or autobiographical nature for the same centuries, chief among which is the biographical dictionary of al-Hasan al-Burini about the notables of the 16th and the early 17th century, which is entitled *Tarajim al-A'yan min Abna' al-Zaman*. Burini hailed from the village of Burin in the region of Nablus from where his parents emigrated to Damascus (al-Burini 1959, 1966: 2).

The only extant biographical dictionary which deals specifically with the notables of Jerusalem in the 12th Hijri century (18th century) is that of Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif, entitled *Tarajim Ahl al-Quds fi 'l-Qarn al-Thani 'Ashar al-Hijri* (1985). Hasan compiled his book at the request of Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi of Damascus for whom he acted as correspondent in Jerusalem, supplying him with the biographies of its notables. Al-Muradi had correspondents in the major Islamic cities to provide him with the biographies of the notables in their locality for his biographical dictionary *Silk al-Durar*. The correspondent for al-Muradi in Egypt, for instance, who was recruited through the intermediary of the linguist Murtada al-Zabidi, was 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, author of the famous Egyptian work *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa'l-*

Akhbar (1879-80). When al-Muradi died before receiving al-Jabarti's notes, the latter, not knowing for whom he was collecting them, used them in writing his work which is part chronicle and part biographical (Rafeq 1985: 103-14).

Al-Muradi does not mention all the notables of Jerusalem who appear in Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif's work *Tarajim Ahl al-Quds*. Out of the thirty-eight biographies mentioned in the latter work, al-Muradi includes only seventeen in *Silk al-Durar*. The remaining twenty-one seem to have been of inferior quality and did not qualify, in the judgement of al-Muradi, to be among the biographies of the eminent notables. In fact, Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif himself acknowledges that he had limited knowledge and expertise in selecting people's biographies (1985: 399).

Viewed from Damascus within the broad context of the biographies of the eminent notables in the Muslim world at large, only those '*ulama*' of Jerusalem who qualify to be among those notables are mentioned in the Damascene biographical dictionaries. '*Ulama*' of modest qualifications, who did not make it into the lists of the eminent '*ulama*', are thus excluded even though they might have occupied prestigious religious positions, perhaps undeservedly, and were respected by their communities. By surveying the '*ulama*' of Jerusalem in the Damascene biographical dictionaries during the first three centuries of Ottoman rule, their eminence in the context of the Muslim world at large can thus be established.

The biographical dictionaries provide information about the schools of law to which these '*ulama*' belonged, their teachers and the places where they studied, the *sufi tariqas* (orders) to which they belonged, the diplomas they obtained, the positions they occupied, the cities where they established themselves, the journeys they made, the works they wrote, their birth and death dates and their children.

The number of the eminent '*ulama*' given in the biographical dictionaries for Jerusalem far exceeds the number of '*ulama*' of any other Palestinian town during the same period. In fact, the '*ulama*' of Jerusalem outnumber

Table 3.1. The number of '*ulama*' in Palestinian towns (10th-12th centuries AH/16th-18th centuries AD)*

Century	Jerusalem	Safad	Nablus	Khalil	Ramla	Gaza	Total
10th Hijri/ 16th AD	31 (50.82)	12 (19.67)	5 (8.20)	6 (9.83)	4 (6.56)	3 (4.92)	61 (100.00)
11th Hijri/ 17th AD	37 (55.22)	8 (11.94)	6 (8.96)	2 (2.99)	5 (7.46)	9 (13.43)	67 (100.00)
12th Hijri/ 18th AD	27 (45.76)	1 (1.69)	25 (42.37)	3 (5.09)	-	3 (5.09)	59 (100.00)
Total	95 (50.80)	21 (11.23)	36 (19.26)	11 (5.88)	9 (4.81)	15 (8.2)	187 (100.00)

* This table is based on biographical data from the dictionaries of al-Ghazzi, al-Muhibbi and al-Muradi.

the 'ulama' in all the other Palestinian towns taken together. Table 3.1 shows their numbers.

The 'ulama' of Jerusalem thus constitute the overall majority of the 'ulama' of Palestine in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries taken all together. They amount to 50.80 per cent of the total. Their majority, however, diminishes sharply—though it is narrowly maintained—in the 18th century in favour of Nablus. The large number of eminent 'ulama' from Jerusalem is to be explained by the abundance of religious monuments and institutions and the positions attached to them, as well as the establishment of visiting scholars in Jerusalem. The growing number of 'ulama' of Nablus in the 18th century, which comes close to that of Jerusalem, is paralleled by a decrease in the number of the 'ulama' of Safad. It could be that Nablus attracted some of the 'ulama' of that turbulent city. Under the rule of the semi-autonomous chieftain Zahir al-'Umar al-Zaidani who governed Safad, Acre and Upper Galilee

for the greater part of the 18th century, Safad in particular suffered not only from the attacks of the governors of Damascus against Zahir, but also from revolts of Zahir's sons against their father and from the invasion of Syria in the early 1770s by the Mamluk troops of 'Ali Beg of Egypt who was in alliance with Zahir. Zahir was eventually killed in 1775 and his petty amirate, as well as his Zaidani dynasty, came to an end. Nablus, by comparison, was more secure under Ottoman rule. Moreover, the Hanbali 'ulama' of Nablus seem to have increased in importance at the time, as indicated by their larger number among the eminent 'ulama' of the 18th century.

The majority *madhhab* in Syria, including Palestine, in the pre-Ottoman period was the Shafi'i *madhhab*. This was also the case in Egypt. No one *madhhab* was singled out in the pre-Ottoman period as the official *madhhab* of the state. The Ottomans, however, adopted the Hanafi *madhhab* as the official one of the state, but they

Table 3.2 The schools of law of the eminent 'ulama' of Jerusalem† (10th–12th/16th–18th centuries)

Century	Hanafi no %	Shafi'i no %	Hanbali no %	Maliki no %	Unknown no %	Total no
10th/16th	3 (9.68)	19 (61.29)	1 (3.23)	-	8 (25.80)	31
11th/17th	11 (29.73)	9 (24.32)	-	-	17 (45.95)	37
12th/18th	14 (51.85)	5 (18.52)	-	1 (3.70)	7 (25.93)	27
Total	28 (29.47)	33 (34.74)	1 (1.05)	1 (1.05)	32 (33.69)	95

Table 3.3 The *madhahib* of the eminent 'ulama' in other Palestinian towns

	Safad	Nablus	Khalil	Ramla	Gaza	Total	%
10th/16th Century							
Eminent 'ulama'							
Hanafi	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Shafi'i	9	3	4	3	2	21	70.00
Hanbali	-	2	-	-	-	2	6.67
Maliki	-	-	-	-	1	1	3.33
Unknown	3	-	2	1	-	6	20.00
Total	12	5	6	4	3	30	100.00
11th/17th Century							
Hanafi	4	-	-	4	5	13	43.33
Shafi'i	4	1	1	-	2	8	26.67
Hanbali	-	4	-	-	-	4	13.33
Maliki	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Unknown	-	1	1	1	2	5	16.67
Total	8	6	2	5	9	30	100.00
12th/18th Century							
Hanafi	-	7	-	-	-	7	22.58
Shafi'i	-	9	3	-	3	15	48.39
Hanbali	-	6	-	-	-	6	19.35
Maliki	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Unknown	1	3	-	-	-	3	9.68
Total	1	25	3	-	3	31	100.00

† This table is based on data from the same dictionaries.

allowed the other *madhhabs* to function, albeit in a subordinate fashion, because in many matters their rulings had to be legalised by the chief Ottoman Hanafi judge. The majority of the eminent '*ulama*' of Jerusalem in the 10th/16th century belonged to the Shafi'i *madhhab* as indicated in the biographical dictionary of Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi. With the coming of the Ottomans, a number of '*ulama*' in Syria, as in other places, began to shift to the Hanafi *madhhab* either in order to retain judicial positions they already occupied or to obtain new ones. Partly because of this shift and partly because of the growing prominence of the Hanafi *madhhab* under the Ottomans, the majority of the eminent '*ulama*' of Jerusalem in the 11th/17th century were Hanafis. The Hanafi '*ulama*' became even more numerous in Jerusalem in the 12th/18th century, which indicates the establishment of the Hanafi *madhhab* as the majority one among the '*ulama*' of Jerusalem. Table 3.2, which is based on the dictionaries of Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi and Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi, indicates how the prominence of the Shafi'i '*ulama*' in Jerusalem in the 10th/16th century changed in favour of the Hanafi '*ulama*' in the following two centuries.

Compared to other towns in Palestine, where the Shafi'i '*ulama*' remained comparatively a majority, the increasing number of Hanafi '*ulama*' in Jerusalem indicates the close relationship the city had with the Ottoman religious establishment. Table 3.3 shows the affiliation of the eminent '*ulama*' in the other Palestinian towns.

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 indicate that the eminent Hanafi '*ulama*' in the towns of Nablus, Safad, Khalil, Ramla and Gaza had increased from 0 per cent in the 16th century to 43.33 per cent in the 17th century, but they fall back to 22.58 per cent in the 18th century. The eminent Hanafi '*ulama*' in Jerusalem, by comparison, increased steadily throughout the three centuries in the following proportions: 9.68, 29.73 and 51.85 per cent respectively. The eminent Shafi'i '*ulama*' in the other towns remain, as a whole, more numerous than their colleagues in Jerusalem. Their proportions in those towns during the three centuries are 70, 26.67 and 48.39 per cent respectively. In Jerusalem the percentage of '*ulama*' that are Shafi'i declines sharply from 61.29 in the 16th century to 24.32 in the 17th and then to 18.52 per cent in the 18th century. This variation in the percentages of the eminent Shafi'i '*ulama*' in Jerusalem and the other Palestinian towns indicates that the Shafi'is in those towns did not have the high number of Hanafi positions to occupy as in Jerusalem, hence they were not tempted to curry favour with the Ottomans and shift to the Hanafi *madhhab*. In Jerusalem itself, not all the eminent Shafi'i '*ulama*' shifted to the Hanafi *madhhab*. Several positions in mosques, courts and schools had been specifically assigned to the Shafi'is by the wish of the founders of these institutions.

The senior teaching position in the Salahiyya School in Jerusalem (established by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi after he had regained control of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187), for instance, was to be given to the most learned Arab Shafi'i '*alim*'. Shaikh Ishaq ibn 'Umar Abi 'l-Lutf al-Maqdisi al-Shafi'i was appointed to this position in the 17th century (*wulliya tadrīs al-madrasa al-Salahiyya bi'l-Quds wa hiya mashruta li 'alam 'ulama' al-Shafi'iyya fi diyar al-'Arab*). Shaikh Ishaq's father, 'Umar, was a Hanafi *mufti* in Jerusalem and taught in the 'Uthmaniyya Madrasa in the city. His son, Shaikh Ishaq, shifted to the Shafi'i *madhhab* 'of his ancestors' (*wa ibnuhu hadha tahawwala ila madhhab ajdadihi*) (al-Muhibbi 1966, 1: 394). Shifting from one *madhhab* to another within the same family, or even having children of whom each one was affiliated to a different *madhhab*, was not uncommon in Jerusalem and indeed in other places (al-Muhibbi 1966, 3: 110).

By examining the overall numbers of the eminent Hanafi and Shafi'i '*ulama*' in Palestine as a whole, one finds that during the first three centuries of Ottoman rule the Shafi'i '*ulama*' in the various towns, excluding Jerusalem, number forty-four out of a total of ninety-one, the percentage being 48.35, while the Hanafi '*ulama*' number twenty, the percentage being 21.97. In Jerusalem, the number of the Hanafi '*ulama*' during these three centuries is twenty-eight out of ninety-five, the percentage being 29.47. The Shafi'i '*ulama*' number thirty-three, the percentage being 34.74. Thus the overall number of the Shafi'i '*ulama*' in Jerusalem remains the greater.

In the other Palestinian towns during these three centuries, Nablus had thirty-six eminent '*ulama*' out of a total of ninety-one, the percentage being 34.06. Twelve of the '*ulama*' of Nablus were Hanbalis, comprising 48 per cent of the total number. No other town had any eminent Hanbali '*ulama*' with the exception of Jerusalem, which had one eminent Hanbali '*alim*' in the 16th century. Safad ranks second after Nablus in the number of its '*ulama*'. It had twenty-one '*ulama*' (23.07 per cent of the total '*ulama*' of the five towns in the tables excluding Jerusalem). Gaza comes next with fifteen '*ulama*' (16.48 per cent), followed by Khalil (Hebron) with eleven '*ulama*' (12.08 per cent), and Ramla with nine '*ulama*' (9.89 per cent). Jerusalem, in the final analysis, had an overall number of ninety-five '*ulama*' during these three centuries compared to ninety-one '*ulama*' for the other five Palestinian towns. This indicates the prominence of Jerusalem in the number of its '*ulama*' and the positions they occupied.

According to the Damascene biographical dictionaries, the eminent '*ulama*' of Jerusalem from the different *madhahib* went more to Cairo than to any other place to study. The dictionaries do not, however, give the places of study for all the eminent '*ulama*'. The following Table 3.4 shows the preferred places of study of the '*ulama*' of Jerusalem outside their city, where these are available.

Table 3.4. Places of study of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem

Century	Cairo		Damascus		Istanbul		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.
10th/16th	4	80.00	1	20.00	-	-	5
11th/17th	17	62.96	3	11.11	7	25.93	27
12th/18th	6	33.33	4	22.22	8	44.45	18
Total	27	54.00	8	16.00	15	30.00	50

The table clearly shows that Cairo attracted the largest number of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem, especially because of the presence of the Azhar Mosque university. Istanbul ranked second, followed by Damascus. It is significant, however, that it is only in the 17th and the 18th centuries that the eminent 'ulama' of Jerusalem went to Istanbul to study. There they attended the prestigious religious schools established by the Ottoman sultans. Upon graduation, they were appointed as teachers, judges and *muftis* throughout the empire.

The biographical dictionaries of Damascus also mention the religious position or positions held by some of the 'ulama' in Jerusalem. Such information, however, is not available for all the 'ulama' of Jerusalem. The following table (3.5) is based upon information provided by the biographical dictionaries.

The eminent 'ulama' of Jerusalem were more involved in the majority of the religious positions in their city in the 17th than in any other century. Out of a total number of eighty-six religious positions identified over the three centuries in question, 47.67 percent occur in the 17th century. When the Ottoman administration was at the peak of its efficiency in the 16th century, more Ottoman officials were sent from Istanbul to take charge of religious positions in Jerusalem and elsewhere. In the 17th century, however, more local 'ulama' trained in the religious professions were in a position to be appointed to these positions. When corruption infiltrated the Ottoman administration in the 18th century, the professional quality of the occupants of religious positions declined. The number of eminent 'ulama' likewise diminished. This is evident in the case of

Jerusalem. The total number of its eminent 'ulama', which rose from thirty-one in the 16th century to thirty-seven in the 17th century, diminished to only twenty-seven in the 18th century.

The declining number of Jerusalem's eminent 'ulama' in the 18th century is paralleled by the declining number of those of them who resided outside Palestine in the same century. Table 3.6 shows the places of residence of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem outside Palestine in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

Despite the fact that most of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem had studied in Cairo, the majority of them preferred to reside in Damascus, which is closer to Jerusalem and had the famous Umayyad Mosque and a variety of schools catering for the different *madhhabs*. Damascus was also the meeting-place for thousands of pilgrims who assembled there every year to join the pilgrims' caravan to the Hijaz. Scholarly contacts occurred on this occasion between the resident 'ulama' and the visiting 'ulama' among the pilgrims. Historically also, as explained above, many 'ulama' from Jerusalem established themselves in Damascus, where they were referred to as *Qudsis*. Over time, more Qudsi 'ulama' lived outside Jerusalem than inside it.

Viewed from Damascus within the context of the eminent 'ulama' of the Muslim world at large, very few of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem attained scholarly prominence. None of them, for example, attained the scholarly stature of the famous Hanafi *mufti* of Ramla, Khair al-Din al-Ramli (993-1081/1585-1671), who studied Hanafi law at the Azhar in Cairo and became an acknowledged authority in jurisprudence.³

The 'ulama' of Jerusalem may be divided into three groups: those who originated in the city and achieved

³ For the biography of Khair al-Din al-Ramli, see Muhibbi 1966, 2: 134-9. For a study of his career and work, see Ihsan 'Abbas 1979: part 2, vol. 6, no. 3, 49-71; also Samir Seikaly 1984: 397-408.

Table 3.5. Religious positions occupied by the 'ulama' of Jerusalem in Jerusalem

Century	<i>Mufti</i>	<i>Qadi</i>	<i>Mudarris</i>	<i>Imam</i>	<i>Khatib</i>	Total
10th/16th	4	3	4	4	4	19
11th/17th	13	6	17	4	1	41
12th/18th	10	2	5	4	5	26
Total	27 (31.40)	11 (12.79)	26 (30.23)	12 (13.95)	10 (11.63)	86

Table 3.6. Place of Residence of the 'ulama' of Jerusalem outside Palestine

Century	Cairo	Damascus	Hijaz	Istanbul	Baghdad	Total
10th/16th	2	12	1	-	-	15
11th/17th	1	9	1	1	-	12
12th/18th	1	1	-	3	1	6
Total	4 (12.12)	22 (66.67)	2 (6.06)	4 (12.12)	1 (3.03)	33

religious prominence there, those who were of alien origin, emigrated to Jerusalem and established themselves there, and those who emigrated from Jerusalem and settled elsewhere. A representative of each group will be discussed here.

Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahim al-Qudsi (d.16 Rabi' I 1141/20 October 1728), known also as al-Lutfi after the title Abi 'l-Lutf by which his ancestors were known (Bait Abi 'l-Lutf), represents the first group. He was described by the Damascene biographer al-Muradi as the most learned of the Hanafis of his time (*afqah al-Hanafiyya*). Sayyid Muhammad is one of the few 'ulama' of Jerusalem whose life features in the biographical dictionaries of both Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini (1985: 197-203) and Khalil al-Muradi (1966, 4: 52). The fact that al-Muradi agreed with Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif, his correspondent in Jerusalem, about this particular 'alim, to the exclusion of many others, indicates that Sayyid Muhammad fits into the category of the eminent 'ulama' noted in *Silk al-Durar*. This was not so, for instance, with Shaikh Najm al-Din, son of the famous Hanafi *mufti* of Ramla, Khair al-Din al-Ramli, who became Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem and was included by Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif among his notables (al-Latif 1985: 288-9). Al-Muradi chose not to mention him in *Silk al-Durar* apparently because he did not measure up to the other eminent 'ulama' that were included in the dictionary.

Sayyid Muhammad al-Qudsi, who was a Sharif descended from the Prophet, became Hanafi *mufti* in Jerusalem in place of his father, who died on a visit to Istanbul. The father, Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahim (1037-1104/1627-92), had studied in Egypt and became Hanafi *mufti* in Jerusalem. The son, Sayyid Muhammad, collected his father's juridical opinions in a big volume entitled *al-Fatawa al-Rahimiyya fi Waqi'at al-Sada al-Hanafiyya*. According to his two biographers, Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif and al-Muradi, Sayyid Muhammad measured up to the responsibilities of his office and challenged the administrators of customary law (*hukkam al-'urf*) who were active in Palestine's nomadic and factional society. He collected his juridical opinions in a work in which he included his name in the title, *al-Fatawa al-Muhammadiyya fi Sahih Aqwal 'Ulama' al-Hanafiyya*. Sayyid Muhammad died in Jerusalem and was buried in the cemetery of Bab al-Rahma. Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif, unlike al-Muradi, includes in the biography of Sayyid Muhammad much poetry by his contemporaries praising him for his character, scholarship and effectiveness as Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem.

Muhammad al-Taflati al-Maghribi (d.? 1191/1777) is an example of the second group of Jerusalemite 'ulama' who originated elsewhere, emigrated to Jerusalem and attained a high position in the Ottoman religious establishment there. Taflati is mentioned in the

biographical dictionaries of both Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif and al-Muradi (al-Latif 1985: 267-85; al-Muradi 1966, 4: 102-8), which indicates his eminence as a notable 'alim in Jerusalem. Born in al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (Morocco), Muhammad al-Taflati memorised the Qur'an at the age of eight, moved to Tarablus al-Gharb (Tripolitania) and from there headed toward Cairo where he studied in the Azhar Mosque for two years and eight months. At the age of nineteen, upon returning by sea to visit his mother in the Maghrib, he was captured by Frankish pirates and taken to Malta where he stayed for about two years and engaged in discussing controversial religious issues with Christian monks. Taflati does not say how he escaped from Malta. He went from there to Egypt, visited the Hijaz several times, went to the Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Basra, Aleppo, and Damascus and also went to Rum (Istanbul). He then settled in Jerusalem (Bait al-Maqdis) where he got married in 1172/1758-9.

Taflati began his career in Jerusalem by teaching in the Dome of the Rock within the Haram. His attitude toward the local Ottoman authorities, represented by the governors of Damascus, was somewhat mixed. Initially he kept apart from the governor and from officials, but later on he sought their help for personal favours, which brought him much criticism. His shift from the Maliki *madhhab* to the Hanafi *madhhab* also earned him the enmity of many of his erstwhile followers. Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif says that Taflati sought, while in Rum, the office of Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem which was duly offered to him (al-Latif 1985: 268). Al-Muradi, however, says that he accepted his appointment as *mufti* of Jerusalem with much reluctance (*ja'atni al-futya wa ana laha karih*) (al-Muradi 1966, 4: 104-5). He was however deposed several times from this high office.

As a high religious dignitary and Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem, Taflati is reported to have met the Egyptian Mamluk Amir Muhammad Beg Abu 'l-Dhahab in Ramla in June 1771. After occupying Damascus in early June of that year, Abu 'l-Dhahab decided to withdraw, contrary to the instructions of his Mamluk master in Egypt, 'Ali Beg, who had ordered the attack on Syria. The meeting between Taflati and Abu 'l-Dhahab is significant because Taflati was apparently acting as intermediary between Istanbul and Abu 'l-Dhahab, who eventually disavowed his allegiance to 'Ali Beg and later killed him. Istanbul recompensed Abu 'l-Dhahab by appointing him governor of Egypt (for details see Rafeq 1970: 276-7).

Taflati was also a poet. His poetic activity is reported by both Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif and al-Muradi. He died in Jerusalem in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1191/December 1777 according to al-Muradi. Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif mentions that he died in 1192/1778. He was buried in the cemetery of Ma'man Allah (Mamilla) among the righteous people (*al-salihin*) (al-Latif 1985: 268).

One representative of the third group of 'ulama'—those who originated in Jerusalem but established themselves elsewhere and achieved prominence there—is 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Qudsi (al-Ghazzi 1945-59, 2: 191-3). Born in Jerusalem in mid-Jumada I 856/early June 1452, 'Ali ibn Muhammad was a Shafi'i scholar who studied first in Jerusalem with distinguished 'ulama', then went to Egypt where he continued his education in jurisprudence and Hadith. Later he resided in Damascus as *nazil* (in residence) and eventually made the city his home (*istawtana*). He attended the classes of the top 'ulama' in the city. Of the schools he attended in Damascus, only al-Shamiyya al-Barraniyya is singled out by his biographer Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi who, like him, was a Shafi'i. Al-Shamiyya al-Barraniyya was the main Shafi'i school in Damascus.

'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Qudsi later went to Mecca where he stayed in the neighbourhood (*jawara*) of its religious monuments. He attended the lectures of the distinguished chief Shafi'i judge Shaikh al-Islam ibn Zahira. He married in Mecca and had children. He then came back to Damascus with his family and became a teacher in the Umayyad Mosque, where he was assigned a distinguished spot bordering the tomb of Yahya (Saint John). Besides teaching and copying manuscripts, he wrote a book entitled *Marr al-Nasim fi Fawa'id al-Taqsim*.

Shaikh 'Ali al-Qudsi witnessed the first decade of Ottoman rule in Syria. He died in Damascus on 15 Safar 934/11 October 1527. Like other Syrian 'ulama' who were critical of the innovations in the legal system introduced by the Ottomans at the time, he was extremely unhappy with the imposition by the Ottoman chief Hanafi judge in Damascus of fees for drawing up marriage contracts. The fees—referred to as *resm-i 'arus*—were incorporated in the Ottoman Code of Laws, the *Qanun-name*, and were applied throughout the empire. Shaikh 'Ali considered this innovation as *fitna* (civil strife) in Islam. Because of his excessive anger at the introduction of the fees, he 'vomited blood', according to his biographer Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi (2: 193). In Egypt, the 'ulama' of al-Azhar also protested at

the imposition of marriage fees and the people went on strike, neither marrying nor divorcing (Rafeq 1994: 9-32).

The religious eminence of Shaikh 'Ali al-Qudsi, coupled with his daring criticism of the Ottoman authorities when the empire was at the peak of its glory under Sultans Selim I and Sulaiman the Magnificent, as well as his upholding of Arab-Islamic traditions against breaches made in them by Ottoman law, earned him the respect of the Damascenes. When he died, the people twice prayed for him: in his popular locality of Midan al-Hasa, a southern suburb of Damascus, and then in the large Mosque of al-Musalla (Musalla al-'Idain), in the lower Midan known as Bab al-Musalla. This mosque was usually reserved for the prayer of the Two Feasts and for the prayer for rain (*salat al-istisqa*), because it accommodates large numbers of worshippers. He was buried in the historical cemetery of Bab al-Saghir next to the tomb of the Caliph Mu'awiya, the founder of the Umayyad caliphate, which again underlines his popularity and importance (al-Ghazzi 1945-59, 2: 193).

The large number of religious institutions in Jerusalem, notably mosques, schools and *zawiyas*, ensured that scholarly activity was continuous. When Evliya Çelebi visited Jerusalem in 1672, he mentioned in his travel account (*Seyahatname*) that the city 'has two hundred and forty *mihrabs* (prayer niches), seven schools for the teaching of Hadith (Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad), ten for teaching the Qur'an, forty *madrasas*, and *zawiyas* for seventy *sufi* orders' (al-'Asali 1990: 211). The decay that afflicted many of these religious institutions, especially the *madrasas*, in the 18th century, largely because of the abuse and misuse of the endowments (*waqfs*) allocated to them, eventually affected scholarly activity in the city (al-'Asali 1990: 218). This situation occurred in other places as well. In mid-19th century Gaza, for example, many streets still carried the names of mosques which no longer existed there (Rafeq 1985). Damascus also witnessed similar irregularities (Rafeq 1992; see also Badran 1379/1960: 53, 145). Religious scholarly activity suffered as a result.

Chapter 4

THE PLACE OF JERUSALEM IN OTTOMAN PERCEPTION*

Klaus Kreiser

The limited significance of Jerusalem in the Ottoman administration and the restricted importance of the city as a centre of Muslim learning and pilgrimage have been underlined several times (de Jong 1983: 173). The aim of this contribution is to provide further evidence for the place of Jerusalem in the Ottoman empire. Three subjects—the pilgrimage, the *‘ilmiyye*-hierarchy and the case of the *Mevlevi-khane*—will be studied in more detail for the period between the middle of the 16th and the beginning of the 18th centuries.

As a holy place Jerusalem occupied an intermediate position between the great sanctuaries of the Hijaz (Mecca and Madina) and the pilgrimage towns in Iraq (‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, Kazimain, and Karbala) and Anatolia (Seyyid Ghazi and Konya). But several of the less prominent sanctuaries were restored by Ottoman rulers, such as the Sultan Hasan Mosque in Tabriz or the grave site of the head of Shams-i Tabrizi in Khuy (Jelal-Zade 1981: fol. 274a, 275b).

In recounting the building activities of Ottoman rulers, the chronicles do not always mention Jerusalem. A case in point is the popular *Ta’rikh-i Nishanji Mehmed Pasha* completed in the last years of Sulaiman I. References to Jerusalem in the works of the imperial historians before Jevdet Pasha (covering the period between 1774 and 1826) are also not very frequent. The revolt of a local *naqib* in 1118/1706 or the sending of an official for the ‘renovation

of the Mesjid-i Aqsa’ in 1133/1720-21 are events worth mentioning for Rashid (1741 II: 40a; III: 70b).

The name of Jerusalem is sometimes included as part of the titles of Sulaiman Qanuni. In a document of 1565 the sultan is called: ‘Lord of the fortunate conjunction, of the divinely protected dominions of the Ottomans, Persians and Arabs / Owner of the esteemed Ka’ba, Madina the illuminated and Jerusalem the holy’ (*Sahib-qiran-i memalik-i Rum ve ‘Ajam ve ‘Arab / Ka’be-i mu’azzama ve Medine-i münevvere ve Quds-i sherif*), but this detail must not be overestimated since the constituent formulae of imperial titulature were still in a state of flux in this period (Fekete 1926: *passim*). In other words, I do not think that it reflects a ‘consciousness of Jerusalem’s status as the third holiest city’ (Imber 1995: 149 n. 31). Equally, the preference for Arabic as a language for the inscriptions of Jerusalem cannot be claimed as a glorification of ‘arabicité’ (pace Raymond 1992: 374), since inscriptions in the eastern part of the Ottoman realm in the era of Sulaiman were without exception (as far as I can see) in Arabic (to say nothing of the use of Arabic for inscriptions in regions far to the west, such as Hungary and Albania).

The Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: permitted or prohibited?

The Syrian pilgrim road to Mecca did not take in Jerusalem. It is well known that the caravan moved southward after mustering in Damascus, leaving Jerusalem to its right (Faroqhi 1990). But one may ask if the hospices

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endowed in Jerusalem in the middle of the 10th/16th century were destined exclusively for pilgrims to that city. This question is particularly relevant to the function of Ribat of Bairam Jawish (947/1540-1) and the Takiyya of Khassaki Sultan (before 959/1552) (Meinecke 1988).

Surprisingly, no ruling member of the Ottoman dynasty entered the Holy City after Selim I (1512-20), who performed his prayers in Jerusalem after the victory of Khan Yunus and the conquest of Egypt (Speiser 1946: 59). But there are two independent sources which deal with Sulaiman the Magnificent's intention to go to the Holy City.

(1) A letter of the imperial residence in Constantinople dated 23 December 1548 refers to a rumour, then rife in the Ottoman capital. According to the report, the sultan spent some time in the vicinity of Aleppo after the unsuccessful Persian campaign: '*Da pochi giorni in qua se dice che Sua Alteza andarà fin in Hierusalem a spasso*' (Nehring 1995: 336). Some weeks later, the envoy writes to Vienna (26 January 1549), that the sultan 'went to/in the direction of Jerusalem' for hunting: '*anchora che io ho inteso che el Sig.or Turcho si è andato verso Hierusalem alla caza (caccia); però che ha So (Sua) Alteza de ritornar in breve in Alepo*' (Nehring 1995: 345).

(2) The chronicle of Jelal-Zade Mustafa, *Tabaqat ül-Memalik ve Derejat ül-Mesalik*, is a comprehensive historical panorama with many accounts of victories (*fethname*) during the greatest part of the rule (1520-1557) of Sulaiman Qanuni. Describing the Baghdad campaign of 1553/4 Jelal notes that the sultan during the period had his winter quarters in Aleppo and that he wished to visit the 'Third of the sacred cities (*Thalisü'l-Harameyn*)' with the Masjid al-Aqsa. However the necessities of the campaign blocked the fulfilment of this 'happiness' (*sa'adet*) (Jelal-Zadeh 1981: fol. 445a).

One may speculate whether non-military considerations prevented Sulaiman from seeing the sanctuaries of Jerusalem (and the completion of Khürrem Sultan's foundation), although the distance from Aleppo should not be underestimated. In the period of Sulaiman the spiritual rank of Jerusalem was still important, but it was not undisputed. The renowned Turkish theologian Mehmed Birgiwi (d. 981/1573) in a popular pamphlet addresses the question of the 'two' directions of prayer (1281 AH: 26-33). He calls it a great blasphemy (*küfür*) to mention the *qibla* of Jerusalem without making clear that it is the *previous* direction of prayer. Birgiwi follows here the famous Ibn Taimiyya (1263-1328) who came out openly against the idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam, which, he said, 'distorted its original stature' (Matthews 1936: 1-21; Sivan 1967: 149-182; Perlmann 1973: 251-

293). Birgiwi's *risale* was written in the later years of Sulaiman's rule (c. 1563) and reflects the thinking of many learned and pious contemporaries (Mandaville 1979: 514-524; Yüksel 1992: 191-194). Ibn Taimiyya says also that going to Jerusalem during the period of pilgrimage to Mecca (namely in Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da and the first nine days of Dhu'l-Hijja) is objectionable (*makruh*). When Sulaiman passed the winter in Aleppo, the beginning of the pilgrimage season coincided with 9 October. In other words, a visit to Jerusalem by the ruler could have been looked upon with horror by the religious establishment.

Since the overwhelming majority of Ottoman subjects who performed the journey to Mecca did not pass by Jerusalem, the number of Ottoman pilgrimage or travel reports on Jerusalem is extremely low. Only in the late 17th century do we have two important testimonies by Ottoman authors. Evliya Çelebi (d. after 1683), the famous professional traveller, spent ten days in Jerusalem (Ramadan 1082/January 1672) before he joined the pilgrimage caravan in Damascus (Dankoff/Kreiser 1992: index). Among the limited number of published Ottoman pilgrimage reports only a small but substantial *Tuhfetü 'l-Harameyn*, written by Yusuf Nabi (1642/43-1712) a few years after his journey which was undertaken in 1678, contains some pages on Jerusalem. Yusuf Nabi's chapter on Jerusalem is the result of a three-day stay in the Holy City (Nabi 1265/1848). Other 17th-century Ottoman pilgrims who have left reports, such as 'Abdurrahman Hibri (1603/4-1676), whose *Menasik-i Mesalik* deals with the pilgrimage season of 1041/1632, and a certain Mehmed Edib (transl. Bianchi 1825), who travelled in 1682, do not mention Jerusalem at all.

Without considering the large number of Ottoman *haji*-guides, printed and in manuscript, it is impossible to describe definitively the place which Jerusalem occupied for pilgrims. At least one lithographed booklet contains an annex for Jerusalem: *Menasik-i Quds-i sherif* (Özege Nr.13124: without date?).

There are rare examples of Ottoman intellectuals who settled in Jerusalem for a longer period without the intention of pursuing a formal career there. The scholar and poet 'Ismet Hajji Mehmed Efendi (d. 1160/1747) is one of these exceptions. Aywanserayi (1975: 359) says that he took up residence in the vicinity of the sacred places of Jerusalem (*müjaweret*) after his return from Mecca.

The great *mullas* of Ottoman times: exiled or promoted?

Although the continual patronage of the Ottoman rulers in the Haram district proves that Jerusalem had an extraordinary place in the hierarchy of cities and towns, the

rank of the *qadi* of Jerusalem in Sulaiman's time was no higher than that of most other provincial positions. Jerusalem did not harbour a single Ottoman *medrese* within its walls (Gibb/Bowen 1957: 155; Baltacı 1976: index).

The first *qadi* of Jerusalem after the Ottoman occupation is called Akhfesh-Zade by Evliya Çelebi (> Ibn Akhfash?). He is not mentioned in the earliest biographical dictionaries of the Ottoman 'ulema because their authors do not condescend to register simple provincial judges unless they made a later career in the capital. In the time between 1516 and the first years of Murad III (who acceded to the throne in 1574) the *mullas* seem to have accepted (rarely enough) the offices of *qadi* in Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo or Baghdad, but not the lower-ranking position in Jerusalem. 'Ali Miniq's appendix to Tashköprü-Zade's *Shaq'a'iq* (transl. Rescher 109) and 'Ata'i (236-7) both give the name of the first *mevleviyyet* incumbent of Jerusalem, Mulla Muhammad/Mehmed ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (Rajab 983/October-November 1575). He was called Mu'id-Zade since he was born, in Elbistan, as the son of a *medrese* tutor. After he had finished the usual curriculum, he entered upon the higher career path of the *'ilmiyye* system. His last positions before his appointment to Jerusalem were as professor of the Darü'l-Hadith in Edirne and as professor in the *medrese* of Sultan Sulaiman in Damascus (where he also held the office of *mufti*). His salary increased from 60 *aqçe* in Edirne to 80 in Damascus and 500 in Jerusalem. He died in Dhu'l-Qa'da 983/February 1576 before he was able to convene the first hearing in his law-court at Jerusalem. His successor was a well-known personality, Ahmed Çelebi, who was also called 'Mazlum Melek' (Jumada I 989/1581). This former tutor of the sons of Selim II was entrusted successively with the *qadliqs* of Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina ('Ali Miniq 123; 'Ata'i 263).

Nominations to Jerusalem were not considered as prestigious at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. 'Ata'i (455) has left us the information that the office of the *qadi* of Jerusalem was not in demand by the haughty professors of the *medreses* attached to the mosque of Fatih in Istanbul (*Quds-i sherif qadasına Sahn müderrisleri ragbet etmez*). Hasan Kefevi (appointed in Sha'ban 1007/1599) apologises, saying that he accepted the position in order to 'cleanse his sins with the pure earth and to clarify his dirty heart with the soil of the Holy Valley.'

The promotion of the *qadiliq* of Jerusalem to so-called *mahrej mevleviyyeti* ('going-out places') had the theoretical consequence that its incumbents were qualified for the highest position in the juridical administration of *bilad-i erba'a* (the four 'old residences' Bursa, Edirne, Damascus, Cairo). On the other hand, according to a description in 1095/1684 of a certain Mehmed ibn 'Osman (Uzunçarsılı 1965: 273-6) 'ulema with the rank of *Meharij-i Süleymaniyye* could be promoted to the *qadiliqs* of

Damascus, Aleppo, Yeñişehir (Larissa), Saloniki or Jerusalem. On the other hand, according to a description in 1095/1684 former judges of Medusa or Jerusalem had the right to become *qadi* of Damascus or Bursa. In the 18th century the rank of the *mevleviyyet* of Jerusalem (Uzunçarsılı 1965: 277) was the highest after the two *qadi-askerliks*, the *qadi* of Istanbul and the *qadis* of the four 'old residences'.

Both published and unpublished material on *'ilmiyye* careers allows a preliminary comparison between the earlier period (980-1042/1572-1632) (Baltacı 1976) and the 107 years between 1032-1142/1622-1729. In the first period we have a number of *qadis* who served as *müderres* in Istanbul or provincial colleges. An important percentage had taught in Edirne and Bursa. A frequent pattern is the sequence Yeñişehir > Jerusalem > Madina. After their term of office in Jerusalem many occupied even higher *mevleviyyet*-ranks. A certain Mehmed Efendi Samsuni-Zade (d. 998/1589-90) exceptionally held the office of *qadi* twice. He intensified his relationship with Jerusalem with a number of (unspecified) pious foundations ('*müberra*t'; see 'Ata'i 312-13). But there were others who preferred dismissal to being sent to Jerusalem.

During the second period altogether one hundred and one *qadis* of Jerusalem were recruited from *müderres* positions in Istanbul alone (sixty-six appointments). There were no nominations from the 'old residences', let alone provincial towns. Twenty-eight of the sixty-six ex-*müderres* had occupied chairs at the Süleymaniyye *medreses*, nine more came from the highest-ranking *medrese*, the Darü'l-hadith-i Süleymaniyye, whose professors held the title '*Kibar-i müderresin*' (distinguished professor). The others came from less prestigious colleges—Walide Sultan: eight, Khaqaniyye-i Wefa: seven, Ahmed Khan: three—to mention only some of them.

Thirty-one *qadis* had already rendered service as judges before they came to Jerusalem. In four cases the *qadis* had occupied *Bilad-i erba'a* positions (Cairo: one, Damascus: three). There are ten nominations of former *makhrej*-places such as Üsküdar (five), Aleppo (one), Izmir (two), Sofya (one), and Eyüp (two). So-called *menasib-i dewriyye* positions appear five times (Diyarbakir: one, Baghdad: four). Madina corresponded to the rank of Jerusalem in the 17th century, but was of a higher rank after 1722. It appears six times. The remaining appointments came from Anatolian and Rumelian towns such as Manisa (two), Ankara (one), Sinop (one), and Filibe (two).

Besides the sixty-six ex-*müderres* and thirty-one former *qadis* the remaining four persons were functionaries of the highest class. They were:

- (1) 'Abdurrahim Efendi (appointed Sha'ban 1060/1650),

who died in office in Belgrade 1656 (Sheykhi 235-236). He was nominated *Sheykhülislam* in 1647, but was dismissed after the accession of Mehmed IV to the Ottoman throne (1648). He was sent to the Holy Places to perform the *hajj*. After his return from the Hijaz he was offered the *qadıhıq* of Jerusalem, but being a very politically-minded member of the *'ulema* he soon returned to Istanbul, thanks to his excellent connections with the *ojaq* of the Janissaries (İpşirli 1988: 289).

(2) Hüsam-Zade 'Abdurrahman (appointed c. 1066/1656-7, died in Egypt 1670) was *Sheykhülislam* between 11 May 1655 and 5 March 1656 (Sheykhi 1: 370). After he had been deposed he was sent at his own request to Jerusalem (Jumada I 1066/20 March 1656). In the present context it is worth mentioning that he returned to a place where he had already studied, accompanying his father Tulumju Hüsam Efendi, himself a prominent member of the *'ulema* (Sheykhi 1: 124-125).

(3) Mehmed Esiri Efendi (appointed Sha'ban 1083/22 November 1667, died 1092/1681) climbed the *'ilmiyye* career-ladder up to the highest rung (*qadi* of Cairo, Edirne, and Istanbul, *qadi 'asker* of Anatolia, and finally *Sheykhülislam* between 20 March 1659 and 3 February 1662). Following his deposition he was allowed to perform the pilgrimage in 1671. After his return he served, like his forerunners mentioned above, as *qadi* of Jerusalem (1672-74, Sheykhi 1: 478-9).

(4) Yeñibahçeli Çeleb: Mehmed Efendi (appointed Dhu'l-Hijja 1127/29 October 1715) was a former chief palace physician (*re'isü'l-atibba*) between Rajab 1119/28 September 1707 and Safar 1127/6 February 1715, with the honorary rank (*paçe*) of Anadolu (Sheykhi 2: 429; Mehmed Tahir 3: 250). He died in Damascus in 1723.

Special interest attaches to an Ottoman family of *'ulema* (Öztuna 1989: 714-15) which was connected more closely to Jerusalem than other representatives of the *'ilmiyye* class. On 1 Shawwal 1117/25 April 1705, Kevakibi-Zade Mustafa, a former incumbent of a Süleymaniyye *medrese*, was transferred to Jerusalem (Sheykhi 3: 581). In 1133/1720-21 his brother (?), the chief military judge Kevakibi-Zade Veliyeddin, repaired the 15th-century grave of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ardabili (d. 832: Mujir ad-Din 1973:

510; Sauvaire 1876: 157; van Berchem 1923: 131). Neither the year nor the title of the inscription entirely correspond to the career data of Veliyeddin (Sheykhi 2-3: 635-7: he was *qadi 'asker* of Rumelia 1134/1135 and must have restored the Jerusalem mausoleum during a short period when he was without office after his banishment to Midilli/Lesbos).

Service in Jerusalem seems to have marked in many cases the end of an *'ilmiyye* career. In only fifteen of one hundred and one appointments do we have evidence for further promotions to the position of *qadi*—Madina (five), Damascus (three), Belgrade (three), Eyüb (two), Izmir and Mecca (one). On the whole the impression prevails that Jerusalem was not a place for which the majority of *'ulema* volunteered, even if there were a number of personalities who tried to combine the pilgrimage with subsequent service in the Holy City. Since the *qadi sijilleri* of Jerusalem exist in a complete series almost from the beginning of Ottoman rule (Mandaville 1975) there are ample opportunities for a closer look at the *qadis* and their relationships with the centre.

The case of the Mevlevi-khane

The dervish convents of Ottoman Jerusalem were very prominent as in other parts of the empire (de Jong 1983: 171). It is striking that Evliya Çelebi mentions only the Mevlevi-khane by name. The Mevleviyye was the only *tariqa* with a strong central authority with the consequence that the *mevlevi-khanes* in the provinces were controlled by the *asitane* in Konya (Kreiser 1995: *passim*). Evidence of a pre-Ottoman *mevlevi-khane* in Jerusalem is dubious (Mujir al-Din 1973: 405, van Berchem 1923: no. 310). There was obviously no topographical and institutional continuity until the 17th century. Given the fact that the *mevlevi-khanes* are almost always constructions *extra muros* it cannot be excluded that their first establishment was at the site of a graveyard outside the Golden Gate and opposite the Mount of the Olives. An inscription for a fountain (*fisqiyya*) dated 1034/1624-25 (not a *'caveau funéraire'* as translated by van Berchem in 1923: 130) is an important hint for the presence of the brotherhood of Mevlana. Later the convent may have been reconstructed *intra muros* (Hara Sa'diyya) in the compound of a former Latin church (al-'Arif 1961: 500-1; Aron 1992: map 6; 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi 1902: 57).

Chapter 5

AL-KULLIYYA AL-SALAHIIYYA, A LATE OTTOMAN UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM*¹

Martin Strohmeier

Dedicated to the memory of Ishaq Musa al-Husaini

Al-Kulliyya al-Salahiyya (abbreviated Salahiiyya)² was a product of the First World War and the progress of the war determined the fate of the school. Its foundation coincided with the attack on the Suez Canal by German and Turkish forces in January 1915. The school was established on the premises of the Crusader church of St Anne, which had been transformed into a Shafi'ite Qur'an school by the Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. Sultan 'Abdūlmecid gave the church to France in 1856. In 1877 the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary society, were charged with guarding St Anne. A Bible Museum was opened next to the church and a seminary for Greek Catholic (Melkite) clergymen was established overlooking the Via Dolorosa. Ahmed Jemal Pasha, who was the High Commander in Syria and a member of the ruling Young Turk triumvirate, confiscated all the schools belonging to England, France and Russia. The church of St Anne remained in the hands of the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, whereas the Salahiiyya or, as it was called in Turkish, the Salahaddin-i Eyyubi Külliyye-i

Islamiyyesi, moved into the former seminary.

The opening celebration of the Islamic successor to the Christian institution was held on the Prophet's birthday, 28 January 1915. That relations between the college and St Anne were neighbourly can be attributed in part to Jemal's support for the coexistence of religions. But the rather brutal way in which schools and monasteries had been seized embittered the Christian population. Dr Curt Prüfer,² a German officer assigned to the Fourth Ottoman Army, reported the following:

Jerusalem had always been a city with an abundance of opposing national and religious interests. The administrative policies of the High Commander of the Fourth Army, General Jemal Pasha, after his move to Jerusalem were neither conducive to conciliation between the conflicting parties nor likely to gain support for the unpopular idea of Ottoman unity ... The Muslim population of Jerusalem, of which only a small fraction speaks Turkish as a mother tongue, feels injured in its national pride by such measures (sc. the 'Turcification' and centralisation) ... The transformation of the seminaries belonging to St Anne into a school directed by the Egyptian nationalist 'Abd al-'Aziz Shawish, known for his intransigent Islamic attitudes, is perceived as an affront and a provocation to the Christian

* I would like to repeat my thanks to several people and their institutions in Jerusalem which were helpful in my research, especially Khadr Salameh (Maktabat al-Aqsa), 'Abdallah Kalbuna (Islamic Museum in the Haram al-Sharif), Dr Paul Alsberg (Israeli State Archives) and Père Michel Deffrennes (St Anne).

¹ This article draws heavily on my book (Strohmeier 1991). Detailed references not given in this article are to be found in the book. I have refrained from giving sources for the biographies of the many persons mentioned. In general the biographical dictionaries of Zirikli 1984 and 'Awdat 1976 were useful. Another valuable reference book is *Al-Mausu'a al-filastiniyya* 1984. The Salahiiyya is briefly mentioned in Tibawi 1969: 230, and al-'Asali 1981: 59, 73-76.

² For his remarkable career, see McKale 1987.



Pl. 5.1 Photograph of February 1916 (Kurd 'Ali 1334/1916 after page 224), showing from right to left in front row: Ahmed Jemal Pasha and Enver Pasha. Jemil al-Nayyal is in the second row, first to the right.

population? ... (Israeli State Archives A.III. 15. vol. 4, file no. 27)

Although observers of the Salahiyya inauguration ceremony attest to the presence there of both pupils and teachers, it was wartime and therefore preparations to staff adequately and equip the school ran into difficulties. It was not until June 1915 that the announcement was made that instruction would begin. Although statutes regulated administration, entrance requirements and arrangements, curriculum and testing, many regulations were not always complied with.³ The initiators of the university saw it as a revival of the *madrasa* created by Salah al-Din. The objective was to educate Muslim theologians (*'ulama'*) who would also be trained in secular disciplines. The Salahiyya was subjected to the control of the *sheykhülislam* and the *Ewqaf*-ministry. The director of the school was appointed by sultan's decree (*irade*). Additional authority was accorded to the deputy director and the inspector of instruction (*ders nazım*).

It took ten years to complete the course of studies, which was divided into two parts, the first of which lasted seven, the second three years. But on the basis of the curriculum one can more accurately speak of three blocks

of studies. The first three years were devoted to general education, i.e. languages, history, mathematics and natural sciences. In the middle level (classes 4-7) religious subjects were dealt with (*'ilm-i fiqh*, Qur'an exegesis, Hadith) while the study of secular law (*'ulum-i huquqiyye*) was reserved for the upper level (classes 8-10). The focus on history, natural sciences and mathematics as subjects is significant. The language of instruction was Arabic, thus relegating Turkish to a position of minor importance. Students could choose one language from each of the two language groups: they could take Persian, Urdu or Tatar and choose either German, French, English or Russian from the Western languages. The class schedule exhibited today in the Islamic Museum in the Haram al-Sharif contradicts this model somewhat. According to this time-table classes 4, 9 and 10 were not occupied, the reason being probably that both upper classes could not have been filled until pupils from the preceding classes had been educated. Furthermore, many of the older students were drafted for military service in the course of the war.

The terms of admission required at least five years attendance at elementary school (*mekteb-i iptida'i*) which meant that students entering the school were at least twelve years of age, although exceptions were made. Entrance examinations were held once a year in the Ottoman provinces. Applicants with elementary school diplomas were tested in the following subjects: Qur'an, religious knowledge, Arabic, arithmetic, history, geography and calligraphy. Regulations provided for the annual admission of one hundred students according to a regional quota. Ten places were allotted for candidates from the district of al-Quds and fifty from the provinces of the Ottoman empire. The remaining positions would be filled with students from other Islamic regions, but in practice almost all students came from Syria and Palestine, thus limiting the sphere of influence of the school. The appeal of the Salahiyya was nevertheless considerable and the selection of students had to be restrictive. In Damascus alone sixty-five applicants took part in the entrance examination in 1916. But personal contacts and family standing also played an important role. Children from elite families with high religious prestige received preferential treatment. The Salahiyya was conducted as a boarding school with room, tuition and clothing free of charge. In the streets of Jerusalem the students attracted attention with their colourful garb (*jubba* and turban).

What was the significance of the Salahiyya within the structure of the Ottoman educational system? A student at the Salahiyya studied as long as an Istanbul University (*darülfünun*) student, who attended elementary school for five years, followed by seven years at the *lycée* (*sultani*) and three years at the university. Thus, the Salahiyya was an institute of higher education but differed from the *darülfünun* in that it joined secondary and

³ *Salahaddin-i Eyyubi Külliyye-i İslamiyyesi Ta'limatnamesi*. Quds 1333/1915.

university education under the same roof. In this respect it resembled the *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye* (School of Civil Administration). A look at the state of education in Greater Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) is instructive. In 1913 the Ottoman government had set up in the cities of Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem one *lycée* each with Arabic as the language of instruction. This had been a concession to the nascent Arab nationalist movement. Two years later, when the persecution of Arab nationalists had reached a decisive stage, the Beirut and Damascus schools were closed in order to deprive the movement of a field of activity (Strohmeier 1993). But the *sultani* in Jerusalem, known as al-Madrasa al-Rashidiyya,⁴ was allowed to carry on its functions because the Arab movement here was not as developed as in Beirut or Damascus and thus not perceived as a threat by the authorities.

Both the foundation of the Salahiyya as well as the reorganisation and modernisation of the higher religious schools (*medreses*) in Istanbul must be seen in the context of the growth of Islamic reformism in the Ottoman empire. The syllabi of the Istanbul *medreses* which had been united in the *darülkhilafetül ‘aliye medresesi* in 1914 exhibited many similarities with that of the Salahiyya. It is, however, interesting that the percentage of subjects pertaining to secular law was higher in the Salahiyya than in the Istanbul *medreses*. A basic difference between the *medrese* and the Salahiyya was that the latter was conceived as a response to Arab demands for their own university. The reform of al-Azhar initiated by Muhammad ‘Abduh, which had included the introduction of secular disciplines, was to be continued at the Salahiyya. A German Orientalist, Martin Hartmann, even speculated that the college would eventually surpass al-Azhar in importance (1917: 430). The orientation of the school was by no means exclusively religious. Jemal encouraged the leadership of the Salahiyya to look also to the Syrian Protestant College as a model of academic excellence. In a talk with its president, Howard Bliss, the director of the Salahiyya indicated that he was impressed but also daunted by the achievements of the College. It was obvious that the Salahiyya still had a long way to go (Munro 1977: 67, 189).

The names of the teachers explain the high expectations placed in the Salahiyya. Leading scholars of Arabic language and literature as well as renowned reform theologians, most of whom came from Syria and Palestine, had been recruited. The first president of the Salahiyya was the famous champion of Pan-Islamism and Ottomanism, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Shawish (or Jawish, 1876-1929).⁵ Shawish



Pl. 5.2 Ishaq Musa al-Husaini in front of the Salahiyya, March 1987.

had already been linked with the effort to establish a university (*darül‘ulum*) in Madina. Its aim was ‘... to enable its graduates to promote the great Islamic truths’. The foundation stone was laid by Shawish, Shakib Arslan and ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maghribi in 1913, but due to opposition by the ruler of Hejaz, Sharif Husain, and Arab nationalists, the university never commenced instruction.⁶ As editor-in-chief of several newspapers, Shawish influenced public opinion in Egypt. After being expelled from Egypt he went to Istanbul and served as editor of the journal *al-‘Alam al-Islami*. He was a close associate of the Young Turks although they considered him unreliable. Shawish was also active for the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient*, the German counterpart of the *Arab Bureau*. Shawish’s activity at the Salahiyya did not last long as there were soon disagreements with Jemal.

In autumn 1915 Jamil al-Nayyal (1879-1949) of Damascus, a jurist and graduate of the Mekteb-i Huquq, became president. He represented the school in public but he was seldom on the premises owing to his other offices as director of the *auqaf* in Jerusalem and interim (1917) district governor (*mutasarrif*) of al-Quds. In 1925 he was

⁴ Named after Ahmed Reshid [Rey] who was district governor (*mutasarrif*) when the school was founded in 1906. Rey (1870-1956) has left some memories of his governorship (1945: 82-102).

⁵ There are several biographies, the most comprehensive of which is Qunaybar 1968.

⁶ ‘Medine’deki darül‘ulum haqqında nizamname’, *Düstur* 1332/1916-17, 319-322. Arslan 1969, 110 f. ‘Aleyh diwan-i harb-i ‘örfisinde tedqiq olunan mes’ele-i siyasiyye haqqında izahat, 101. French edition with slight changes: *La vérité sur la question syrienne*. Publié par le commandement de la IV^{me} Armée. Stamboul 1916. Cf. now Tauber 1991.

charged with founding the first institution of higher learning in the newly established capital, Ankara (Hukuk Fakültesi). After the introduction of the law on family names he was known as Cemil Bilsel. In 1934 he became rector of the University of Istanbul (İstanbul Üniversitesi) and implemented there Kemalist academic policies.⁷

The key position of inspector of education (*ders nazır*) was held by Rustum Haidar (1886-1940) who is one of the most interesting figures of the Arab national movement in the first half of the 20th century. Unfortunately his significance has not been adequately recognised and appreciated.⁸ After studies at the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye and at the Sorbonne, he worked as a teacher at the *lycée* in Beirut which was closed in 1915. He then became a member of the Salahiyya staff. Together with Ahmad Qadri and 'Auni 'Abd al-Hadi he was founder of the most important Arab secret society *al-Jam'iyya al-'Arabiyya al-Fatat* (1911) and joined forces with the rebellious Arab troops at the end of the First World War. Under Faisal and his son and successor Ghazi, Haidar occupied high positions in Iraq. The motives for his assassination in 1940 were never satisfactorily determined.

Other prominent teachers include 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maghribi (1868-1956) from Lattakia. Together with Kurd 'Ali he founded the Arab Academy in Damascus. Amin al-'Uri, Musa al-Budairi and Husam al-Din Jarallah were all candidates in the famous *mufti* election in April 1921. Jarallah won but Britain was able to have Hajj Amin al-Husaini named (Jbara 1985: 42-45). 'Adil Jabbar (1885-1953) taught geography and French. Khalil al-Sakakini (1878-1953), a Greek Orthodox Christian from Jerusalem and friend of Haidar's, occasionally held lectures at the Salahiyya. Rafiq al-Tamimi (1890-1957), who was a member of *al-Fatat*, had previously been the director of the trade school (Tijaret Mektebi) in Beirut. Is'af al-Nashashibi (1885-1948) was instructor of Arabic literature. Because of his reputation as an excellent linguist and man of letters he was called *adib al-'arabiyya*. Also worthy of mention are 'Abd al-Rahman Salam (1871-1941) from Beirut and Muhammad Amin Suwaid (1855-1936) from Damascus. There were also prominent figures who were closely connected to the college despite the fact that they did not have permanent positions. As'ad al-Shuqairi (1860-1940) from 'Akka (Acre) was a student of 'Abduh's and Afghani's. He was a member of the Ottoman parliament and an intimate friend of Jemal Pasha. The same was true for 'Abd al-Qadir al-Muzaffar (1880-1949) who was a graduate of al-Azhar and a member of the Committee for Union and Progress (*Ittihad ve Teraqqi Jem'iyyeti*) in Jerusalem.

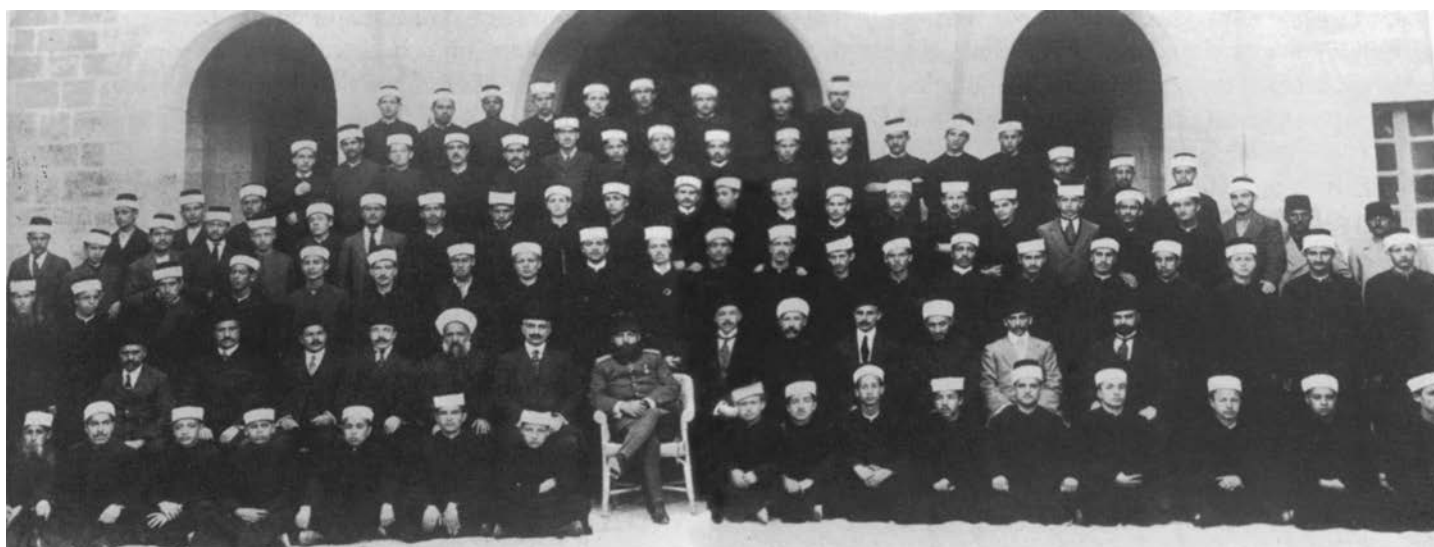
Unfortunately only a few of the students could be

identified. Among them was Ishaq Musa al-Husaini, who accompanied me on a visit to the site of the Salahiyya in 1987 and to whom I am indebted for many details concerning the school. Husaini, born 1904, came from the *naqib al-ashraf* branch of the Husainis. He studied with Hamilton Gibb at the University of London and received a PhD in 1934. Later he became professor at the American Universities in Beirut and Cairo. He was renowned not only for his scholarship but also for his work as a novelist. Husaini died in December 1990 in Jerusalem. Yusuf Yasin (1892-1962) of Lattakia had an unusual career, managing to advance to foreign minister of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ud (1882-1953), the founder of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Other students who achieved prominence in letters or politics were Muhyi al-Din al-Hajj 'Isa al-Safadi (1897-1974), Hasan Abu Su'ud and 'Umar Yahya al-Faraji from Hama. Sa'd al-Din 'Abd al-Latif (born 1899), who moved to Cairo in 1948, provided me with a photograph of the Salahiyya students with Jemal Pasha. Subhi al-Khadra' (1895-1954) became a member of the Arab Executive Committee (*al-lajna al-tanfidihiyya al-'arabiyya*). Probably the youngest student was Khalil al-Budairi (Budairi 1982: 710). A study of the personal records and careers of the students and teachers of the Salahiyya indicates that they left their mark on 20th-century Arab—and especially Palestinian—political and intellectual history.

The significance of the Salahiyya can only be understood in the context of the three competing movements of the time, Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and nationalism (both Arab and Turkish) and the political background. When the Ottoman empire entered the war in autumn 1914 on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, one of its assignments in this alliance was to engage the British troops in Egypt in order to allow Germany greater freedom of action in Europe. But, as is well known, the Suez Canal expedition organised by the German colonel, Kress von Kressenstein, was a failure. After the Balkan wars (1912-13) the Turks had become by far the largest ethnic group in the Ottoman empire. This encouraged the growth of Turkish nationalism. Ottomanism referred to the concept of a multi-ethnic state incorporating peoples of various religions and languages under the rule of the Ottoman dynasty. Arab nationalists did not generally favour breaking away from the empire. The 'honeymoon' (Antonius) of Turkish-Arab relations after the restitution of the constitution in 1908 came to an end when Arabs ceased to hope for greater reform and more self-determination. As the Young Turk centralisation policies manifested themselves with increasing clarity, the signal was given for the formulation of more radical goals. Jemal's objective was to neutralise Arab nationalist activities in Syria. But his rule, which was widely perceived as despotic, hastened the process of Arab alienation which reached its zenith during the war. Jemal's persecution of

⁷ Cemil Bilsel'e Armağan. Istanbul 1939.

⁸ This gap may now be partially filled by the edition of his memoirs, see Safwat 1988.



Pl. 5.3 Staff and students of the Salahhiyya with Jemal Pasha.

the Arab societies (e.g. *Hizb al-Lamarkaziyya al-'Ahd*) and the execution of several members only made their comrades in *al-Fatat* whose existence remained unknown to the Ottoman authorities more determined to put their originally somewhat hesitant plans into practice. Under these circumstances it is most interesting that *al-Fatat* was represented at the Salahhiyya by two of its cofounders, Haidar and Tamimi.⁹

One of the last efforts to gain sympathy among the Arabs for pan-Islamism and Ottomanism was the propaganda tour to Madina undertaken by Enver and Jemal in February 1916.¹⁰ They attempted to present religion as the unifying bond between Arabs and Turks. The Arab revolt nullified these efforts. In the middle of *jihād* the government of the *sultan-khalif* was deprived of the Holy City of Mecca just as Madina was being besieged. The only Holy Place of Islam still in Turkish hands was Jerusalem. But even this control was doubtful, as it was said that '... a Turkish Jerusalem had never existed' (Atay 1981: 6). Jemal had come to Syria with the intention of persuading the Arabs of the wisdom of loyalty to the Ottoman empire. He was in no way disposed to recognise the demands of Arabs for more autonomy. His strategy consisted of complying with certain demands in a way that exploited the disagreements between the more radical forces which had found their way into the societies, and the steadfast exponents of Ottoman statehood such as Shakib Arslan and Shawish. One such concession was the establishment of a university with studies conducted in Arabic.

The founding fathers—Shawish and Jemal—had

foreseen an institution which would serve several purposes. The Salahhiyya would function not only as a counterweight and as a concession to Arab nationalism, but also as an instrument of appeasement with which to bind the Arabs to the empire in the spirit of Ottomanism. The school was also to be a vehicle of pan-Islamism. Graduates would convey Turkish claims to the caliphate to the entire Islamic world. Moreover, the Salahhiyya would be rooted in a programme of theological reform inspired by eminent scholars. Contemporary observers varied in their assessment of the Salahhiyya. We have found little evidence to support Kress' view that the school was '... one of Jemal Pasha's stillborn children' (1938: 115). Kurd 'Ali (1332/1916-17: 561-563), on the other hand, had witnessed the foundation of the school with optimism. In the spirit of 'Abduh he had stressed that Islamic precepts were not incompatible with the requirements of modern life and recent scientific findings. He argued that Islam had to be opened up to an authentic understanding (*fahman sahihan*). This would be the task of theologians who had received a reformed education. Only on the basis of such training could a revival of the *umma* be expected. This was, then, one of the goals of the Salahhiyya: to train theologians who would be both open-minded and intellectually equipped to deal with secular and scientific concerns.

Although the Islamic character of the Salahhiyya is indisputable, the claim that it was a centre of pan-Islamism is inaccurate (Kohn 1969: 52). War conditions prevented the development of a religious élite school representing the entire Islamic world reaching out to Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. It is probable that Shawish's departure also reduced the pan-Islamic element. Several people from the Salahhiyya staff, such as its president Nayyal and Maghribi, were advocates of Arab loyalty to the Turks. Those teachers who were no longer able to imagine a common state for Turks and Arabs were certainly in no

⁹ Of the abundant literature on this topic it must suffice to mention only one book, Zeine 1973, *passim*.

¹⁰ On their way to Madina, Jemal and Enver inspected the Salahhiyya and were received with great honour. Kurd 'Ali 1334/1916: 244-247 has described this visit in detail.

position openly to propagate Arab secession. Nevertheless, the Salahiyya was a place where it was possible to take certain liberties. The paradox is that, under the very eye of its founder, an institution had evolved which was pervaded by the spirit of Arab nationalism, which Jemal so vehemently opposed. This aspect of the Salahiyya was clearly recognised by the author of a report in the *Arab Bulletin* (3 159: No. 89, 14 May 1918):

Jemal's idea was firstly to ingratiate himself with the Arabs by giving them an Arab University run on apparently liberal lines, and secondly, by putting his own men on the staff, covertly to create pro-Turkish and pan-Islamic feeling. Like many other Turkish enterprises it began with a flourish and ended in smoke. It acquired a reputation as a centre of pan-Islamic propaganda, but it is now clear that practically nothing of this kind existed ... The *sheikhs* on the staff seem to have been worthy old men who knew a little of their subjects, but were neither capable nor desirous of exercising any political influence on the boys. What influence existed in the college at all seems to have been that of the more modern Arab teachers, and as such must have been diametrically opposed to the object of the founder.

The running of the college resembled a balancing act between Islamism, Ottomanism and Arabism. That Haidar was given an important function is truly astonishing given the fact that several members of the Haidar clan from Ba'labakk had been arrested and convicted of nationalist activities. On the other hand, Nayyal was unconditionally pro-Turkish. To a certain extent the two men in charge of

the Salahiyya symbolised a compromise between Arabs and Turks, a settlement between Ottomanism and Arabism. Whether or not this course was effective at the Salahiyya, it proved unviable elsewhere. As early as September 1915 members of the Salahiyya had experienced events that portended difficulties ahead. Just two weeks earlier the first nationalists had been executed. Some of them had been friends and relatives of the Salahiyya staff. It is certain that this and other events strengthened their nationalist convictions. The increased orientation towards separation from the Ottoman empire found its way into the classroom at the Salahiyya. The result was that an institution which had been founded to promote Ottoman statehood became a centre for the dissemination of Arab national thought.

The surrender of Jerusalem to the British on 9 December 1917 sealed the fate of the Salahiyya.¹¹ Several days earlier a group of teachers had left Jerusalem and set out for Damascus where the work of the Salahiyya was to be continued.¹² By the middle of 1918 the traces of the Salahiyya had been lost. When the White Fathers, the former guardians of St Anne, returned they were surprised at the good order and condition of the buildings: '... *les Turcs avaient la vanité de leur Université et la maintenaient en bon état.*'¹³ The Bible Museum, the archive and even cult objects had remained untouched. Only the crucifixes had been removed. In the autumn of 1918 they set about reopening the seminary in which priests were trained until 1967. The statue of Cardinal Lavigerie, the founder of the White Fathers, which had been removed on order of the Salahiyya administration, was set up in the garden of St Anne again. A marble plaque with the inscription *Kulliyyat Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi*, which had probably been mounted on the portal, was brought to the Bible Museum where it remains today. A visitor will find little else to call to mind the memorable episode of the Kulliyya al-Salahiyya.

¹¹ The document of the capitulation is in al-'Arif 1986, 383. A photograph of the surrender is reproduced in Khalidi 1984: 48, no. 14.

¹² Sakakini 1982: 94-101. Cf. also the travel journal of Professor Gotthelf Bergsträsser in the Bundesarchiv/Militärarchiv, Freiburg-Germany, N 508/v. 108.

¹³ *Petit Écho* 54, mars 1918: 54.

Chapter 6

OTTOMAN JERUSALEM IN THE WRITINGS OF ARAB TRAVELLERS

Abdul-Karim Rafeq

Several Arab travellers wrote accounts of their journeys to Jerusalem during the Ottoman period. Some of the accounts have been published; others are still in manuscript form. Most of the accounts quote earlier historical sources which described the religious monuments in Jerusalem and other places in Palestine and very often reproduce their descriptions almost in full. This explains the identical accounts appearing in almost all of their works, irrespective of their time frame. Personal, factual observations by the travellers, however, abound in their works and these highlight their value within the context of a specific place and time. The information culled from the travel accounts in many ways reflects the identity of the traveller and the way he perceived individuals and monuments. The social status, religious formation, affiliation with one school of Islamic law or another, and especially his *sufi* (mystical) leanings and his adherence to a certain *tariqa* (*sufi* order) usually colour the traveller's observations and explain what he saw and described—and what he failed to see.

Hailing from different countries at different times and having different backgrounds and professions, the Arab travellers, no matter to what religion, school of law or *sufi* order they belonged, have one aspect in common. They all shared a heightened expectation of their visit to Jerusalem and a great respect for its religious monuments. Muslim travellers, no less than Jewish and Christian travellers, refer to the early history of these monuments, considering them a religious legacy to be respected, protected and cared for. Indeed, under Arab rule, the monuments of Jerusalem, no matter to what religion they appertained, were well respected.

Whether the ultimate goal of the Arab traveller was to pay a special visit to Jerusalem, or to visit it while on his way from Egypt or the Hijaz to Damascus or Istanbul, the observations of all these travellers complement one another and are noteworthy. They provide over time a tapestry of information which delineates the physical changes affecting the religious monuments of Jerusalem, the quality of religious learning displayed by religious scholars (the '*ulama*') who functioned there, and the degree of security in the city and its environs. The physical condition of the walls and the gates of Jerusalem, as well as the fees collected from the travellers at the gate of entry whether by civil or by unruly persons, were the first matters to attract the attention of every traveller. Interest then shifts to the degree of security in the city and the attitude of the governor and the power groups there.

The restricted nature of this article, which focuses only on the writings of Arab travellers, should not minimise the importance of the writings of scores of European travellers who flocked into Jerusalem throughout the ages. Some European travellers visited Jerusalem alone; others passed through it on their way to other cities and lands, notably to Egypt, Damascus and Istanbul or to Mesopotamia, Persia and the Far East. They were motivated by religious zeal to visit the Holy City, by geographical adventurism in the Orient, or by their obligations as emissaries of their governments and commercial companies. Their descriptions of the city complement the descriptions of the Arab travellers on a variety of subjects.

One of the earliest available travel accounts in Arabic about Ottoman Jerusalem is the work of the Hijazi

Madinese scholar, Ibrahim al-Khiyari (1037-83/1628-72). His travel account is titled *Tuhfat al-Udaba' wa Salwat al-Ghuraba'* (1969-80). A Shafi'i scholar from Madina, Khiyari accompanied the Damascene pilgrimage caravan on its way back from the Hijaz to Damascus, where he arrived on 28 Safar 1080/28 June 1669. From there, al-Khiyari continued his journey to Istanbul. He came back from Istanbul to Damascus apparently with the Ottoman (Rumi) pilgrims to avail himself of the protection provided for them. From Damascus, Khiyari went on to Egypt where he joined its pilgrimage caravan to the Hijaz. On his way to Egypt, he visited Jerusalem.

After staying in Damascus for twenty-four days, al-Khiyari set out on 15 Rajab 1081/28 November 1670 heading toward Egypt in the company of travellers proceeding along the trade route which skirted the coast in Palestine (the Via Maris). He describes in detail the halting-places along the route, the towns and villages he passed through, the dangers he was exposed to, and the people, both good and bad, he met (for details see al-Khiyari 1969-80, 2: 160-70). In Ramla, al-Khiyari met the famous Hanafi *mufti* (jurist) Khair al-Din al-Ramli (993-1081/1585-1671), author of the important juridical work *al-Fatawa al-Khairiyya fi Naf' Khair al-Bariyya* (1974), about two months before the latter died. Among the notables and scholars who attended the meeting between al-Khiyari and Khair al-Din was Khair al-Din's son, Shaikh Najm al-Din, who later became *mufti* of Jerusalem. At midnight on Wednesday 26 Rajab/9 December, al-Khiyari, accompanied by troops for security, left the trade caravan, which continued its way on the Via Maris to Egypt, and headed toward Jerusalem. He passed through a mountainous region avoiding the village of Qaryat al-'Inab, the stronghold of the highwayman Abu Ghosh. Upon approaching Jerusalem, al-Khiyari saw its imposing walls, which had been reconstructed in the late 1530s by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent, and their surrounding trench. He entered the city through Bab al-Khalil (now called the Jaffa Gate, then called after the city of Khalil [Hebron] where the Patriarch Ibrahim al-Khalil—Friend of God—is buried). The gate was also known as Bab al-Mihrab (the Gate of the Prayer-niche). On his right, al-Khiyari took note of the Citadel, which had also been reconstructed. Crossing the market place, which was full of people, al-Khiyari finally came to the caravansarai (*khan*) where he was to stay (for details see al-Khiyari 1969-80, 2: 171-5). After he had performed his ablutions, al-Khiyari headed towards the Aqsa Mosque to explore its beauty. He spent one and a half days in Jerusalem and then departed on Friday 28 Rajab/11 December for Hebron on his way to Egypt.

While describing the architectural details of the complex of al-Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), al-Khiyari quotes from the same books later used by the

Damascene traveller, Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, who twice visited Jerusalem in 1690 and 1693. Among the buildings described on the Haram are the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. The two most quoted works are those by Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaimi al-Muqaddasi al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Ta'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalil* and by Shaikh Ibrahim al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-Akhissa fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*.¹

In describing the *mihrab* in al-Aqsa Mosque, both al-Khiyari (2: 170) and al-Nabulsi (*al-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*: 142) refer to seventeen coloured marble facets or rows (*dil'*) inside the *mihrab* and give details of the significance of the colours. Both of them quote the mosque attendant who explained the colours to them in the same way—the eight white sides signify the number of prostrations (*rak'at*) at the noon prayer (*salat al-zuhr*) and the afternoon prayer (*salat al-'asr*); the four red sides signify the sunset prayer (*salat al-maghrib*); the three black sides signify the evening prayer (*salat al-'isha'*) when darkness sets in; and the two green sides signify the prayer of daybreak (*salat al-subh*).

Despite the similarities in the description of the Haram written by almost all the Arab travellers who quote from the same sources, each traveller, nevertheless, made personal observations about his own experiences during his visit to Jerusalem. Impressed by the imposing architectural details and the sanctity and splendour of al-Aqsa Mosque, al-Khiyari says (2: 189) that a single prayer in al-Aqsa Mosque equals five hundred, even a thousand prayers, elsewhere. The *mihrab* of the Aqsa, according to al-Khiyari, was reserved for the use of the Shafi'i *imam* (leader in prayer) in the same way as the *mihrab* of the Dome of the Rock was reserved for the Hanafi *imam*. The Maliki *imam* was assigned a place in the corner of al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Hanbali *imam* prayed in the Sultaniyya school (al-Madrassa al-Sultaniyya), also known as al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya and al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya al-Sultaniyya, which is located on the west side of the Haram near Bab al-Silsila (the Gate of the Chain).² In matters of precedence, however, al-Khiyari says that the Maliki *imam* ranked first, followed by the Shafi'i, the Hanafi and the Hanbali *imams*. The precedence of the Maliki *imam* over the other *imams*,

¹ Al-'Ulaimi 1973; al-Suyuti (ms) *Ithaf al-Akhissa fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*. A published work under the same title is ascribed to Shams al-Din ibn Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Suyuti, 2 vols, (ed.) Ahmad Ramadan, Cairo, 1982-4. Al-Khiyari and al-Nabulsi, however, mention the author's name as Ibrahim al-Suyuti. Both works need to be compared.

² Al-Madrassa al-Sultaniyya/al-Ashrafiyya was built in 875/1470 by Amir Hasan al-Zahiri for al-Malik al-Zahir Khushqadam. After the latter's death, Amir Hasan offered it to al-Malik al-Ashraf Qa'itbai who did not like the style of its building. He pulled it down and rebuilt it in 885/1480. It became known as al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya and al-Madrassa al-Sultaniyya; see Burgoyne 1987: 589-604; see also *al-Mausu'a al-Filastiniyya* 1984, 1: 169 (under al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya).

as a custodian of al-Aqsa Mosque told al-Khiyari, dated back to the second conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims under Salah al-Din (Saladin) in 1187. When the four *imams* were asked at that time about their wishes after the conquest, they had indicated their desire to retain their ranking as it was. This was granted them. Al-Khiyari comments upon the custodian's anecdote by saying that in the mosque in Mecca, where the four *imams* prayed during the pilgrimage season, the Maliki *imam* had precedence over the others. However, the Friday prayer in al-Aqsa Mosque, according to al-Khiyari, was held in the place allocated to the Shafi'i *imam* (2: 191-2).

Al-Khiyari spent the whole day of Thursday, 27 Rajab/10 December in al-Aqsa Mosque, performing the mid-afternoon and sunset prayers there with the Shafi'i *imam*, and the evening prayer with the Hanafi *imam* in the Dome of the Rock. He visited a public bath on Friday morning, performed the daybreak prayer in the Dome of the Rock and afterwards attended the Friday prayer in al-Aqsa Mosque (2: 194).

Al-Khiyari says that he spent the whole of Friday morning in al-Aqsa Mosque earnestly seeking to meet an accomplished scholar to benefit from his knowledge. He failed to find one. The two persons assigned to him fell short of meeting his scholarly expectations (2: 194). Al-Khiyari, in fact, was in a hurry to leave Jerusalem and continue on his way to Cairo after he had spent only a day and a half visiting the Haram al-Sharif, touring its religious monuments and praying with different *imams*. He simply did not have the time to meet Jerusalem's accomplished scholars, of whom there was no shortage, as al-Nabulsi later came to recognise. Used as he was to the Hijaz, where Mecca and Madina were bustling all year round with 'ulama' from all over the Muslim world, al-Khiyari's anxiety at not finding accomplished scholars in Jerusalem becomes all the more understandable. His statement should therefore not be taken too literally. Not meeting qualified scholars in Jerusalem was al-Khiyari's problem, not Jerusalem's.

The ancestors of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1050-1143/1641-1731) hailed from the town of Nablus in Palestine. He was a distinguished Damascene Hanafi jurist, a *sufi* and a prolific author who wrote over three hundred books and monographs, most of which have been located and a number of them published. He made two journeys to Jerusalem (for the biography of al-Nabulsi, see al-Muradi 1966, 3: 30-8). The first journey, which took place in 1101/1690, is described by al-Nabulsi in a work entitled *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya* (1990). The journey lasted forty-five days, of which al-Nabulsi spent eighteen days in Jerusalem. Al-Nabulsi's second journey to Jerusalem occurred in 1105/1693 and was part of a major expedition during which he visited parts of Bilad al-Sham, including Palestine, as well as Egypt and the Hijaz. He

describes the journey, which lasted 388 days, in a book entitled *al-Haqiqa wa'l-Majaz fi 'l-Rihla ila Bilad al-Sham wa Misr wa'l-Hijaz* (1986). This time, al-Nabulsi spent seventeen days in Jerusalem.³

Al-Nabulsi left Damascus on his first journey on Monday, 17 Jumada II 1101/28 March 1690. He arrived in Jerusalem on Tuesday, 2 Rajab/11 April, and left the city on the way back on Saturday, 20 Rajab/29 April, which coincides with the thirty-fourth day of his voyage. He arrived in Damascus on Wednesday, 1 Sha'ban/10 May. On his second journey, al-Nabulsi left Damascus on Thursday, 1 Muharram 1105/2 September 1693 and arrived in Jerusalem, by way of Sidon, Acre, Nazareth and Nablus, on Sunday, 2 Rabi' I/1 November, which was the sixtieth day of his journey. He left Jerusalem on his way to Egypt on Wednesday, 19 Rabi' I/18 November, passing through Hebron and Gaza. Upon arriving in al-'Arish, al-Nabulsi comments that this was the first town in Bilad al-Sham that a traveller coming from Egypt would encounter.

Al-Nabulsi's main concern on his journeys was to locate mosques, schools, *sufi* shrines and *zawiyas* (*sufi* retreats) in the towns he passed through. He visited the living—the 'ulama' and Sufis—and paid his respects to the dead at shrines and tombs. He also described the state of security on the roads, the conditions of the caravansarais and halting-places, and the commercial activity there. Al-Nabulsi had much experience in travelling by the time he made his first visit to Jerusalem in 1690. He had already visited Ba'labakk and the Biqa' valley in 1688 and is said to have visited Istanbul in 1664. He called this first voyage to Jerusalem *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*, his middle voyage *al-Rihla al-Wusta*, and his next voyage in Bilad al-Sham, Egypt and Hijaz (*al-Haqiqa wa'l-Majaz fi 'l-Rihla ila Bilad al-Sham wa Misr wa'l-Hijaz*) his grand voyage (*al-Rihla al-Kubra*). His earlier voyage to Ba'labakk and the Biqa', which he entitled *Hillat al-Dhahab al-Ibriz fi 'l-Rihla ila Ba'labakk wa'l-Biqa' al-'Aziz*, he also called his small voyage (*al-Rihla al-Sughra*). He made a later voyage to Tripoli in Syria in 1700 which he entitled *al-Tuhfa al-Nabulsiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Tarabulsiyya*. All of these travel accounts have been published with the exception of his unconfirmed journey to Istanbul of which there has been no record discovered so far.

On his first journey to Jerusalem, al-Nabulsi entered the city through Bab al-'Amud (now also known as the Damascus Gate). He remarks that both the gate and the wall of the city were strongly built of durable material. He then enumerates the gates giving access to the city—to the north, there were Bab al-'Amud, Bab al-Da'iyya, Bab Dair al-Rabb, and Bab al-Sahira; to the south, Bab Harat al-Maghariba, and Bab Sahyun, known at the time as Bab

³ For a scholarly discussion of al-Nabulsi's journeys in Palestine, see Siriyya 1979 and 1985.

Da'ud (and later as Bab al-Silsila/Gate of the Chain and Bab al-Sakina/Gate of the Holy Spirit); to the west, there was a small gate (*bab saghir*) not further identified by al-Nabulsi, which was adjacent to the Armenian monastery; then Bab al-Mihrab (Gate of the Niche), known at the time as Bab al-Khalil (Gate of Khalil/Hebron), and Bab al-Rahma (Gate of Mercy/the Golden Gate);⁴ and finally to the east, Bab al-Asbat (Gate of the Tribes, now also known as St Stephen's Gate).⁵

Upon entering al-Haram al-Sharif through Bab al-Qattanin (Gate of the Cotton Merchants), al-Nabulsi remarks that this is one of fourteen gates which lead to the Haram. According to al-Nabulsi, three of the gates were located in the east wall—Bab al-Tauba and Bab al-Rahma, which are joined (the two names are also used alternately), and a third (not identified) next to them, all closed (*masduda*). The eleven other gates—all located in the west wall—were Bab al-Qattanin, Bab al-Ghawanima (after a celebrated 12th-century family, the Banu Ghanim, descended from Shaikh Ghanim who was appointed *shaikh* of the Salahdiyya Madrasa by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi) (Burgoyne 1987: 178), Bab al-Nazir (Gate of the Inspector), Bab al-Hadid (Iron Gate), Bab al-Mutawadda' (also called Bab al-Mathara, Gate of the Place of Ablutions), Bab al-Silsila (Gate of the Chain), Bab al-Sakina (Gate of the Holy Spirit), and Bab al-Maghariba (Gate of the North Africans); this last gate was also known, according to al-Nabulsi, as Bab al-Nabi (Gate of the Prophet). In the north wall, there were Bab al-Asbat (Gate of the Tribes), Bab Hitta (Gate of Remission), and Bab Sharaf al-Anbiya' (Gate of the Glory of the Prophets).⁶

By comparing the list of gates given by al-Nabulsi with the list given in 1496 by Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaimi,⁷ one finds that al-Nabulsi has used the same names for the gates, which suggests either that Nabulsi was copying from Mujir al-Din, or that the names given by him were still in use at the time of al-Nabulsi. Al-Khiyari, on the other hand, who visited Jerusalem some twenty years before al-Nabulsi, mentions only twelve gates to the Haram which apparently were in use during his time. Al-Khiyari also gives slightly different names for two of the gates, either because he was relying on other sources or because the names had changed by the time of al-Nabulsi. Al-Khiyari mentions the following gates to the Haram—Bab al-Maghariba, Bab al-Buraq, Bab al-Silsila, Bab al-Sakina, Bab al-Mutawadi'in, Bab al-Qattanin, Bab al-Hadid, Bab

al-Nazir, Bab al-Ghawanima, Bab Hitta, a *bab* next to it whose name al-Khiyari does not know (apparently it was Bab al-Tauba), and Bab al-Rahma (al-Khiyari 1969-80, 2: 193). By comparing these two lists, one finds that al-Khiyari mentions Bab al-Buraq which does not occur in Nabulsi, a *bab* whose name al-Khiyari does not know, and Bab al-Rahma, which is mentioned by al-Nabulsi as being closed. Al-Nabulsi, on the other hand, mentions Bab al-Asbat and Bab Sharaf al-Anbiya', both of which do not occur in al-Khiyari's list.

During his second visit to Jerusalem in 1693, al-Nabulsi again mentions that two of the gates leading to the Haram (Bab al-Rahma and Bab al-Tauba) are still closed. But now he gives an explanation for their closure by saying that they open on to a deserted area where no human being lives (*likawnihima yuftahan ila al-jiha al-khaliya min sukna insan*) (*al-Haqiqa*: 116). This might imply that security in the vicinity of the gates was lax both times that al-Nabulsi visited Jerusalem. Al-Nabulsi, however, does not elaborate in his second journey to Jerusalem on the details of the gates leading to the city or to the Haram. Nor does he describe in detail, as he did in his first journey, the architectural features of the various buildings. He merely says that he has already done so in his earlier account in *al-Hadra* (*wa dhahabna ila al-Masjid al-Aqsa wa zurna ma fihi min al-amakin al-sharifa al-lati fassalna al-kalama 'anha fi rihlatina al-wusta al-musammata bi'l-Hadra al-Unsiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*) (*al-Haqiqa*: 116).

On his first visit to Jerusalem, al-Nabulsi stayed in the Sultaniyya Madrasa (al-Madrasa al-Sultaniyya al-Ashrafiyya). On his second visit, he stayed in the Qadiriyya Madrasa which apparently belonged to the *sufis* of the Qadiriyya Tariqa with which al-Nabulsi was affiliated. He says, on one occasion, that the Qadiriyya Madrasa had *al-khalwat al-latifa* ('pleasant *sufi* retreats') and *al-jalwat al-'aliyya* ('heavenly pleasantries') (*al-Haqiqa*: 114). At first he refers to his place of residence four times as al-Madrasa al-Qadiriyya (*al-Haqiqa*: 110, 114, 116, 119), but in the latter part of his travel account al-Nabulsi shifts to calling it al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (*al-Haqiqa*: 132-4, 138). Since the Madrasa al-Qadiriyya does not figure in present-day literature on the *madrasas* of Jerusalem, whereas the Zawiya al-Qadiriyya does feature, it seems probable that the two names, al-Madrasa al-Qadiriyya and al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, which are used by al-Nabulsi, refer to the *madrasa-zawiya* of that name. The *zawiya* at the time had teaching (*dars*) in it which explains the alternate use of the terms *zawiya* and *madrasa* for the same place. The Tariqa al-Qadiriyya, according to Mujir al-Din 'Ulaimi's *Uns al-Jalil*, written toward the end of Mamluk rule, was the most important *sufi* order in Jerusalem (Burgoyne 1987: 63). As such, it must have had its own *zawiya-madrasa*. An Afghani *zawiya* (al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya), which was built in 1633,

⁴ For variations and equivalents, see Burgoyne 1987: index under Bab/Gate; Raby and Johns, (eds.) 1992, pt. 1: 105-24.

⁵ For these gates, see al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra*: 96-7.

⁶ For these gates described by al-Nabulsi, see *al-Hadra*: 98-9.

⁷ See the list in Raby and Johns 1992: 121, table 2.

was also called al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya.⁸ It is therefore less likely that the word 'Qadiriyya', quoted as such in several manuscript copies of al-Nabulsi's *al-Haqiqa*, could be a misreading, as some suggest, of the word 'Ghadiriyya', which is the name of a better-known *madrasa*. The Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya was located between the Madrasa al-Karimiyya and Bab al-Asbat at the north border of the Haram. It was constructed in 836/1432, and was named after Amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Dhu'l-Ghadir who endowed it after his wife had built it (Burgoyne 1987: 526 ff). The difficulty with the Madrasa or Zawiya al-Qadiriyya is that there is no clue in Nabulsi's *al-Haqiqa* as to its location. On his first journey to Jerusalem in 1690, al-Nabulsi mentions al-Madrassa al-Qadiriyya; but at the time he chose, as reported above, to stay in al-Madrassa al-Sultaniyya/al-Ashrafiyya (*al-Hadra*: 207, 235). Another example of al-Nabulsi's affiliation with the Tariqa al-Qadiriyya and his stay in one of their *zawiyas* is provided during his visit to al-Khalil/Hebron. Al-Nabulsi was accommodated there in the *zawiya* of the Qadiriyya where he enjoyed watching on two consecutive days the *dhihr* (invocation of the names of God) performed by the Qadiriyya Sufis (*al-Haqiqa*: 121-2).

Like al-Khiyari, al-Nabulsi elaborates in *al-Hadra* on the comparative ranking of the *imams* representing the four Sunni schools of law in regard to their prayer locations in the Haram al-Sharif. At the noon and the mid-afternoon prayers, the Maliki *imam* is the first to pray in the Maghariba Mosque, located in the eastern side of the Haram. When he finishes prayer, the Shafi'i *imam* prays in the Aqsa Mosque, followed by the Hanafi *imam* who prays in the Dome of the Rock. After the Hanafi *imam* finishes prayer, the Hanbali *imam* prays in the mosque below the Madrasa al-Sultaniyya (*al-Hadra*: 104). This mosque, known as the Hanbali Mosque, was apparently the lower assembly hall (*majma'*) of the Madrasa Sultaniyya/Ashrafiyya (Burgoyne 1987: 592). At the sunset, evening and daybreak prayers, each *imam* leads his followers in prayer without ranking or timing. Prayer during the Two Feasts (*salat al-'idain*) and prayer for rainfall (*salat al-istisqa'*) were held according to him in the *mihrab* of the Dome of the Rock.

Al-Nabulsi's concern with sufism, and his interest in visiting both the living and the dead among the Sufis, took him to their *zawiyas*, shrines and burial places. Among the *zawiyas* he visited were those of al-Adhamiyya, al-Bustamiyya and the Tekke of al-Maulawiyya (*al-Hadra*: 235, 240, 242; *al-Haqiqa*: 134). Al-Nabulsi also visited on more than one occasion the main cemetery of Mamilla

(Ma'man Allah), where the tombs of several Sufis and religious scholars, including Companions of the Prophet, were to be found. He also visited other cemeteries, such as the cemetery of Bab al-Rahma and the cemetery of Bab al-Sahira.

Unlike al-Khiyari, who failed to find in Jerusalem qualified scholars to whom he could talk, Nabulsi was always in the company of scholars. He identifies many religious scholars and notables who are not mentioned in other sources. He details their religious importance, describes their role in Jerusalem society, and also maintained a correspondence with them. Among the chief '*ulama*' encountered by al-Nabulsi, he mentions 'Ata Allah Efendi, the chief judge of Jerusalem, Shaikh Najm al-Din, son of the great *mufti* of Ramla Shaikh Khair al-Din al-Ramli, and Sayyid Mustafa Efendi, Naqib al-Ashraf of Jerusalem.

While in Jerusalem, al-Nabulsi visited a distant relative of his, Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jama'a, who was orator (*khatib*) in the Aqsa Mosque, in his residence in the Madrasa al-Jauhariyya. The notables who visited al-Nabulsi in his residence, on both journeys, and whom al-Nabulsi visited in their homes, mosques or *zawiyas*, run into a long list. Chief among them were members of the 'Alami family, notably Shaikh Abu 'l-Wafa and his sons, and Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alami, the Hanafi *imam* in the Dome of the Rock and orator in the Aqsa Mosque, together with his son and brother. Al-Nabulsi also met members of the Dajani family, the *imams* of the four schools of law, and several '*ulama*' from outside Jerusalem who lived there as *mujawirs*. He attended classes and gave lessons in mosques and schools, and also engaged in scholarly discussions with students and scholars during the visits he exchanged with them. He gave *ijazas* (diplomas) in the sciences in which he excelled to students and scholars alike.

One of the main features of al-Nabulsi's travel accounts was his visits to religious places which have special significance for Christians and Jews. As a Muslim, al-Nabulsi revered these places and the venerated persons associated with them because they are respectfully mentioned in the Holy Qur'an and also because they form part of the Arab heritage. On both voyages, al-Nabulsi was keen to visit again many of these religious sites. Upon his visit to Mount Tur (Tur Zaita or the Mount of Olives), for example, al-Nabulsi visited several sites venerated by Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. He mentions that Jesus ascended to Heaven from the Mount of Olives and that his footprints are still viewed at the Place of Ascension (*al-Hadra*: 195-7; *al-Haqiqa*: 116). Al-Nabulsi also visited the tomb of Mary (Maryam bint 'Umrān) at Gethsemane where a church had been built and which was frequented by Christian and Muslim visitors. He read the Muslim prayer 'The Opener' (*Fatiha*) at the tomb of Mary (*al-Hadra*: 195-6; *al-Haqiqa*: 138). He visited the grave of the

⁸ *Al-Mausu'a al-Filastiniyya al-Qism al-Thani al-Dirasat al-Khassa* 1990; see vol. 4: 823, which refers to al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya built in 1633 as al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya. Al-Nabulsi stayed in al-Madrassa/al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya in Jerusalem in 1693.

Prophet David (Nabi Allah Da'ud) at Dair Sahyun outside Jerusalem. He went there through the southern gate of the city known as Bab Sahyun and Bab Da'ud. The Dajani family were the custodians of the grave at the time (*al-Hadra*: 175; *al-Haqiqa*: 118-9).

On both journeys, on his way to Jericho, al-Nabulsi visited the shrine of the Prophet Moses (Mazar al-Sayyid Musa). He elaborates, on his first journey, on the traditions, miracles and dreams associated with the shrine of Moses. He composed several poems on the occasion, depicting his expectations and emotions before, during and after the visit to the shrine (*al-Hadra*: 208-26; *al-Haqiqa*: 135-6). Between Jerusalem and the shrine of Moses, al-Nabulsi, on both journeys, passed through the village of al-'Aizariyya and visited the grave of the Prophet 'Aizar (Lazarus) ('Aizar al-Nabi). On each occasion al-Nabulsi repeated the current belief that 'Aizar was the same man whom Christ raised from the dead (*al-Hadra*: 233; *al-Haqiqa*: 135, 138).

Al-Nabulsi's interest and joy in visiting the graves of the earlier prophets mentioned in the Holy Qur'an reaches its peak on his visit, on both voyages, to Bethlehem and its Church of the Nativity which traditionally marks the place where Jesus was born. Al-Nabulsi refers to Jesus as 'the prophet without sin' (*al-nabi al-ma'sum*). Al-Nabulsi also says that he saw the date palm to which Mary clung during labour. On his first voyage, al-Nabulsi describes the architecture and the decoration of the Church of Nativity. He quotes from earlier writers the traditions connected with the church. Al-Nabulsi also visited a mosque in Bethlehem. He explains that one half of the inhabitants of Bethlehem are Christians, the other half Muslims and that they make beads from olive wood which they sell to the tourists (*al-Haqiqa*: 295-9).

On the later visit to Bethlehem during his second journey in 1693, al-Nabulsi and his companions were given hospitality by monks with whom they dined and spent the night. Al-Nabulsi was very much impressed by, and indeed rejoiced in, the music of the organ played by the monks which he likened to the sweet voices of the blackbird, the nightingale and the bulbul (*asma'una fihi saut al-urghula fa-ka'annahum istantaqu shahruran wa hazaran wa bulbula*) (*al-Haqiqa*: 125). Al-Nabulsi's visit with his companions to the monks and the hospitality the latter offered them are clear indications of the religious tolerance of both parties and the spirit of co-existence that prevailed among them. On another occasion, while visiting the shrine of the Prophet David, al-Nabulsi spent the night in total happiness, as he says (*wa bitna fihi tilka al-laila fi surur tamm*) (*al-Haqiqa*: 138). Belonging to the Qadiri and the Naqshbandi *tariqas*, and as a Sufi dedicated to the love of God and His creation, al-Nabulsi was open to other faiths. He wrote a treatise entitled *Hadha Kitab al-Qaul al-Sadid fi Jawaz Khulf al-Wa'id wa'l-Radd 'ala al-Rumi al-Jahil al-*

Anid ('This is the Book of Sound Doctrine on the Permissibility of Dropping the Threat and Refutation of the Ignorant and Obstinate Rumi') in which he faulted a Rumi (Turkish) *'alim* who insisted that non-Muslims are destined to go to hell. Al-Nabulsi reasoned that Muslims are promised they will go to paradise and that non-Muslims are merely threatened they will go to hell. A threat can be dropped, according to al-Nabulsi, because forgiveness is one of the attributes of God and also because non-Muslims by paying the poll-tax do good to Muslims. Al-Nabulsi goes on to say that all will be Muslims in the hereafter.⁹

During his second journey to Jerusalem, al-Nabulsi, while on a visit to a local notable, Shaikh Abu 'l-Wafa al-'Alami, on Thursday evening, 13 Rabi' I 1105/12 November 1693, was asked by Abu 'l-Wafa's son Mustafa to name the most eminent prophet other than the Prophet Muhammad. Al-Nabulsi answered that it was Ibrahim al-Khalil. Moses ranked after Ibrahim, and then came Jesus, according to al-Nabulsi. Mustafa then asked al-Nabulsi to write a treatise about the ranking of the prophets, which he did—*Safwat al-Asfiya' fi 'l-Tafdil Baina al-Anbiya' 'Alaihim al-Salam* ('Choicest of the Chosen: on Preference among the Prophets, Peace Be Upon Them') (*al-Hadra*: 235).

While al-Nabulsi was visiting al-Madrassa al-Qadiriyya during his first journey to Jerusalem in 1690, Shaikh Musa al-Maghribi raised with him the issue of smoking tobacco, which was banned by the *'ulama'*. This was a hot issue in the Ottoman Empire at the time and Jerusalem was no exception to the controversy over the permissibility of smoking tobacco. Al-Nabulsi, who was inclined to allow smoking, comments on the conversation that Shaikh Musa finally accepted his argument. Around 1720, al-Nabulsi, in his capacity as Hanafi jurist and a notable *'alim*, officially legalised smoking tobacco in his famous treatise *al-Sulh baina al-Ikhwan fi Hukm Ibahat al-Dukkhkhan* ('Peace among Friends on the Permissibility of Smoking').¹⁰ Al-Nabulsi's pragmatic reasoning was that smoking is like food—if it hurts a person, he should not take it; if it does not hurt him, why not take it? Jurists in Istanbul and Egypt, among other places, also allowed the smoking of tobacco at about the same time.

Seventeen years after al-Nabulsi's second journey to Jerusalem in 1693—that is, in 1122/1710—Shaikh Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi (1099-1162/1688-1749) went on a journey from Damascus to Jerusalem (for his biography see al-Muradi 1966, 2: 190-200). He recorded his account of the journey in a work entitled *al-Khamra*

⁹ Al-Nabulsi ms. *Hadha Kitab al-Qaul al-Sadid fi Jawaz Khulf al-Wa'id wa'l-Radd 'ala al-Rumi al-Jahil al-Anid*, Berlin National Library, Mq. 1581.

¹⁰ 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (ed.), Muhammad Ahmad Dahman, *al-Sulh baina al-Ikhwan fi Hukm Ibahat al-Dukkhkhan*, Damascus, 1343 AH.

al-Hasiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya.¹¹ A Damascene scholar and Sufi, on separate journeys Siddiqi visited Istanbul, Baghdad, Aleppo, Mount Lebanon, Jerusalem, Hebron and Egypt. He left an account of each journey. He visited Jerusalem several times because for him it was home (*baladihi Bait al-Maqdis*) just like Damascus, according to his contemporary Damascene biographer al-Muradi. Aged twenty-two when he began his journey from Damascus to Jerusalem on 19 Muharram 1122/20 March 1710, Siddiqi, accompanied by his uncle, travelled with a group of visitors and merchants. He does not mention dates nor enumerate the days of his journey, as al-Nabulsi had done, but he says that he was back in Damascus in the middle of Sha'ban 1122/9 October 1710. His trip thus lasted about six and a half months.

Upon arriving at the gate of Jerusalem, Siddiqi and his companions sought permission from the local authorities to enter the city. At the time, this was required for all those who entered and left the city. He entered through the 'Shami Gate' (al-Bab al-Shami), as he put it, meaning Bab Dimashq (Damascus Gate), which was another name for Bab al-'Amud. He lodged in the house of al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Tawaqi near the Aqsa Mosque.

Unlike al-Nabulsi, who associated himself with a number of people in Jerusalem, Siddiqi gives the names of only two Jerusalem notables whose company he enjoyed. They were al-Sayyid 'Alam al-Din al-'Alami, a distinguished notable, and Shaikh Yahya al-Dajani, a Khalwati Sufi, like Siddiqi.¹² The day following his arrival in Jerusalem, Siddiqi, with a group of people, set out to visit the shrine of Moses, the Interlocutor of God (*Kalim Allah*). It was the season of visitation to the shrine when Sufis flocked there carrying flags and beating drums, which pleased Siddiqi. On the way to the shrine, Siddiqi passed through the village of 'Aizariyya. Like al-Nabulsi, he quotes Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali about Lazarus being the one raised by Christ from the dead (*al-Khamra*: 10a). At the shrine of Moses, Siddiqi was entertained in the tent of 'Alam al-Din al-'Alami who had accompanied him from Jerusalem.

Siddiqi stayed at the shrine of Moses for six days. He saw men and women of the lower strata of society mixing together and groups of Sufis parading daily beating their drums and hoisting their flags. Like al-Nabulsi, he speaks about the spiritual experiences which the visitor to the shrine feels and he invokes the appropriate quotations from the earlier sources on this occasion. He absolves the participants in the celebrations from the guilt of their actions (*al-Khamra*: 10b-15a).

For Siddiqi, however, the main attraction was the Aqsa Mosque, where he spent much of his time sitting in one of the window embrasures gazing at the Mukabbar Mountain (Jabal al-Mukabbar) and the Khatuniyya gardens. He wrote much poetry in praise of al-Aqsa. He prayed most of the time with the Hanafi *imam*, attended the study circle of Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili, and read *sufi* invocations written by the son of his *sufi* master Jamal al-Din Muhammad al-Azhari. He himself also wrote invocations and tracts inspired by his Jerusalem visit, the most famous of which is *al-Fath al-Qudsi wa'l-Kashf al-Unsi* (an alternative title is *al-Nahj al-Qarib ila Liqa' al-Habib*). The inspiration to write this work, according to Siddiqi, occurred to him while on a visit to his uncle's shop in Jerusalem.

After visiting Hebron with friends and accompanied by guards for security, Siddiqi spent about three months in the Khalwat al-Najawiyya (*sufi* retreat) in Jerusalem. In the course of his stay, he made visits to nearby religious spots, such as the shrine of the Prophet David and Tur Zaita. He also visited the village of Baituniyya, which was a *waqf* for the Dome of the Rock, and was accompanied by members of the Dajani family. They all visited the tomb of the mother of Ahmad al-Dajani there (*al-Khamra*: 21a-26a).

The atmosphere in Jerusalem was congenial for a *sufi* master like Siddiqi. He fraternised with Sufis, propagated his Khalwatiyya Tariqa, and won over to it many persons from all *madhhabs*. He was elated by his success (*al-Khamra*: 22a-23a).

Siddiqi does not give a date for his departure from Jerusalem. On the way to Damascus, he mentions the persons he met in the villages and halting-places, most of whom were Sufis. He arrived in Damascus in mid-Sha'ban 1122/9 October 1710, after spending about six and a half months on his journey to Jerusalem. Later, Siddiqi returned several times to Jerusalem on what was described by his biographer al-Muradi as 'pilgrimages to meet Sufis'.

Twenty years after Siddiqi's journey to Jerusalem, in 1721, Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi al-Shafi'i al-Dimyati (1105-78/1693-1765) journeyed from Dimyat to Jerusalem (for his biography see al-Muradi 1966, 4: 154-66). Al-Luqaimi's ancestors were from and took the name of a village called Luqaim in the region of Ta'if in the Hijaz. Mustafa was born and raised in Dimyat (Damietta) in Egypt, but he was no stranger to Bilad al-Sham (Syria); he eventually moved to Damascus where he made his residence (*nazil Dimashq*), and he died there.

Al-Luqaimi's account of his journey from Dimyat to Jerusalem in 1731 is entitled *Mawanih al-Uns bi-Rihlati li-Wadi al-Quds*.¹³ Because of al-Luqaimi's earlier interest

¹¹ Reference here is to the manuscript copy in the Berlin National Library no. 6149, Mq. 460.

¹² Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi, ms. *al-Khamra al-Hasiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*, Berlin National Library no. 6149, Mq. 466 10a.

¹³ Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi, ms. *Mawanih al-Uns bi-Rihlati li-Wadi al-Quds*, Zahiriyya Library (currently in Asad National Library, Damascus), no. 5248.

in Jerusalem, while still at Dimyat, he summarised the work of Ibrahim al-Suyuti, (*Ithaf al-Akhis* fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and that of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaimi al-Muqaddasi al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Ta'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalil*, and included the summary in a work entitled *Lata'if al-Uns al-Jalil fi Taha'if al-Quds wa'l-Khalil*¹⁴ to which he referred in *Mawanih al-Uns*.

Al-Luqaimi began his journey from Dimyat to Jerusalem by land on 8 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1143/15 May 1731. He reached Gaza on 25 May, Ramla on 27 May, and on the following day he arrived in Jerusalem. As he approached the city, al-Luqaimi remarked on the solid wall of the city. He says it had six gates: Bab al-Asbat, Bab al-Sahira, Bab al-'Amud, Bab al-Khalil, Bab Da'ud, and Bab al-Maghariba (*Mawanih*: 23a). Al-Luqaimi apparently was referring only to those gates which were much frequented during his time. He does not include all the gates mentioned by Suyuti and Mujir al-Din 'Ulaimi nor those mentioned by al-Nabulsi, from whose travel account he quotes. Al-Luqaimi was accommodated in Jerusalem in the Khalwat al-Khalwatiyya of Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi who happened also to be in Jerusalem at the time.

Like the earlier Arab travellers, al-Luqaimi visited the Haram al-Sharif, the Citadel, Tur Zaita, the village of 'Aizariyya and the shrines of the prophets. He also visited the tombs of eminent scholars and Sufis either in their separate locations or in the cemetery of Mamilla. In addition he went to Hebron on 2 Dhu'l-Hijja 1143/8 June 1731 and relates the stories associated with the Patriarch Ibrahim al-Khalil, his family and descendants at much greater length than the stories related by either al-Nabulsi or Siddiqi (*Mawanih*: 35a-47a). On the way back from Hebron, he visited Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity. He elaborates on the history of Jesus on this occasion. He quotes a Hadith (tradition) attributed to the Prophet Muhammad in which he said that the four most virtuous women in the world were Maryam bint 'Umran (the mother of Christ), Khadija bint Khuwailid, Assya bint Far'un and Fatima bint Muhammad (*Mawanih*: 48b).

After Hebron, al-Luqaimi visited the shrine of the Prophet David. He delves into the details of the traditions connected with the shrine (*Mawanih*: 49a). Describing the religious sites whether in Jerusalem or elsewhere, al-Luqaimi quotes from the same books that were used by earlier travellers, notably Suyuti's *al-Akhis* and Mujir al-Din 'Ulaimi's *Uns al-Jalil*, as well as the travel account of Siddiqi (*al-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*) and that of al-Nabulsi, although this he does not specify (*Mawanih*: 56b).

While he was in Jerusalem, al-Luqaimi visited the

Shafi'i scholar Muhammad al-Khalili and was entertained by the orator of the Aqsa Mosque, Shaikh Nur al-Din al-Jama'i (Ibn Jama'a) (*Mawanih*: 24a, 33a). The peak of the visit for al-Luqaimi was his initiation into the Khalwatiyya Tariqa at the hands of Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi (*Mawanih*: 50a). Taking pleasure in his visit to Jerusalem and its environs, at the Spring of Silwan ('Ain Silwan) al-Luqaimi recalled the saying of Abu Huraira that of all cities, God has chosen only four, Mecca, Madina, Bait al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) and Damascus, and of all water springs, He also chose only four—'Ain Bisan, 'Ain Silwan, 'Ain Zamzam and 'Ain 'Akka (Acre) (*Mawanih*: 50b-51a). 'Ain Zamzam is in Mecca, the other three are all in Palestine.

Before ending his visit to Jerusalem, al-Luqaimi visited a number of shrines, including the tomb of Moses on 11 Muharram 1144/16 July 1731 and the shrine of Abu Thaur in the village named after him on 20 Muharram/25 July. It took al-Luqaimi five hours to reach the shrine of David from Jerusalem. He elaborates on its history and traditions. Abu Thaur, al-Luqaimi recalls, participated in the first Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (*Mawanih*: 53a-57a).

Al-Luqaimi ended his visit to Jerusalem on Sunday, 1 Safar 1144/5 August 1731 and headed back towards Damascus in the company of Siddiqi and others. Reflecting on his visit, al-Luqaimi highlights his acquaintance with Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi who initiated him into the Khalwatiyya Tariqa, upgraded him in its ranks and taught him how to face the difficulties of life by utilising *sufi* invocations. Al-Luqaimi also recalls his friendship with Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili al-Shafi'i, his attendance in his scholarly circle, and the *ijaza* he received from him. Other religious notables whom al-Luqaimi had met included Shaikh Ahmad al-Maliki the time-keeper (*al-muwaggit*) in the Haram, Shaikh 'Ali al-Daghistani, who sat in the Madrasa al-Sultaniyya in the Aqsa Mosque and from whom he learned the discipline of the soul, which he characterises as the Great Holy War (*al-jihad al-Akbar*), Abu Bakr al-'Alami, the Hanafi *mufti*, and Shaikh 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Shafi'i whom he met in the Madrasat al-Nahawiyya in the Haram (*Mawanih*: 61a-63a).

Although several Muslims from North Africa (the Maghrib) visited Jerusalem as travellers, the majority came to stay there as Maliki scholars and *mujawirs*. Not much is known about the travel accounts of the *maghariba*. A published Maghribi travel account which deserves a citation is written by the Moroccan Abu 'l-Qasim al-Zayyani (1147-1249/1734-1833) under the title of *al-Tarjumana al-Kubra fi Akhbar al-Ma'mur Barran wa Bahran* (ed. al-Filali 1991). Al-Zayyani apparently visited Hebron and Jerusalem only in the last decade of the 18th century or the early years of the 19th. His visit seems to have occurred after he performed the pilgrimage to the Hijaz

¹⁴ Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi, ms. *Lata'if al-Uns al-Jalil fi Taha'if al-Quds wa'l-Khalil*, Berlin National Library, no. We.1104.

about the year 1791. He came from the Maghrib to Alexandria by sea on a merchant vessel, then went to Rhodes, Acre, Tripoli and Antioch. From Antioch, he went by land to al-Khalil and then visited Jerusalem. He does not describe how he travelled.

Al-Zayyani's visit to al-Khalil was in spring. He was overjoyed to visit the Great Mosque and gives both religious and architectural detail. In Jerusalem, however, he limits his curiosity and detail to the Haram. He mentions that Jerusalem has seven gates—Bab al-'Amud where he entered the city, Bab al-Zahira (al-Sahira), Bab al-Asbat, Bab al-Maghariba, Bab al-Nabi Da'ud, Bab al-Khalil and Bab Khitta (Hitta). Like the other Muslim travellers to Jerusalem, al-Zayyani uses the terms al-Haram al-Sharif and al-Masjid al-Aqsa alternately. He states that the Haram is seven hundred and eighty *dhira'* long (the *dhira'* in general measures seventy centimetres) and four hundred and fifty *dhira'* wide. The wall that surrounds it is three paces in depth and has twelve gates, all of which are open. Al-Zayyani first singles out Bab al-Rahma and Bab al-Tauba which he says are on the eastern side. Quoting from historical anecdote, al-Zayyani explains that Bab al-Rahma was so called because it opens on the inside into the mosque and on the outside into the valley of hell (al-Zayyani 1991: 267). When al-Zayyani later elaborates on the Aqsa Mosque, he says that the number of its open gates is eleven (not twelve, as he had mentioned earlier). These include the two joined gates on the eastern side (Bab al-Rahma and Bab al-Tauba), Bab al-Asbat, Bab Hitta on the northern side, Bab Sharaf al-Anbiya' also on the northern side, where 'Umar ibn al-Khattab is reported to have entered Jerusalem, Bab al-Maghariba to the east, and Bab al-Ghawanima, Bab al-Hadid, Bab al-Qattanin, Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-Sakina, whose locations he does not indicate. He says, however, that Bab al-Maghariba is so called because it is adjacent to the Maghariba Mosque and also leads to the Maghariba quarter (Harat al-Maghariba) (al-Zayyani 1991: 273-4). The measurements of the Haram and the number of its gates mentioned by al-Zayyani differ from those given, for example, by al-Nabulsi a century earlier. Al-Nabulsi based his information on Mujir al-Din 'Ulaimi's work (see for example al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra*: 98 ff), but al-Zayyani gives no source for his information.

Al-Zayyani's main focus is on the Aqsa Mosque which he says is located on the southern side of the Haram. He praises it as being the place of the Friday sermon, the Friday prayer and the pulpit (*fihi al-Khutba wa'l-Jum'a wa'l-Minbar*) (al-Zayyani 1991: 267). He engages in a detailed description of the decorative colours in the mosque among which he says gold predominates, gilding being lavishly and profusely used. He says that to the east of al-Aqsa and attached to it is the mosque built by Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, in the middle of which is a square leading to the *mihrab* of Zakariyya (Zacharias) on which is written in gold God's announcement to him that he will

have a boy to be named Yahya (John) (al-Zayyani 1991: 268). Outside al-Aqsa, on the east side, according to al-Zayyani, there is a mosque with two domes which is the Mosque of 'Isa (Jesus), and to the east of it there is a door which leads to the lower floor where the Cradle (*mahd*) of 'Isa is to be found. Earlier Arab travellers, such as al-Nabulsi (see for example *al-Hadra*: 146) also visited the Cradle of 'Isa here.

Al-Zayyani then goes on to describe the Dome of the Rock and the mosque. His praise of it is no less than that of earlier travellers but with one major difference—they mostly quote earlier works whereas al-Zayyani simply expresses his admiration and is satisfied to quote anecdotes. Shaikh Shams al-Din al-Karmi told al-Zayyani that the lead which covered the dome weighed thirty thousand Damascene *qintars* (a unit which varied in weight according to date and place but in Syria from 100 pounds to 256.4 kilograms).

Al-Zayyani, unlike his predecessors, cited the texts of the writings inscribed either on the religious edifices themselves in the Haram or on copper plates attached to them. On a window in the southern side of the Dome of the Rock, for instance, al-Zayyani saw a large copper plate on which were inscribed praises to God, to the Prophet Muhammad, and to the 'Abbasid rulers followed by the date of Rabi' I 216/April-May 831 (al-Zayyani 191: 271-2).

Al-Zayyani ends his description of the Aqsa Mosque by giving a brief historical survey. He says that the mosque was built by the Prophet of God Adam forty years after Adam had built the Ka'ba (*al-Bait al-Haram*). But, he continues, al-Aqsa was built thousands of years before Adam until it was destroyed by the Flood. Then he recounts the different phases of its history and how it was misused until Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab cleared the site and built the mosque there (al-Zayyani 1991: 275).

A new type of travel account appears with the journey to Palestine of the Arab Christian historian from Damascus, Nu'man al-Qasatli (1856-1920). What establishes al-Qasatli's reputation as an historian rather than a chronicler is the history of Damascus which he wrote under the title of *al-Rawda al-Ghanna' fi Dimashq al-Fayha* in which he dealt with almost all aspects of life in the city with much insight and analysis. He mentions at the end of this book that he will follow it by another book entitled *Mir'at Suriyya wa Misr* (al-Qasatli 1876). Sadly, nothing is known of the whereabouts of this volume. However, some of al-Nabulsi's travel account in Palestine, which seems to be part of it, has recently been found. Two of its three sections (al-Qasatli refers to them as *defters*) have been discovered.¹⁵

¹⁵ Abdul-Karim Rafeq discovered the two *defters* of al-Qasatli's *al-Rauda al-Nu'maniyya fi Siyahat Filastin wa ba'd al-Buldan al-Shamiyya* in the Zahiriyya manuscripts collection (geography section) under an anonymous author, nos. 4919-20, and used them extensively in Rafeq 1990, 2: 849-990.

Al-Qasatli's new approach, especially in the description of his voyage in Palestine, and the way he looked at events, interpreted them and reached logical conclusions based on them, constitute a major change in Syria's traditional historiography. Al-Qasatli apparently acquired much insight from his work with scholars sent to Palestine by the Palestine Exploration Fund who published their research in the Fund's publication, *The Quarterly Statement*. In his travel account on Palestine, al-Qasatli refers, for instance, to Captain C R Conder, who was a noted scholar and member of the Fund (al-Qasatli 1876: pt. 123). The experience thus acquired by al-Qasatli shows in his travel account in which he includes both architectural sketches and plans of ancient sites in Palestine.

Al-Qasatli departed from 'my town' (*madinati*—Damascus—as he refers to it), on Saturday, 26 September 1874, heading towards Palestine by way of Beirut. He toured many towns and sites before arriving at Jerusalem. His account of Jerusalem, where he says he stayed for three months and one day, is unfortunately rather fragmentary and incomplete compared to what he wrote about the other Palestinian towns. It could be that the third missing *defter* of his account would fill this gap.

Unlike the earlier Arab travellers who never gave any figures concerning the number of inhabitants, al-Qasatli, in the style of European travellers, gives a reasonably accurate estimate of their number. To judge by the accuracy of what he has written about Damascus, he seems to have had access to Ottoman and European sources on population figures and other details. Chief among the Ottoman sources to which he had access is the *Salname* (yearbook) of Syria of the year 1288/1871-2, which is extremely important, given the varied information and statistics it offers for that early period. After giving a brief survey of the ancient history of Jerusalem (*Urshalim* and *al-Quds al-Sharif*), al-Qasatli estimates its population at the time of his visit in 1874, at 40,000 inhabitants, of whom 6,000 were Muslims, 12,000 Christians of different denominations, both foreign and native (*min jami' al-tawa'if Afranj wa wataniyyin*), and the remainder 22,000 Jews, made up of natives (*wataniyyin*, apparently Oriental and Sephardic Jews) and *Siknaj* (Ashkenazim—German Jews—and affiliates). Al-Qasatli records his insight that probably after a short time the population of this city will

increase considerably because of the influx of Jews to it from all over the world (al-Qasatli 1876, pt. 1: 5-8 of unnumbered pages).

Al-Qasatli describes the population of Jerusalem as being composed of different nations with different languages and tastes. The houses of the city are, he says, built of stone, and the population enjoys a good life. Crafts there are limited in number, with the exception of the profession of construction which is almost monopolised by Christian builders. The building activity is concentrated mainly outside the walls of the city. Al-Qasatli estimates that 5,000-6,000 of Jerusalem's 40,000 inhabitants live outside the walls and suffer from lack of water. He estimates that in the past the circumference of the city had been nine or more miles but in his day it was a mere three miles (al-Qasatli 1876, pt. 1: 96).

The craft of carpenters, catering for the new buildings, and that of shoe-makers were both making good progress at the time, according to al-Qasatli. Wood was also used in making religious souvenirs for tourists. Soap-making was mainly the profession of peasants. Candle-making and the icon industry were also flourishing because of demand by tourists and for religious occasions. Al-Qasatli, however, laments the small number of crafts in Jerusalem overall and he urges the population to introduce a greater variety. He also encourages them to teach mathematics in the schools to avoid calamities awaiting them in the future. He refers to the poor commercial activity in Jerusalem which is in the hands of Europeans and Jews. The only commodities Jerusalem exports, according to al-Qasatli, are soap and a limited number of icons and rosaries, most of which were made in Bethlehem (al-Qasatli 1876: 8-9 unnumbered pages).

The perspective of the Arab travellers, whether Muslim or Christian, visiting Jerusalem differs from that of the European travellers who came more frequently to Jerusalem. In much the same way as the Muslim travellers were primarily interested in describing the holy places of Islam, the European travellers were mainly interested in describing the Christian religious establishments. However, the Muslims travellers, for their part, also visited those Jewish and Christian shrines which were cited in the Qur'an. The accounts of both groups of travellers thus complement each other.

Chapter 7

OTTOMAN JERUSALEM IN WESTERN EYES

Ernst Axel Knauf

In the course of the last millennium, few cities of the Old World have received more visitors than has Jerusalem, or have been so thoroughly drenched in ink by their visitors.¹ First came the pilgrims who proclaimed the glory of the holy city (and the heroic achievement of going there) in all European languages, from Rhetoromanian (Bundi 1880-3: 151-96) to Catalan (Vallespinosa 1926). There followed² the explorer-traveller of the Enlightenment, the knight errant of empiricism and rationalism and, so one would have expected, more curious and less prejudiced than his medieval predecessors. Finally the 19th century arrived, and with it the beginning of the end of the Ottoman empire and of Ottoman Jerusalem. The relapse into romanticism as attested by Châteaubriand quickly evolved into mass tourism which flooded the Promised Land with hordes of the not-so-innocent (for the rapid change in travelling conditions between 1800 and 1900 see Berchet 1985: 4-9). In the company of both the romantic and the tourist, we now encounter the antiquarian like Melchior de Vogüé who, although

a turcophobe himself (Berchet 1985: 18), was the first to make the architecture, mosaics and inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock known to the scholarly world; and, in the company of the antiquarian, the archaeologist—that scavenger-bird of decaying cultures which he haughtily disregards in search of what was no longer, or even never, there (cf. Silberman 1982). The last decades of the Ottoman empire added to Jerusalem's population the refugee and the carpet-bagger.

And nearly everybody who came felt compelled, it seems, to leave his report for posterity. One would expect Ottoman Jerusalem to be the most thoroughly documented city of Western travelogues. The opposite is the case. In western eyes, Ottoman Jerusalem did not exist. The pilgrims did not visit Jerusalem in order to see what was there but to imagine what had been there. They knew what their audience at home expected to hear and they reported it, without omitting or adding anything. Faithfully they reproduced again and again the accustomed catalogue of holy places. It mattered little that some 'pilgrims' plagiarised their predecessors blatantly, preferring the amenities of armchair travel to prolonged presence among foreign—and 'pagan'—people without forfeiting the prestige, the privileges (and the knighthood) that the pilgrimage, once accomplished, could bestow (Welten 1977). By its very nature, the pilgrim's report could not avoid matching the public's expectations. The Jerusalem pilgrims inaugurated a tradition of theological urban topography from which no later visitor, religious or not, would be able to escape.

The Turk—also and indiscriminately known as Arab, pagan, Moor, and infidel (few visitors remarked that Turks and Arabs lived in the Holy Land)—only appears as

¹ An impressive, if not wholly exhaustive bibliography of Holy Land travelogues has been compiled by Röhrich (1890; 1963). For the period 1878 to 1914 which is, however, for reasons that will become obvious in the course of this contribution, of less interest, Röhrich's work has been continued by Thomsen (1911-1916; 1960). All dates are AD due to the nature of the sources and the scope of the article.

² In the canton of Fribourg, the last pilgrim's report was composed shortly after 1640; the date may be taken as representative (cf. de Diesbach 1893: 262). Even if there were fewer pilgrims and no more pilgrims' reports during the 18th century, the touristic infrastructure of the Jerusalem pilgrimage remained intact, as travellers like Niebuhr and Châteaubriand illustrate in detail.

a figure of oppression and of divine punishment. He represents the power of darkness which, when defied, serves to make the achievements of the pilgrim shine brighter. 'Turks' and 'Pilgrims' are no longer inhabitants of the real world; they become actors in a metaphysical drama. Instead of innumerable tedious examples from pilgrims' prose, one may adduce a pilgrims' song of 1581 AD for this stereotyped view (de Diesbach 1893: 281):

*Es soll uns syn ein härte Buss,
Mit grossem Gelt man jährlich muss
Die heillgen Stetten fristen,
S'Land ist verwüst, s'Volk umgestalt
Ist alles in des Türcken Gwalt
Zu Straff der Sünd der Christen,
Den Pilgern gschicht auch grosse Schmach,
Mit Schahen, Stossen, Werfen zwar
Sie lydends Christi Exempell nach.*³

Rarely does a pilgrim note that the Ottoman administration policed the country, provided security, and dispensed justice.⁴ Turks or Arabs (and Jews) have only one role to fulfil—that of a *massa perditionis*, in order to illustrate the divine justice which inflicted utter desolation upon those who strayed from the path of the true believer or, as the 19th century would have it, from the ways of right-thinking Europeans.

The last of the pilgrims and first of the cultural imperialists, Châteaubriand, may serve as a prime example of a visitor to Ottoman Jerusalem who observed nearly everything and understood next to nothing. Visiting Jerusalem in 1806, he paid for his Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre (Châteaubriand 1969: 1122-3) by a blindness to everything that did not conform to a romanticised past.⁵ Not that he did not pay attention to Turkish Jerusalem: he did, and to a much larger extent than many of his predecessors or successors. After the lengthy and exhaustive recollection of each and every biblical or Christian memorial, he seizes the opportunity to describe Ottoman Jerusalem—'*cette dix-septième ombre de la Jérusalem primitive*' (Châteaubriand 1969: 1059)—by quarters and even by streets (the names in only slightly

hackneyed transcription); he observes the functioning of at least one Muslim charitable institution, and duly attributes the construction of the city wall to Sulaiman the Magnificent (Châteaubriand 1969: 1959-67). But the lasting impression which he took with him when he parted was the expected one of utter desolation:

Les maisons de Jérusalem sont de lourdes masses carrées, fort basses, sans cheminées et sans fenêtres; elles se terminent en terrasses applaties ou en dômes, et elles ressemblent à des prisons ou à des sépulcres. . . A la vue de ces maisons de pierres, renfermées dans un paysage de pierre, on se demande si ce ne sont pas là les monuments confus d'un cimetière au milieu d'un désert ? Entrez dans la ville, rien ne vous consolera de la tristesse extérieure ... (Châteaubriand 1969: 1124-5).⁶

The pilgrim-savant saw what he wanted to see. Having explicitly stated who built the city wall of Jerusalem does not prevent Châteaubriand from calling it and its bastions more than once '*gothique*' (Châteaubriand 1969: 1041, 1063, 1124). For those who might assume, in the author's favour, '*gothique*' to be a synonym for 'medieval', he defines the term when describing the architectural heritage of Jerusalem: '*5° les monuments gothiques sous les rois français*' (Châteaubriand 1969: 1070). After trying to do justice to the Umayyads, Châteaubriand concludes his survey of architectural history:

Quant aux monuments turcs, derniers témoins qui attestent à Jérusalem les revolutions des Empires, ils ne valent pas la peine qu'on s'y arrête: j'en ai parlé seulement pour avertir qu'il ne faut pas du tout confondre les ouvrages des Tartares avec les travaux des Maures. Au fond, il est plus vrai de dire que les Turcs ignorent absolument l'architecture; ils n'ont fait qu'enlaidir les édifices grecs et les édifices arabes, en les couronnant de dômes massifs et de pavillons chinois. Quelques bazars et des oratoires de santons, sont tout ce que les nouveaux tyrans de Jérusalem ont ajouté à cette ville infortunée (Châteaubriand 1969: 1086).

Desolation, utter desolation: there is no pilgrim or pilgrim-out-of-his-time who does not chant this line.

Le paysage qui environne la ville est affreux: ce sont de toutes partes des montagnes nues ... Ces montagnes ne sont pas tellement serrées, qu'elles ne présentent des intervalles par où l'oeil va chercher

³ 'This should be heavy penance for us / by much money year by year / to keep the holy places. / The land deserted, people changed, / all in the power of the Turk / to punish Christian sins. / The pilgrims suffer much distress, / namely by being mobbed, pushed and thrown at; / suffering they emulate Christ.'

⁴ As does François Rudella in 1648 (de Diesbach 1983: 254-5), but Rudella was himself a captain in the infantry (later a colonel), and does not report the activities of his Ottoman comrades without remarking that 'the Turks exercise their power with much tyranny' (*ibid.* 254).

⁵ True pilgrim and would-be saint, he preserved until the end of his life the shirt which he wore on that occasion, a sleeve of which—a true relic!—is now in the possession of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (Châteaubriand 1969: 1733).

⁶ Châteaubriand characterises the interior of the average Jerusalem house as '*une assez grande salle et une quinzaine de trous qu'on appelle des chambres*' (Châteaubriand 1969: 1091).

*des autres perspectives; mais ces ouvertures ne
laissent voir que d'arrière-plans de rochers aussi
arides que les premiers plans,*

wrote Châteaubriand (1969: 1060), and half a century later Herman Melville joins in:

Barrenness of Judea. Whitish mildew pervading whole traces of landscape—bleached—leprosy—encrustation of curses—old cheese—bones of rocks—crunched, gnawed & mumbled—mere refuse and rubbish of creation—like that outlying of Jaffa gate—all Judea seems to have been accumulation of that rubbish. So rubbishy, that no chiffonier could find any thing all over it.—You see the anatomy—compares with ordinary regions as skeleton with living & rosy man.—No moss as in other ruins—no grace of decay—no ivy—The unleavened nakedness of desolation (Melville 1989: 83).⁷

If this is less elegant than Châteaubriand would have phrased it, Melville is far more powerful and outspoken. He is right—Ottoman Jerusalem was no city of the élite. 'No country will more quickly dissipate romantic expectations than Palestine—particularly Jerusalem. To some this disappointment is heart sickening &c' as the author himself said in his analysis (Melville 1989: 91). Although Melville, too, paid his toll of the appropriate religio-philosophical reflections,⁸ it was no longer the heavenly nor Ottoman Jerusalem that he visited, but already the Jerusalem of the tourists⁹—and the evangelical Jerusalem of the empire-builders, where unsolicited charities from every continent and a broad variety of denominations began to gather and to compete. In Melville's time, the sceptical pilgrim and the puritan poet handed out a full serving of Christian Jerusalem and the

habitually meagre sample of the Ottoman city, consisting of the Dome of the Rock (Melville 1989: 85) and cemeteries: 'Opposite, the cemetery of the Turks—close up to the walls of the city, & barring the way of the closed arches of the Beautiful Gate ... The city besieged by army of dead—cemeteries all around' (Melville 1989: 86).

Did no Western visitor ever perceive Ottoman Jerusalem as a living, functioning town? If anyone, the travellers of the Enlightenment, betrayed by Châteaubriand and largely unknown to Melville, might be expected to have relinquished most contemporary prejudices. Indeed, it is one of the most amiable explorers of the 18th century, the Danish Lieutenant of Engineers Carsten Niebuhr, who visited Jerusalem in August 1766, who left a description which might help at least partially to rectify the imbalances inherent in Western perceptions of the city:

Nach den vielen Erzählungen, welche ich auf dieser Reise von der Grausamkeit der hiesigen Araber hörte, glaubte ich anfänglich selbst, dass in Palästina jetzt die allerschlechteste Menschen-Race wohne. Bey einer näheren Untersuchung aber wird man wohl finden, dass die Einwohner dieses Landes nicht bössartiger sind, als die in andren Gegenden (Niebuhr 1837: 44).¹⁰

[Jerusalem] liegt in einer etwas bergichten und sehr fruchtbaren Gegend; denn der Waizen giebt hier wohl 16 fältig, wenn der Acker gut bearbeitet, und das Jahr nicht zu trocken ist, und die Durra, (kleiner Mais), vermehrt sich wohl 200 fältig. Die Baumfrüchte, besonders die Oliven, gerathen hier noch eben so gut, als in den ältesten Zeiten. Aber das allermeiste Land liegt jetzt wüste . . . Die Stadt ist nach türkischer Art mit einer Mauer umgeben, und hat ein kleines Castell; die Häuser sind zum Theil von gehauenen Steinen gebaut und haben nach morgenländischer Art platte Dächer. Eins bemerkte ich, dessen Mauer nach der Strasse ganz von Marmor aufgeführt war. Handlung und Fabriken sind hier von keiner Bedeutung. Hier leben die Mohammedaner auf Kosten der Christen und Juden ... (Niebuhr 1837: 47-8).¹¹

⁷ Diary entry for January 1857. When Melville visited Jerusalem, he endured one of the major crises of his life. One has to concede that Jerusalem in January can be depressing.

⁸ 'Mosque of Omar—Solomon's Temple. Here the wall of Omar rises upon the foundation stone of Solomon, triumphing over that which sustains it, an emblem of the Moslem religion, which at once spurns that deeper faith which fathered it & preceded it. &c' (Melville 1989: 85)—'Is the desolation of the land the result of the fatal embrace of the Deity? Hapless are the favorites of heaven' (*ibid.* 91). Unfortunately, it is more the first and less the second sentiment that one finds elaborately expressed in *Clarel* (Melville 1991), that 19th-century puritan-pilgrim's epic which was Melville's substitute for Châteaubriand's knighthood, and leaves as bad an impression of a failed cross-cultural encounter.

⁹ 'How it affects to be cheated in Jerusalem' (Melville 1989: 85); 'Talk of the guides "Here is the stone Christ leaned against, & here is the English Hotel. Yonder is the arch where Christ was shown to the people, & just by that open window is sold the best coffee in Jerusalem. &c &c &c"' (*ibid.* 89).

¹⁰ 'According to numerous accounts of the local Arabs' cruelty which I heard in the course of this journey, I did initially believe that Palestine is inhabited now by the most vile of human races. Having a closer look one may, however, learn that the inhabitants of this country are no more mischievous than those in other regions.'

¹¹ '[Jerusalem] is situated in a slightly mountainous and very fertile region; for wheat yields 16-fold, if the soil is tilled diligently, and the year not too dry, and durra (small maize) multiplies a good 200 times. The fruits of trees, especially olives, still do as well here as in remotest antiquity. But most

Thus runs approximately one of the more than twenty pages devoted to Jerusalem. Knowing agriculture intimately, and having crossed some of the real deserts of Arabia and Persia, this peasants' son and experienced traveller perceives Jerusalem from a perspective different from that of the savant or the novelist. His genuine piety makes him respect monks, Jews and Muslims alike without preventing him from questioning the veracity of their tales and traditions. Niebuhr is one of the few Christian travellers who adds a list of Jewish holy places to his enumeration of the Christian ones (Niebuhr 1837: 67-70). Niebuhr's simple religious mind has no need of architectural (or archaeological) corroboration of eternal truths; thus he is able to see Jerusalem for what it was—a perfectly normal Ottoman provincial town, no Cairo or Constantinople (Niebuhr 1837: 51), nor the navel of the world. It was, rather, a perfectly normal town except for its economic foundation which consisted, as Niebuhr also noticed, primarily in the marketing and taxing of religion. Like his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, he attributed the obvious decline of the country to Ottoman misrule, which is neither wholly correct nor completely incorrect.¹² But instead of bemoaning Muslim insolence in supplanting Solomon's Temple with the Dome of the Rock, he simply admires the latter's beauty (Niebuhr 1837: 53).

Niebuhr dedicates to Ottoman Jerusalem approximately one page out of more than twenty devoted to the city as a whole—perhaps the most appropriate page written by a western visitor. *Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux*. For more than twenty pages Niebuhr also deals with biblical and Christian Jerusalem. The accumulated weight of a literary Jerusalem—which the author had to cope with and with which his public expected him to deal—was

of the land has fallen waste ... The town is surrounded by a wall in the Turkish fashion, and has a small castle; some of the houses are constructed from dressed stones and have flat roofs in the oriental manner. I noticed one which had its façade entirely built of marble. Commerce and factories are of no importance here. Here the Muslims live at the expense of the Christians and Jews ...'

¹² Europe has survived many a monarch who behaved worse than the Padishah of the most outrageous fantasy. The factors which may be adduced with some degree of probability to explain the decline of the Orient from the 16th century onwards have little or nothing to do with government but are rather to do with attitudes of mind (it was 'Occam's razor' that made Europe think efficiently centuries before European capitalists and politicians started to act efficiently) and with economics, especially the spread of absentee landlordism and the *latifundia* principle (Wirth 1973). Usually, however, this is an indicator that capital could not be invested more productively and thus points to the marginalisation of the eastern Mediterranean within the world economy of the 17th and 18th centuries (Wallerstein 1979). As the history of the former Ottoman possessions after the empire's demise amply demonstrates, it is easy to criticise a mode of government, but extremely hard and sometimes impossible to replace it by something better.

overpowering.¹³ The tradition which told Western eyes what to perceive in, at and behind Ottoman Jerusalem always had been and finally remained the more real reality, and paved the way to disaster.

Desolation, utter desolation: first projected to make the combined curses of the prophets and of Jesus come true, and finally upheld to mark the superiority of the West. At the beginning of the 19th century Châteaubriand easily combined both motives, but the explorers, who by the end of the 19th century had become institutionalised in Jerusalem, were able to abandon the former. This is not the place to rehearse the economic, cultural and political penetration of Palestine by the West in the second half of the 19th century. Suffice it to state that what was denied perception as long as it existed was finally denied existence. What was beyond the destructive capacity of any single European power to achieve was finally accomplished by the interacting rivalry of all. One may cite one last voice from the last days of Ottoman Jerusalem, representative, one fears, of many:

*Mehr als je zuvor sind unsere Augen jetzt auf den 'nahen Osten' gerichtet. Die Waffenbrüderschaft zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei hat neue, gegenwärtige Beziehungen auch zwischen uns und dem Heimatlande unserer Religion geschaffen. Noch in ganz anderer Weise als schon zuvor wird, so hoffen wir, nach dem gemeinsamen Siege deutsche Arbeit, auch deutsche Wissenschaft dort die Türen geöffnet finden. ... Während ich diese Zeilen schreibe, dröhnt in der Ferne der Geschützdonner der Schlacht von Verdun, und unsere Feldgeschütze und Haubitzen hier stimmen krachend und fauchend mit ein.*¹⁴

Fortunately, the Kaiser's soldiers did not win. Unfortunately, what had been the Ottoman empire fared no better under the victors.

¹³ For the impact of the learned and the pious tradition on Enlightenment travelogues, see Brahimi 1982: 21-39.

¹⁴ 'More than ever before, our eyes are now fixed on the "Near East". The fraternity in arms between Germany and Turkey has also created new and current relationships between us and the Motherland of our religion. Far beyond anything so far, German industry and German scholarship will, as we hope, find doors open there after we have shared victory ... While I am writing these lines, the battle of Verdun rumbles from afar, and our field-pieces and howitzers here join in the roaring and thunder.' H Schmidt, preface to Schmidt-Kahle (1918: 8*-9*). The preface is dated 27.2.1916, and the book is dedicated to G Dalman, then Director of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes. The authors had conducted their field-work as his assistants. The preface reveals much of the *raison d'être* of this institute (and similar institutions), and of the mentality of its first director. The book remains a milestone in the dialectology of Palestinian Arabic.

Chapter 8

JERUSALEM IN ISLAM: THE THREE HONORIFIC NAMES OF THE CITY

Angelika Neuwirth

1. The spiritual triangle—Mecca-Madina-Jerusalem

Thaur ibn Yazid said:

The sanctuary of the earth (*al-quds al-ard*) is Syria; the sanctuary of Syria is Palestine; the sanctuary of Palestine is Jerusalem; the sanctuary of Jerusalem is 'the Mount'; the sanctuary of the Mount is the place of worship (*masjid*); the sanctuary of the place of worship is the Qubbat al-Sakhra.¹

On the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri it is related 'The Apostle of God said: "Set out only for three mosques—the mosque of Medina, the mosque of Abraham and the mosque of Jerusalem"'. Ibn 'Asakir says that al-Bukhari and Muslim relate this. Then he mentions in another citation: "The sacred mosque (in Mecca), and the mosque al-Aqsa and my mosque (in Medina)."²

Islamic Jerusalem has never lost its inherited aura of being a uniquely blessed and central sanctuary, so lucidly revealed in the words of Thaur ibn Yazid. However, it does not figure in Islamic tradition as a Holy City in its own right, as a sanctuary viewed in isolation, separated from other sanctuaries. On the contrary, Jerusalem, having emerged during the time of the Prophet as a counterpart to Mecca, soon after came to represent one of the points of an extensive triangle of imaginary space that stretches from the Arabian Peninsula into Palestine, with Mecca and Madina as the other two points. This spatial cohesion between the three sites has been evident throughout the ensuing history of Islam. Jerusalem functioned as a station—whether as a starting post or the final stage—in the Muslim's journey, which was dramatised annually during the season of canonical pilgrimage, to the holy places.³ The well-known *hadith* quoted above from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, dating back to the second century of the Hijra, can be taken as the *locus probans* for the high—though not equal—rank held by Jerusalem within the triad of Muslim places of pilgrimage from the early years of Islam. But it is not only in terms of space that Jerusalem is

¹ Ibn Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, (ed.) Salah al-Din al-Munajjid, Damascus 1371 AH, vol. I: 142. As Busse, who adduced this text earlier (1968: 441: 68) points out, 'the statement reflects more ancient sources—see Mishnah tractate Kelim, Chapter I: 6-9 where ten steps of sanctity are given, beginning with Palestine and ending with the Holy of Holies.' For information about the transmitter, Thaur ibn Yazid (died 153/770) see van Ess 1991: 114-17 and van Ess 1992: 89-90.

² Al-Fazari 1935-6: Chapter 2. English translation by Matthews 1949: 4. Al-Khudri died in 136/735. The well-known tradition is amply documented and discussed by Kister 1969: 173-96, 1-8 (additional notes).

³ Al-Fazari 1935-6: Chapter 4; Matthews 1949: 13—'On authority of Umm Salimah it is related: The Apostle of Allah said, "Who goes on pilgrimage or pious visitation from the Mosque of al-Aqsa to the Sacred Mosque, there shall be covered for him the faults he has committed and those he may later [commit]; and he shall be duly granted Paradise." This is mentioned from an account by al-Daraqutni.' Al-Fazari adds two further traditions on the merit of Jerusalem as a starting point of pilgrimage to Mecca; see also Busse 1968: 467.

linked to the Arabian sanctuaries. There is a link in time as well, for tradition holds that Mecca and Jerusalem will eventually merge when, at the end of time, the Ka'ba will transport itself to Jerusalem to perform the *hajj* and to embrace the sacred Rock.⁴ The strong relationship between the two sanctuaries which is taken for granted in this mythical vision rests on a firm historical basis. Jerusalem, although enveloped in a celebrated heritage from the pre-Islamic period, has been deeply affected by concepts of holiness that originated within the Meccan tradition,⁵ thus becoming fit to constitute a vital link between the core of the Arabian heritage, with its strong ritual imprint originating from the Meccan sanctuary, and the more universal language shared by Islam with the two other monotheistic religions stemming from Jerusalem.

Jerusalem's significance, however, may be traced back even deeper into the formative period of Islam once its triple honorary name,⁶ still valid today, which was bestowed on the city not later than the time of Salah al-Din,⁷ is subjected to a closer reading. This multiple *epitheton* not only attests that Jerusalem was second in rank to Mecca in terms of the age of its sanctuary, and, in third place after Mecca and Madina as a proper destination for Muslim pilgrimage, but also recalls that Jerusalem had earlier played a primary role—and this leads us back to the very beginnings of Islam.

The triple *epitheton* reads:

<i>ula al-qiblatain</i>	first of the two directions of prayer
<i>thani al-masjidain</i>	second of the two sanctuaries
<i>thalith al-haramain</i>	third after the two places of pilgrimage

⁴ Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani 1885: 94. See Busse 1968: 467-69.

⁵ Busse 1968: 449-51 has drawn attention to the fact that tradition tends 'to make the very conquest of Jerusalem into a kind of re-enactment of the conquest of Mecca to raise the city to the same level.' He also holds that the sequence of fifteen sites to be visited as described by al-Fazari 'which at first glance seems disorderly and would send the pilgrim back and forth over the Temple area, becomes meaningful if one assumes that the pilgrim will circle the Dome of the Rock several times, steadily increasing his radius. ... By following Fazari's advice the pilgrim carries out the circling (four times) in the same direction that is decreed for the Ka'ba, where however it has to be done seven times' (1968: 466-68). For further liturgical practices shared with the Meccan sanctuary, see Elad 1995.

⁶ For the emergence of particular *epitheta ornantia* for Islamic cities and regions, see Gruber 1975.

⁷ The triple *epitheton* can be traced back to the Ayyubid era; it is cited by the preacher Zaki al-Din in his sermon in praise of the reconquest of Jerusalem by Salah al-Din, cf. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-a'yan*, (ed.) Ihsan Abbas, Beirut, n.d. Vol. 4: 232. An English translation is given by De Slane, *Ibn Khallikan*, Paris 1843 Vol.2: 636-7. The same preacher appears as Muhyi al-Din in Ibn Shaddad, *al-A'laq al-khatira*, (ed.) S Dahhan, Damascus 1956: 214 (quoted by Busse 1968: 463).

The arrangement of the sequence of attributes within the context of a laudation seems somewhat surprising on closer inspection. Although the qualifications contained within it can be understood as being in praise of Jerusalem, the arrangement hardly fits the pattern of the literature on the particular 'merits of Jerusalem' (*fada'il al-Quds*).⁸ The sequence itself, on the contrary, presents a striking demonstration of the inconsistency of the historical process of attraction and repulsion through which Jerusalem has passed as a religious symbol. A reader with a historical bent will not fail to recognise that the truth is exactly opposite to what is suggested by the rhetorical device of the apparent increase in the numerical values of the anaphorical beginnings of the three honorary titles, their true implication being that Jerusalem is ousted from the first place it inherited as the centre of monotheistic worship.

The triple title, indeed, suggestive as it is of a mnemonic, may be seen to serve as an apt shorthand expression of the change in recognition enjoyed by Jerusalem during the three successive stages of the formative period in the religion of Islam. The first stage would be reflected by the title 'the first of the two directions of prayer'. This recalls the physical orientation of prayer towards Jerusalem, the ritual practised by the Muslim community during the earliest period of the beginnings of Islam, when the Prophet's activities were centred on Mecca. The title 'the second of the two sanctuaries' equally alludes to a development dating to the time of the Prophet. It refers to the problematic relationship that had emerged between the two foundations of monotheistic worship soon after the *hijra* to Medina turning the two sites into rivals. Mecca, with the Ka'ba, came to be looked on as the place where Abrahamic worship had originated—in other words, primarily as the original site of the rituals of pilgrimage, the *hajj*. Jerusalem, on the other hand, 'the further sanctuary' (*al-masjid al-aqsa*), was perceived as the centre of the blessed land (*al-ard allati barakna fiha*)—the home of those prophets of the Qur'an whose message had been transmitted primarily in verbal rather than ritual form, namely Moses and Jesus. In view of the fact that the origins of the Abrahamic foundation⁹ were earlier than those of the sanctuary of the people of the Children of Israel (the Banu Isra'il), which was known to have been built by Solomon, Jerusalem was relegated to second place.

⁸ For the collection of literature on *Fada'il al-Quds* ('Merits of Jerusalem'), see Hasson 1973: 7-29.

⁹ The wording of the Qur'anic verse, Sura 3: 96, '*inna awwala baitin wudi'a li-l-nasi*' generated an *awa'il* discussion about the sanctuaries. The exact position of Jerusalem among the oldest foundations is treated in traditions related by al-Fazari 1935-6: Chapter 1, Matthews 1949: 2-4 and Hasson 1973: 16. For the inner Qur'anic development that led to the statement in Sura 3: 96, see Section 2.2.

The last honorary name—‘third after the two places of pilgrimage’¹⁰—reflects an even later compromise. Probably coined a few generations after the time of the Prophet, it represents the last concession made by certain religious scholars to those growing circles within Islam who were, in the estimation of the orthodox, exaggerating the importance of Jerusalem.¹¹ This last title, therefore, can be seen to express a restriction¹² rather than a laudation. Jerusalem is now conceded only the third place after Mecca, and after Madina¹³ as well, once the tomb of the Prophet had also become a place of pilgrimage.

It is, however, most questionable if this set of titles would ever have survived into the modern period as honorary names if they had been intended to be understood in this way—that is, as the description of a successive loss of significance. There must be a second way to decode them if we are to reach an understanding of their meaning as intended in their contemporary setting. It is the poetic aura conferred on them by their rhetorical form that should provide the clue for an analysis of the apparent paradox—between the loss of status of Jerusalem on the one hand, and on the other the city’s increase in meaning—that lies hidden behind the three titles. The sequence of names can, indeed, be read as a reflection of an expansion of space, an imaginary widening of horizons. Each single element of the title presents a view of the city that implies a particular relationship to the sanctuaries in time and space, demonstrating a growing awareness of their interrelationship. What particular instances of the collective memory are hidden behind each of the three titles? What were the cultural experiences particularly related to

Jerusalem that appeared so crucial to the emergence and preservation of an Islamic identity that the Islamic community found them worth preserving in the sophisticated form of a sequence suggestive of a mnemonic? The following observations constitute a modest attempt to address a complex problem, one which appears hitherto not to have received its due consideration in research.¹⁴

2. The orientation of prayer (*qibla*)¹⁵ towards Jerusalem and its symbolic value

2.1 *Sura 17:1 and its exegesis within Islam*

What is the significance of Jerusalem as ‘the first Muslim direction of prayer’? It seems rather surprising that Islamic tradition¹⁶ should have preserved an honoured memory of the ritual custom of facing Jerusalem in prayer, even though this was adhered to only temporarily,¹⁷ and

¹⁰ On the concept of the three Islamic sanctuaries, see Kister 1969.

¹¹ Ibn Taimiyya, *Iqtida’ as-sirat al-mustaqim mukhalafat ashab al-jahim* (ed.) H M al-Fiqi, Cairo 1950: 434 even denies the title of a *haram* for Jerusalem. This he reserves exclusively for Mecca and Madina; he states (1950: 440) that Madina and Jerusalem, as against Mecca, are similar in that they are bound to the same ritual rules as those which apply in any ordinary mosque; their sole privilege is that—in view of existing canonical traditions—prayers said in them are considered to be worth a multiple of prayers said elsewhere. For Ibn Taimiyya’s views on Jerusalem in general, see his ‘Qa’ida fi ziyarat Bait al-Maqdis’, *Majmu’at al-rasa’il al-kubra*, Cairo 1323 AH. For the practice of grading the sanctuaries by ascribing to them a particular value for the prayers performed in each of them, see Busse 1968: 467 and Kister 1969.

¹² This attempt at imposing censorship has not been successful—the neighbouring sanctuary of Abraham at Hebron, *al-Haram al-Ibrahimi*, is one example of a much-frequented *masjid*, mostly visited in continuation of a *ziyara* to Jerusalem. For the social aspects of the custom of pilgrimage to Hebron, see Nazmi al-Ju’beh, *Hebron (al-Halil). Kontinuität und Integrationskraft einer islamisch-arabischen Stadt* (unpublished doctoral thesis) Tübingen, 1991.

¹³ For the development of Madina, see W M Watt, ‘al-Madina’ *EP*, 1984: 994-8.

¹⁴ Busse’s many and valuable studies quoted throughout in this essay, as well as two comprehensive collections of source texts compiled and commented on by Peters (1985 and 1986), would supply a useful basis of material for such an investigation. The problem of the continuity of a public awareness regarding the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam deserves, however, further and different treatment. In a study of the sources concerning the Crusader period, Sivan has attempted to show that the consciousness of the religious significance of Jerusalem during that period was—at least outside Syria—rather weak; see Sivan 1967: 149-82. Still, pious memory, even outside Syria, had not been completely obliterated, as the collection of *fada’il* literature, compiled by the Iraqi author al-Wasiti in the 10th/11th century, proves. The decisive revitalisation of a militant awareness of the dignity of the real city of Jerusalem as an Islamic sanctuary was, of course, due to a considerable degree to the rhetorical appeals made by the Zengids and Ayyubids; see Richter-Bernburg 1999.

¹⁵ Not only in Islamic tradition but also in research, the significance of the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem suffers by being overshadowed by the prominence of the final establishment of the *qibla* towards Mecca. Thus, the question of the precise role of the *qibla* towards Jerusalem in the development of Islamic worship has never been seriously raised, cf. A J Wensinck, ‘Kibla’, *EP*, 1979: 82-3; Rubin 1986: 97-131; Busse 1986b: 236-46.

¹⁶ The honorary name itself appears to originate from local Jerusalemite tradition; there are however several *hadith* utterances with a tendency to recognise Jerusalem as the ‘natural *qibla*’. See al-Wasiti 1979: 49-51; Ibn al-Murajja 1995: 98. Ibn al-Jauzi 1323 AH, vol. 2: 35, stresses that Jerusalem retained specific signs of divine affection even after the abrogation of its *qibla*.

¹⁷ There is no consensus as to the duration of the first *qibla*. For the traditional accounts, see A Th. Khoury, *Der Koran*, vol. 2, on Sura 2: 142. ‘Abd al-Aziz Duri accepts as the earliest those traditions that date the introduction of the Jerusalem *qibla* to immediately after the Hijra. See al-‘Asali 1989: 105-28.

moreover remained undocumented in the Qur'an. As is well known, during Muhammad's own lifetime the increasing conflict with the Jewish tribal groups in Madina began to undermine the credibility of the orientation of prayer towards Jerusalem.¹⁸ It was abolished by a Qur'anic revelation during the year 2 AH, and was thus considered abrogated in later theological terms.¹⁹ Muslim exegesis on this passage,²⁰ codified from the early third century Hijra onwards, betrays in addition a tendency to minimise the duration of the custom, viewing it as an undesirable expression of affinity towards Judaism. In some sources, indeed, it was presented as a mere interim solution between an assumed initial orientation towards the Ka'ba in prayer, which was claimed to have been practised by Muhammad at the beginning of his career in Mecca, and the re-inauguration of this custom authorised by the Qur'anic passage Sura 2: 144, which made the ritual facing of the Ka'ba a binding religious duty.²¹ Still, as the honorary title itself attests, these polemical traditions have not succeeded in denying Jerusalem's real share in the genesis of Islam. This chapter will try to present an explanation for the particular vitality of the memory attached to Jerusalem which was overshadowed neither by the abolition of the Jerusalem *qibla* in Madina, nor by the later attempts to minimise Jerusalem's early importance.

It appears, indeed, that the first honorary title alludes to a highly significant memory, which leads back to a particularly eventful period of development in the Meccan community. This was a time when the ritual orientation of prayer towards Jerusalem was newly introduced into worship as a gesture that could immediately be understood in symbolic terms. What particular consciousness was it that found its expression in this ritual gesture? It is not easy to find a solution to the problem as long as the search depends solely on the later historical sources, including those that concern the biography of the Prophet, the *Sira*, redolent as they are of the controversial accounts of the genesis of Islam. The only text available that accompanies the development of the earliest phase of Islamic worship chronologically and substantially is the Qur'an itself. One particular verse is of special interest here, since it alone associates the person of

the Prophet himself with the sanctuary of Jerusalem.²² Moreover, it fits roughly into the chronological framework established by the exegetes for the introduction of the *qibla*.²³ Sura 17:1 reads:

Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by
night
from the Holy Sanctuary to the Further
Sanctuary
the precincts of which We have blessed,
that We might show him some of Our signs.
He is the All-hearing, the All-seeing.

This somewhat enigmatic verse tells of a nocturnal journey, or rather a flight, conceived as an experience of liberation analogous to the exodus of Moses and the escape of Lot,²⁴ which led the Prophet out of Mecca towards the 'other sanctuary' *par excellence*. In the context of the religio-geographical horizons of the early community, this can hardly be located anywhere else other than on the Temple Mount of Jerusalem, the location of the *masjid* of the Banu Isra'il.²⁵ The most plausible explanation of the event is to assume it is the experience of a dream. This explanation, although upheld only by a minority of Muslim exegetes, is preserved in a tradition related by al-Tabari. A cousin of

²² The interpretation of *al-masjid al-aqsa* in Sura 17: 1 is still subject to controversy in research. In the end, opinions depend on the position of the researcher in the debate on the historicity of the basic traditions concerning the career of the Prophet Muhammad. Once these are dismissed as unreliable, their interpretation as 'topoi of revelation', in our case the vision of a 'Heavenly Temple', will blur the empirical data of the Qur'anic social setting—in our case the familiarity of the followers of the Prophet with the Solomonic Temple. For possible identifications of *al-masjid al-aqsa* in the sense of a heavenly sanctuary, see Busse 1991: 1-40; and, in the sense of the Jerusalem Temple Mount, Neuwirth 1993.

²³ The close relationship between the institution of a direction of prayer (*qibla*) and the Prophet's nocturnal journey (*isra'*) is clearly recognised in the Islamic tradition. The presumed causality between the two is, however, conceived in the opposite sense to our assumption. Tradition usually holds that it was the experience of the *isra'* that brought about the introduction of the *qibla* not *vice versa*.

²⁴ The verb *asra'* is used twice in the Qur'an to denote the flight of Lot (Sura 11: 81 and 15: 65), and appears three times in the context of the account of the Exodus (Sura 20: 77, 26: 52, and 44: 23). Wansborough 1977: 68-9 was the first to draw attention to the Exodus metaphor in Sura 17: 1, although he drew a completely different conclusion on the basis of his particular hypothesis about the genesis of the Qur'an. For this discussion, see Gilliot 1996.

²⁵ This is made plausible by the use of the unspecific word *masjid* to denote the Temple of Jerusalem a few verses (Sura 17: 7) after the *isra'* verse itself. For a detailed commentary on the complete Sura, see Neuwirth 1993. A critical review of the interpretations of the verse to date is given by Gilliot 1996. The unlikelihood of another sanctuary being understood by the listener was already stressed by Caskel in 1963.

¹⁸ This already becomes clear from the Qur'anic verses on the change of *qibla*; see Sura 2: 142-5, cf. Section 2.1.

¹⁹ See A J Wensinck, 'Kibla', *EP*, 1979: 82-3.

²⁰ See al-Tabari, *Jami' al-bayan fi tafsir al-Qur'an*. Bulaq, vol. 2: 1-16, on Sura 2: 142-5; cf. Rubin 1986: 29.

²¹ Rubin (1986), who holds this opinion, relies on a rather narrow, purely mechanical concept of *qibla*, and does not admit to any symbolic value in the ritual gesture. The crucial problem of the significance of the new forms of worship, that developed with the move of the community from the Ka'ba into separate places of assembly (later called *masajid*), remains beyond the scope of this essay.

the Prophet, Umm Hani', is quoted to have related the following:

'As to the nocturnal journey (*isra'*) of the Messenger of God, the following took place: He had been staying in my house overnight. After performing the last evening prayer, he retired to sleep, and so did all of us. At dawn the Messenger of God woke us up for morning prayer, and when we had performed it together, he said to me: "Umm Hani', you remember that I performed with you in this very place the evening prayer. Thereupon, however, I was in Bait al-Maqdis and have prayed there. And now I have been praying again with you the morning prayer in this place.'"²⁶

There is nothing supernatural involved in this account. The miraculous element inherent in the experience, which is echoed so distinctly in the allusive style of the Qur'anic verse, is reflected exclusively through the astounding phenomenon of a cessation of the passage of time—or at least a time-lapse—as well as the compression of a vast spatial distance into a journey of a few hours' duration. Both features are familiar in dreams. It should in no way detract from the convincing force of this simple, sober account that, only a short time later,²⁷ the same Qur'anic verse, Sura 17: 1, was to become the *locus probans* for the elevation of the Prophet to the rank of an ecstatic. The majority of the traditions present Sura 17: 1 as an allusion to a unique nocturnal ride, which was miraculous not only in so far as time and space were reduced to minimal quantities, but also iconographically as well. The Prophet is envisaged as riding a beast in the guise of Pegasus, the Buraq, on whose back he travels from Mecca to Jerusalem, passing *en route* several sites of importance from the point of view of salvation history (Busse 1993). At the apogee of the exegetical development, the nocturnal journey (*isra'*) is even envisaged as going beyond the city of Jerusalem, and leading up through the seven celestial spheres²⁸ to heaven. This ascent (*mi'raj*), according to the tradition of the scribe of the Prophet, Ibn Mas'ud, reaches its climax in the presentation to Muhammad by God Himself of the institution of the five Islamic prayers.²⁹

²⁶ See al-Tabari, *Jami' al-bayan*, Bulaq, vol. 15: 3.

²⁷ For the *Isra'* see J E Bencheikh, 'Mi'radj', *ET*, 1993: 97-103, J A Wensinck, 'Isra', *ET*, 1934: 505-8 and more recently Gilliot 1996.

²⁸ See J E Bencheikh, 'Mi'radj', *ET*, 1993: 97-103, G Böwering, 'Mi'radj', *Encyclopaedia of Religion* 9: 552-56, and Busse 1991; see also Gilliot 1996.

²⁹ See Abu Hisham and others, *Al-sira al-nabawiyya*, (ed.) Mustafa al-Saqq'a, Cairo 1955, vol. I: 39: 407-8. See Section 3.1.

Muslim exegesis of Sura 17: 1 thus produces two opposing images of the Prophet.³⁰ On the one hand, the person of the Prophet appears as he emerges from the Qur'an, i.e., devoid of any miraculous powers, and functioning as a messenger of verbal transmission only. On the other hand, he is presented as an ecstatic who is supported by supernatural faculties.³¹ It is, however, worth noticing that the sober, descriptive version and the fantastic, mythologising interpretation do share a trait. They both identify the ultimate aim of the journey—the 'signs' promised by the Qur'anic verse which will be revealed at the end of the movement—as being nothing else than the unique proximity to God granted to the Prophet. In both accounts, the event is connected with prayer (*salat*). In one version the Prophet himself performs the *salat*, or he even acts as *imam* before the older prophets in the Jerusalem sanctuary. In the other version, the Prophet is granted the very institution of prayer by his divine Lord. It is tempting to identify the relation to prayer which underlies both accounts as the 'historical nucleus', perhaps a trace of the social setting of the experience which remained excluded from the wording of the Qur'anic verse. The nocturnal journey, the 'exodus' to the *masjid* of the Banu Isra'il, would then appear to be associated with the 'last evening prayer' of the account by Umm Hani'. It could be interpreted as a spiritual movement which continued the journey that had already begun in the imagination of the Prophet by his facing the *qibla* in the direction of the 'further sanctuary'. The latter, newly introduced as the orientation of prayer, might be assumed to have been still forcefully present in the minds of the worshippers.

2.2 Ritual as allusion to history—the orientation towards Jerusalem as a significant gesture

The question remains as to why the taking up of the *qibla* appeared to be so significant a departure that it was conceived as being an 'exodus' into the space of the memory of the Banu Isra'il. A close reading of the whole of Sura 17 shows that the chapter is dominated by an undertone of strong yearning for release³² from the situation of the inner

³⁰ The particular diversity of the two images of the Prophet Muhammad is the focus of Sellheim's comprehensive 'stratigraphic' study 1967: 33-91; see more recently Rubin 1995.

³¹ For the type of prophet who was gifted with ecstatic capabilities, see Wilson 1980.

³² Within the framework of an analysis of the whole of Sura 17, Neuwirth (1993) has tried to trace the particular significance of the narrative element of 'moving out' which is at first introduced by the allusion of the Exodus (*isra'*) and then taken up again several times within the Sura in the context of descriptions of prayer where the worshipper 'moves out' of the real into a transcendental world.

'exile' experience in Mecca. This points to a spiritual need which in itself would suffice as the motive for the imaginary exodus to the house of the One God. The situation here appears to be not totally dissimilar to the one presupposed in 1 Kings 8, where a comparable longing can be traced as underlying the prayer of Solomon at the inauguration of the Temple. The biblical text promises the worshipper a similar form of spiritual release from exile (1 Kings 8: 23-53). The memory of the only freely-accessible sanctuary—the great 'other sanctuary', *al-masjid al-aqsa*—remained the only guarantee for the closeness to God desired by the worshipper, in view of the fact that access to the local Ka'ba had become less certain to the increasingly isolated group of Meccan believers. Once the adherence to the ritual community of the Ka'ba itself was broken up, the worshipper could hope to envisage the Face of God by intentionally turning his face towards His further house—that is by taking up the direction of prayer³³ towards the 'more distant sanctuary'. The close association of Jerusalem with prayer that was established through this episode of the Jerusalem *qibla*, although it was historically short-lived, was to become a fixed *topos* in Islam. It remained prevalent in later periods too. Time and again in Sufism (hagiographical biographies of early *sufis* often contain details about a stay in Jerusalem; see Goitein 1980: 323-7), poetry and instructional literature present Jerusalem as the ideal place of prayer.³⁴ Thus, despite the lack of any real physical association with the biography of the Prophet, Jerusalem is affirmed as an Islamic sanctuary through its spiritual attachment to the Prophet's career.

This particular vision of Jerusalem as the cradle of Islamic liturgy, preserved in Islamic tradition, may appear astonishing since the *Sira*, here in accordance with the Qur'an itself, attests unequivocally to the fact that it is rather the rites performed at the Ka'ba in Mecca that should lie at the origins of Islamic ritual prayer.³⁵ Moreover, the Ka'ba is named explicitly in a passage in the Qur'an as the place where the prayer rites were implemented through a divine decree.³⁶ Two separate 'memories' confront each

other here—the memory of the ancient prestige of the *masjid* of the Banu Isra'il being obviously the more powerful of the two. The Qur'an, it is true, relates several significant events in the history of salvation as being staged in Jerusalem. These include the annunciation of the birth of a son gifted with prophecy to the aged Zacharias in the sanctuary (*mihrab*; Sura 19: 11),³⁷ the sojourn of the Virgin Mary under the care of Zacharias in the sanctuary (*mihrab*; Sura 3: 37, 39) the judgment of David in the sanctuary (*mihrab*; Sura 38: 21)³⁸ and, finally, the catastrophe of the desacralisation and destruction of the Temple (*masjid*; Sura 17: 2-7) through foreign conquest.³⁹ The last of these was understood to be a punishment imposed on the Banu Isra'il. But, although these references to Jerusalem in the Qur'an may have contributed to the esteem of the city within Islam, they can hardly suffice to explain how Jerusalem could retain its high rank, even after its 'aura' as the central monotheistic sanctuary had been transferred to Mecca. After all, Mount Sinai,⁴⁰ another important monotheistic sanctuary, which significantly is also evoked several times in the Qur'an, remained almost without relevance in later Islam. Jerusalem's high rank throughout history must therefore be due to other factors which served to promote that memory.

It seems that the sanctuary of Jerusalem in its function as a ritual orientation, the focus of an imaginary space which becomes accessible in prayer, did not occur to the consciousness of the community either as an isolated new discovery, or at a random time. It occurred, rather, at a stage of development when a remarkable broadening of the horizons of the young community had taken place in terms of both time and space, thanks to a complex process of new orientation: the community's change from a ritually-

³⁷ Sura 19: 11, 3: 99. Here the Temple (or sanctuary) is described as '*mihrab*', i.e. its description points to a particular architectural shape of the place. In view of the fact that both Biblical figures are related to the New Testament, their appearance in a '*mihrab*' (which in a pre-Islamic context can mean a building—G Fehérvári, '*Mihrab*', *EI*², 1993: 7-15) is less surprising, for their particular association with this type of architecture might have been inspired by pictorial rather than written sources. In Byzantine iconography, both figures often appear standing in a ciborium, an open vaulted structure; for examples, see Weitzmann et al. 1980 and Zibawi 1995. Such an edifice could have been rendered as a '*mihrab*' in Arabic.

³⁸ Sura 38: 21 (*mihrab*). The singular association of an Old Testament figure with the *mihrab* might be due to the role of judge carried out by David as described in this passage; in ancient Arabia, the function of judge was associated with a place called the *mihrab*: see G Fehérvári, '*Mihrab*', *EI*², 1993: 7-15.

³⁹ Sura 17: 7. The Temple that figures here in the context of Jewish history is called *masjid* in accordance with the Meccan sanctuary.

⁴⁰ Al-Tur is mentioned ten times in the Qur'an—eight times in the story of Moses, twice (Sura 52: 1, 95: 2) in association with the Meccan sanctuary in an allusion to the theophany that occurred there; see Neuwirth 1993b.

³³ The new situation of the worshipper achieved by the change of *qibla* is characterised as a 'purposeful turning of the face' (cf. Sura 2: 144, 149, 150) after a period of 'turning the face around and around without a firm direction' (Sura 2: 144).

³⁴ This affinity is further enhanced by the prophetic traditions that attempt to quantify the relative value of prayers performed in the different sanctuaries; for those which agree on a particularly high rank for Jerusalem, see Kister 1969.

³⁵ The initial attachment of the followers of the Prophet to the Ka'ba rites is clearly discernible in the earliest Suras; see Neuwirth 1996.

³⁶ In accounts of the building—or restoration—of the Ka'ba through Abraham following a divine decree (Sura 2: 125, 22: 26-7), the group envisaged as becoming the local beneficiaries of the sanctuary is characterised by their particularly 'Islamic' ritual gestures, such as standing upright (*qiyam*), prostration (*sajda*), and bowing (*ruku'*); it is, then, a heritage of the Ka'ba that lies behind the origin of these forms.

to a scripturally-oriented group. As is well known, during the Prophet's career in Mecca, the young community was forced to segregate itself—at least locally—from the traditional Meccan rites. This process, attested in the *Sira*, finds additional proof in literary evidence. It can be shown to be reflected in the evolution of new Islamic forms of worship, which became less dependent on the worshipper's physical presence in the holy places, and concentrated more strongly on verbal expression than on ritual gesture. This process is not, however, to be understood simply as a change in form. Its full dimensions reach much deeper. It amounts to no less than the radical break with inherited tradition which 'is caused by the intrusion of writing into the space of memory' (Assmann 1983: 272). For the first time in Arabic literature, the Qur'anic texts of the so-called middle Meccan period⁴¹ consistently integrated the medium of writing into the composition and technique of textual preservation—even if the wording had not yet been fixed for a projected reader, but rather for a second mediator, a reciter of the text.

Two things, then, were essentially new. One was the newly attained state of the convergence of the Qur'anic revelations with the scriptures of the other two monotheistic religions, considered to be represented primarily by the Torah, the scripture of the Banu Isra'il. At the same time, the adoption of the *topographia sacra* of that same group created a new self-consciousness in the young community that was no longer based on the rites practised at the Ka'ba but on the new awareness that they were numbered among the recipients and bearers of a Scripture, and thus had a share in the memory of the history of salvation which is conveyed through the medium of writing. Jan Assmann has coined a new technical term for this type of change in orientation; he speaks of the transition of a society from 'ritual coherence' to 'textual coherence' (Assmann 1997b: 87-103). The very choice of the *qibla* towards Jerusalem by the emerging Islamic community points to this new connection with the older religions.

It is thus not surprising that the Qur'anic allusions to the Meccan sanctuary and its rites⁴²—which had been so numerous in the introductory sections of the Meccan *suras* and which had been the previous guarantors of social coherence—were now replaced by a stereotypical, introductory evocation of the Book (*kitab*), for this was now realised to be the most significant common spiritual possession. The images that now appear in the opening sections of the *suras*—the book and its requisites (Neuwirth 1993, 1993b)—unequivocally point to the awareness that a stream of tradition has come to a standstill, and has now become accessible by means of writing. It is a new form of

memory which finds expression here, one which soon also penetrates the daily ritual practices. The strong attachment to place, which was characteristic of worship at the Ka'ba, gives way to the new situation of the Muslim worshipper in space—that is, in a spiritual space that reaches far beyond the horizons of the inherited rites into the world and the history of 'the others', of the Banu Isra'il.⁴³ This realm of memory is inseparable from its traditional vehicle of transmission, i.e., the cultic recitation within a complex form of worship. While in the earliest *suras* of the Qur'an there had been hardly any other places considered worth mentioning or alluding to except for Mecca, now—with the single exception of Sura 17—there are no further references to Mecca, but instead the Blessed Land⁴⁴ is introduced as a space in which the oppressed believer may take refuge, and in which most of the prophets had worked.

There is accordingly a substantial change of orientation in terms of time as well. Instead of the many allusions to ritually relevant times of the day which appear in the early *suras*⁴⁵—allusions which have been taken as evocations of the Meccan sanctuary—the *suras* revealed in the new phase of development display a substantially new setting in time. They culminate in an often-repeated appeal, which is formally introduced with a simple reference 'at the time when' (*idh*) (Horovitz 1926), addressed to the examples set by their spiritual forebears in salvation history, the Banu Isra'il, as transmitted by their Scriptures. Jerusalem is the central sanctuary of the space marked by this Scripture and thus by writing. It is to Jerusalem that all prayers gravitate as their natural destination; it is to Jerusalem that the worshipper turns his face in prayer.

Substantial changes have thus taken place. On the one hand, in the Middle Meccan period of the Qur'anic development, with the now frequent stories of the prophets emerging from the collective memory of the older monotheistic religions, time has widened into the salvation history of the Banu Isra'il. On the other, the space of communication between God and man has expanded as well. This is made clear through the new form of worship, which becomes increasingly complex. A new element is

⁴³ It is this particular period from which those *Suras* originate that allude in different ways to the close relationship of earlier messengers to Scripture. These accounts of the earlier prophets are presented not only as divine revelations communicated to Muhammad, but also, at the same time, point to a second function communicated to be transmitted to the listeners as excerpts, or *pericopes*, from a heavenly Scripture. For the formulaic devices used here, see Neuwirth 1996.

⁴⁴ Only Mount Sinai (ten times) and the 'overturned' cities (*al-mu'tafikat*) Sodom and Gomorra (Sura 53: 53, 69: 9, 9: 70) are mentioned in addition to Mecca. See Horovitz 1926: 13-14. Palestine is alluded to as 'the Blessed Land' (*al-ard allati barakna fiha*) in Sura 17: 1, 21: 71, 34: 18, 7: 137, or else as 'the Holy Land' (*al-ard al-muqaddasa*) in Sura 5: 21.

⁴⁵ For the introductory sections of these *Suras*, see Neuwirth 1993b.

⁴¹ We use Th. Nöldeke's classical scheme of periodisation (1909) as a basis.

⁴² The sanctuary is always recalled in the early *Suras* of the Qur'an in the context of prophetic oaths, with the one exception of Sura 106: 3.

integrated into the context of those parts already in existence and well known to the community—the fixed routine of gestures demanded by traditional ritual prayer such as proskynesis (*sajda*) and bowing (*ruku'*), and the variable element of recitation from the Qur'an whose textual basis is chosen individually by the worshipper with every prayer: for the first time, a fixed verbal part, the community prayer (*fatiha*)⁴⁶ is introduced to complement the recitation of the word of God and the ritual gestures of self-abasement. The *fatiha* is recited by the worshippers in an upright position (*qiyam*); they express themselves in the grammatical form of the first person, and thus act as autonomous partners in the communication process. This prayer, together with the recitation of the Qur'an *pericope* immediately following it, which is also performed by the worshippers in an upright position, allows them to create additional space above themselves. It constitutes a ceremony that comes close to a customary religious service *in nuce*. It is entirely oriented towards the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, the site *par excellence* for divine-human communication, is the focus in space towards which a movement from the profane 'now' to the extra-temporal vicinity to God becomes possible at certain cosmically-determined times of the day.⁴⁷ Thus, with the recognition of Jerusalem as the focus, even if the temporal determinant for the rite of prayer has remained Meccan in that it follows the periods of the day inherited from the rites at the Ka'ba,⁴⁸ the temporal and spatial horizons of the consciousness of the community have expanded substantially.

3. The sanctuary of Jerusalem as a monotheistic temple, *masjid*

3.1 *Jerusalem overshadowed by Mecca as the new embodiment of the sanctuary*

After the transfer of the direction of prayer to Mecca, what was to remain of Jerusalem's earlier status? It is well known that the Muslim community at Madina dissociated itself from Jerusalem in face of the increasingly precarious relationship with the Medinan Jews. At the same time, the dissociation bears witness to a return to an earlier memory, with the rediscovery of Mecca as the essential focus of the longing of those exiled in Medina. It was barely two years after the Hijra that the change in orientation occurred, this time attested by a Qur'anic passage. Sura 2: 142-44 reads:

The fools among the people will say
'What has turned them from the direction
they were facing in their prayers aforetime?'

Say:

'To God belong the East and the West.

He guides whomever He will to a straight
path.'

Thus we appointed you a midmost nation
that you might be witnesses to the people,
and that the Messenger might be a witness
to you; and We did not appoint the direction
thou wast facing, except that We might know
who followed the Messenger from him
who turned on his heels—though it were a
grave thing

save for those whom God has guided; but
God would never leave your faith to waste—
Truly God is all-gentle with the people;

All-compassionate.

We have seen thee turning thy face about
in the heaven, now We will surely turn thee
to a direction that shall satisfy thee.

Turn thy face towards the Holy Mosque (*al-
masjid al-haram*);

and wherever you are, turn your faces towards
it.⁴⁹

The spiritual return of the worshippers to the Ka'ba in Mecca which is heralded in these verses marks Jerusalem's removal from the centre. However, as a prototype of a centre to be visited in the imagination of the believer and a distant focus, the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem remained intact, even though the first *qibla* was viewed in retrospect in the Qur'an as a mere touchstone for the obedience of the believers. In exegetical literature, indeed, the Jerusalem *qibla* even appears to have been scorned as an obsolete institution after the Muslim community's dissociation from the Medinan Jews. The abandonment of the Jerusalem *qibla* should not, however, be viewed solely from the negative viewpoint as a merely pragmatic, politico-religious step. A ritual re-orientation in space expressed by means of such a dominant gesture in worship reflects the reality of a genuine change in spiritual longing. Mecca was able to replace Jerusalem because the shared memory of the Banu Isra'il and the Medinan community had been blotted out to a certain extent in the interim period by the novel experience of exile, which in turn caused a substantial increase in the symbolic value of the central Meccan sanctuary. Decisive political success had allowed the community to become sufficiently detached from the more traumatic aspects of the Meccan

⁴⁶ For the development which Islamic worship had reached at the time of its introduction, see A and K Neuwirth 1992: 332-57.

⁴⁷ See A J Wensinck, J Jomier, 'Ithram' in *EP*², 1970: 1052-3.

⁴⁸ For the particular time periods which determined ancient Arabian worship, see Rubin 1987: 40-64.

⁴⁹ Except for Sura 17: 1, the English translation of the Qur'an used here is taken from Arberry 1964.

experience to be able to view Mecca in a positive light as the genuine seat of their own tradition. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that a total break with Meccan ritual practice had never in fact taken place, despite the leap in development manifest in the newly introduced, predominantly verbal forms of worship, and the replacement of the sanctuary by the *masjid* of the new community. In this way, substantial elements of Meccan worship, such as the ritual gestures and the three set times of prayer which were cosmically determined,⁵⁰ had been retained in the Islamic worship in Madina. Once the evocation of a central sanctuary through a ritual gesture had been realised as a precondition of prayer, there could hardly be any other orientation, especially after the symbols shared with the Banu Isra'il had become a problem, except towards the Ka'ba in Mecca, whose sacred role had never been abandoned. But, more important, the ideal Mecca as conceived during exile had itself gone through a substantial change. It had become integrated into that particular form of memory which is transmitted by the vehicle of writing, a memory which we might identify with the Biblical tradition, and this bestowed on Mecca the rank of a place honoured by a significant episode in the history of salvation. It had become the central place in the career of a biblical *heros*—Abraham himself.

3.2 *The inauguration prayer of the Ka'ba*

The prayer of inauguration of the Ka'ba by Abraham⁵¹ has been correctly associated (Busse 1986) with the prayer of inauguration of the Temple by Solomon. In both prayers, the sanctuary is conceived not only as a place of pilgrimage for the group who specifically adhered to its worship but also as a sign set up for all mankind. In the Qur'anic prayer, the Ka'ba appears as the monument of a new divine foundation. It has become the first monotheistic temple. Sura 2: 127-29 reads:

'... My Lord, make this
a land secure, and provide its people
with fruits, such of them as believe in
God and the Last Day.
... And when Abraham and Ishmael with him
raised up the foundation of the House:
'Our Lord, receive this from us; thou art
the All-hearing, the All-knowing;
and, our Lord, make us submissive to Thee,

and of our seed a nation submissive
to Thee; and show us our holy rites, and
turn towards us; surely Thou turnest, and art
All-compassionate;
and, our Lord, do Thou send among them
a Messenger, one of them, who shall recite
to them Thy signs, and teach them the Book
and the Wisdom, and purify them; Thou art
the All-mighty, the All-wise.'

It is true that the foundation or restoration of the Ka'ba by Abraham—accounts of which can be assumed to have been circulating in the peninsula for a long time before Islam⁵²—does not necessarily imply his role in initiating the institution of pilgrimage, which is the most significant of the functions associated with the greater Meccan Haram. But the *hajj*, whose rites originally marked seasonal change, had already begun to be perceived as an assembly of all mankind (Sura 3: 97), and was gaining an increasingly spiritual significance. The fact that admission to the annual rituals (Wellhausen 1889/1961), which were celebrated in the vicinity of Mecca and had participants who attended from all over the peninsula, was at the discretion of the most obstinate enemies of Islam, who were thus able to deny access, must have been particularly offensive. It is understandable that in the new theology of exile the ceremonies of the *hajj*—once the Haram of Mecca had been conceived as a monotheistic foundation consecrated by the patriarch—should equally take on the aura of a festival going back to Abraham as was indeed expressed in Sura 22: 27. At all events, the Islamic *hajj* was definitively stripped of any association with the framework of seasonal change through one of the last verses of the Qur'an declaring a reform of the traditional calendar through the introduction of a purely lunar year (Sura 9: 37).⁵³ The *hajj* in its Islamic context thus received a totally new meaning: henceforth it was performed in response to a divine order for pilgrimage uttered by Abraham. As such it became an obligatory rite incumbent on all future

⁵⁰ Three of the five times of prayer later to be canonised can be presumed with certainty to have existed for the Medinan community; see A J Wensinck, 'Salar', *EI*, 1934: 96-105.

⁵¹ The utterances of Abraham which accompanied the establishment, or the purification, of the Ka'ba rites are presented in different versions in the Qur'an. For a synopsis of these texts, see Beck 1952: 73-94.

⁵² For this concept, which appears to have been developed earlier within the Hanifiyya movement that was constituted by pre-Islamic Arabian monotheistic believers who were not directly associated with either Christianity or with Judaism, see Rubin 1990: 85-112. Beck 1952: 73-94 dates the Qur'anic testimonies for the association of Abraham with Mecca to the Meccan period of the Qur'anic development.

⁵³ Watt 1956: 299, states that 'the abolition of intercalary months is a slight change introduced under Muhammad which has given a definite stamp to Islamic civilisation. The pre-Islamic Arabs observed the lunar months, but kept their calendar in line with the solar year by introducing intercalary months where necessary. The matter is referred to in a passage of the Qur'an, 9: 63-64. Muhammad is said to have made public these verses during the address he gave during the pilgrimage of farewell'. See too Watt's further discussion on calendar reform (1956: 299-300).

generations of believers. It became a feast in commemoration of a particular episode in the history of salvation, comparable to the situation described in 1 Kings 8: 41-3, where, too, Temple and pilgrimage appear interconnected. Sura 22: 26-7 reads:

And when we settled for Abraham the place
of the House: 'Thou shalt not associate
with Me anything. And do thou purify
My House for those who go about it
and those that stand, for those that bow
and prostrate themselves;
and proclaim among men the Pilgrimage,
and they shall come unto Thee on foot
and upon every lean beast, they shall come
from every deep ravine.'⁵⁴

Through this new aetiology, the Islamic *hajj* can be seen to have gone through a change that can be compared to the development of the Israelite feasts reflected in Deuteronomy. That is, it had changed from a ritual which celebrated seasonal change into a ceremony which commemorated an episode in the history of salvation (Rendtorff 1991: 185-205). This statement holds true even though the association of the *hajj* with salvation history remains limited to acts of obedience performed by the worshippers in response to the call of Abraham, according to the explicit text of the Qur'an.⁵⁵ Mecca has thus become the locus of a monotheistic pilgrimage of remembrance.

As is well known, the local destination of the *hajj* within Islam was now no longer Arafat,⁵⁶ as it had been in the pre-Islamic period, but rather primarily Mecca and the Ka'ba. The prayer of inauguration culminates in the plea that in this place verbal worship and the reading of the scriptures should take place, as well as those rites which had been essential to the cultus since time immemorial (Sura 2: 129, quoted above). Abraham's inauguration prayer ends with the plea that a prophet should arise, who

would read aloud from the Book to the participants in the rites at the Ka'ba. These participants are conceived as being Arabian monotheists already familiar with ritual prayer (*salat*) and the rites of pilgrimage. Thus the prayer reached its fulfilment with the appearance of Muhammad, whose mission completed the complex structure of Islam as a religion based equally on ritual and on verbal worship.

With this additional layer of meaning, yet another part of the previous aura of Jerusalem was transferred to Mecca. After the change of *qibla* had already moved the centre of gravity of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca, the Qur'anic verse already quoted above (Sura 2: 129) now affirmed for Mecca what had previously been the prerogative of Jerusalem; as the words of the Prophet Isaiah attested: 'Torah will go out from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem' (Isaiah 2: 3). From this time on, in the new concept of Mecca as a foundation of the patriarch Abraham, not only would the city share its most significant merits with Jerusalem, but it would also boast of encompassing a sanctuary older than the Temple of Solomon. Jerusalem, thus reduced to a mere prototype, now fades into the background behind the Islamic Mecca. Mirrored in the Qur'an, Mecca emerges both physically⁵⁷ and spiritually as an obvious antipode to Jerusalem. In fulfilment of the prayers of the first propagator of the worship of the One God, Mecca has become for a second time the site of a theophany. This new hierophany also fulfilled new expectations, which had been aroused by examples from the salvation history of other religions, demanding that a genuine theophany—a divine revelation—should take the shape of a book, a scripture.

Mecca is thus not only associated with the memory of the times of prayer, always in force within Islam and originating from the Ka'ba. Its recollection from this time on is constantly reinforced through the spatial orientation of the worshippers towards Mecca with the *qibla*. Mecca has at the same time also become the main destination of the *hajj*—that is, the site of the most significant event in the cultic year. This is a ritual that may be conceived as reproducing on a larger scale of time and space the rite of prayer as the most significant caesura of the day,⁵⁸ in that it constitutes a unique form of communal withdrawal from profane time and profane space (Busse 1986). Just for the duration of the cosmically determined sacred time of the *hajj*—and for this duration only—the Meccan Haram, conceived as carrying cosmic associations

⁵⁴ Busse (1986) stresses the significance of the sanctuary as a universal destination of pilgrimage (*wa-adhdhin fi 'l-nasi bi-'l-hajj*), a trait that the Ka'ba shares with the Temple of Jerusalem as portrayed in 1 Kings 8: 41-3.

⁵⁵ The short passage in the Qur'an which presents Abraham's call to pilgrimage has inspired many accounts related to the literature of legends of prophets (*Qisas al-anbiya'*) and concerning the life of Abraham and his relatives. These give a totally new aetiology of the *hajj* rites insofar as these are presented as acts to be carried out in imitation of specific actions of biblical figures. See also Busse 1993: 169-86.

⁵⁶ For the worshippers' stance (*wuquf*) beneath Mount Arafat in the expectation of a theophany which in the ancient Arabian context marked the climax of the *hajj* rites, see Wellhausen 1889. Within Islam, the ceremony is re-interpreted as an anticipation of the assembly of mankind on the Day of Judgment. For a modern interpretation along these lines, see Shari'ati 1983.

⁵⁷ The awareness of a particular divine mercy bestowed on Mecca, which enjoys prosperity, security and cultic hegemony despite its geographical location in the middle of the desert, is clearly reflected in the Qur'an, cf. Sura 14: 37, '*bi-wadin ghairi dhi zar'in*'. Jerusalem, unlike Mecca, is situated in a land blessed all around (Sura 17: 1).

⁵⁸ The period of the *hajj* already appears as a forceful symbol in an early Meccan Sura (89: 2); see Neuwirth 1993b: 25.

of its own,⁵⁹ becomes sacred space. It is worth noticing that for both time and space the quality of sanctity is viable only at the intersection of the Haram of Mecca and the *hajj*.⁶⁰ Beyond the space designated by the Haram, all the taboo prescriptions (*ihram*) of the *hajj* are no longer in force. In addition, the time of the feast itself is shortened outside the Haram. For those who remain at home, it is reduced to a single day, the concluding day of the sacrifice (*'id al-adha*). This is due to the unique nature of these rites, which originated in Mecca and which were sanctioned by the Qur'an. They were perceived not only as preceding in terms of time but also in terms of evolution the phenomenon of revelation through scripture which was so closely associated with the symbol of Jerusalem. Thus we find at the end of the Qur'anic development, after Mecca had been regained and its sanctuary had found a final anchorage in Islam, the statement in Sura 3: 96:

The first House established for the people
was that of Bakka [Mecca], a holy place, and
a guidance
to all beings.

4. Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage—al-Haram al-Sharif

4.1 The triad of Islamic sanctuaries

What was to be the destiny of Jerusalem after it had been thus re-embodied in Mecca? It was to be recognised as a holy place, a legitimate destination of Islamic pilgrimage, no later than the end of the first Islamic century. This development is documented early on through the Hadith of al-Khudri quoted at the beginning of this chapter, which presents a *locus probans* for the definitive ranking of Jerusalem within the canon of Islamic sanctuaries—'You shall only set out for three mosques: the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca), my Mosque (in Medina), and al-Aqsa Mosque (in Jerusalem).' Kister (1968) has illuminated the wider context of this pronouncement and has stressed the restrictive nature of the Hadith, which has to be interpreted as a veto against admitting further sanctuaries into Islam. Jerusalem is admitted to the canon only as a concession since it was too strong a symbol to be repressed, but the city is only granted third rank. The pilgrimage to it is

reduced to the status of a *ziyara*—a pious visit without a particular period being assigned to it.⁶¹

In the meantime, Jerusalem had for a long time been determined in terms of space and time by the other two sanctuaries. It was integrated in terms of real time into the framework of the new era which had originated in, and been introduced from, Medina—the place of the worldly self-affirmation of early Islam. In terms of space, the sacred buildings of Jerusalem are oriented towards Mecca. It should be kept in mind that, by perceiving the holy places of Islam as being three in number—that is, by including Medina into the canon of sanctuaries—a most significant new fact had been taken into account, a fact which manifests itself even more conspicuously in the new dating system relating to the *hijra* of the Prophet. It is the entry of Islam as an historical phenomenon in its own right into real time and real space. The significance of this new reality became enhanced through the Qur'anic reform of the calendar. Through the lack of congruence between the new Islamic dating system and the older ones, those practised by the pre-Islamic Arabians as well as those of neighbouring societies, a smooth association of Islam with the historical past of any of the surrounding societies became permanently impossible. With the breakthrough of Islam as a new politically dominant identity (even if its adherents were not in the majority), its own memory was canonised and all other memory was censured. In this way, with the final redaction of the Qur'an under the third caliph 'Uthman around the year AD 653, canonical Scripture is limited once and for all to the revelation received by Muhammad. The Torah and Gospels are thus excluded from this more restrictive concept of scripture. Over against this, however, the central symbol of the Banu Isra'il, the monotheistic Temple of Jerusalem, which had been already integrated into Islamic memory by the Qur'an, was now further affirmed as an Islamic sanctuary.⁶²

⁵⁹ See A J Wensinck, 'Ziyara', *EI*, 1934: 1234-35.

⁶⁰ Busse (1986: 458-60 and again in 1991: 144-54) holds the opinion that the erection of the Dome of the Rock is to be considered as a new attempt to rebuild the Temple, a view documented in the early Umayyad era in certain old Jewish and Islamic traditions, recorded by Ibn al-Murajja and al-Wasiti. See also Gil 1992: 65-74. To judge by the building inscription, however, it should be stressed that the new sanctuary was destined not so much to be another restoration of the Solomonic Temple as such, but more generally a monotheistic place of worship imprinted with the particular message conveyed to Muhammad. To ignore the fact that long before the *masjid* of the Banu Isra'il had been physically reached by the Muslims, it had already been recognised as the sole antipode to the Ka'ba as 'the further', 'the other', sanctuary (*al-masjid al-aqsa*), and had as such played a significant role in the emerging Islamic worship, would be to underestimate the factor of continuity. The integration of the sanctuary into the horizons of the emerging community is part of the genesis of the structure of Islam.

⁵⁹ An existentialist testimony to the experience of a '*rite de passage*' at the entrance point to the Haram (*miqat*) is found in Shari'ati 1983.

⁶⁰ In a Qur'anic commandment, only Mecca and its Haram are declared to be a site where personal presence is essential for the fulfilment of a ritual obligation incumbent on every Muslim. In contrast, the Jerusalem sanctuary becomes the aetiological focus of a feast which developed after the genesis of the Qur'an (*Dhikr al-isra' wa 'l-mi'raj*) and does not require the worshipper's presence at the original site.

4.2 Jerusalem as one of the Three Sanctuaries—on the expressive value of the place of pilgrimage, the Haram al-Sharif

About sixty years after the death of the Prophet, the central symbol of the Temple Mount of Jerusalem was adorned by a unique, imperial Islamic monument—the Dome of the Rock (al-Qubbat al-Sakhra).⁶³ It is obvious that the Dome of the Rock, maintaining a central position within the whole area of the Haram al-Sharif, was primarily intended as a challenge addressed to the Christians, whose magnificent churches⁶⁴ dominated a city which was itself equally sacred to the two older religions. This intention is made manifest through the peculiar structure and the decoration of the building. The octagon crowned by a cupola reflects—down to its very dimensions—the rotunda above the tomb of Christ built by Constantine.⁶⁵ The Dome of the Rock, moreover, was originally decorated by mosaics not only on its interior but on the exterior walls as well. And—last but not least—not only is the location itself distinguished by being part of the site of the Jewish Temple,⁶⁶ but the building was in addition raised above a most significant requisite of cult history—that is, the Rock. To this rock are attached a multitude of cosmological and ethico-historical traditions,⁶⁷ as attested by the rich

Haggadic tradition and confirmed by an extensive Hadith literature codified somewhat later. These texts may be assumed to have been in circulation among the Muslim community settling in Syria, and among the local educated circles surrounding them, at the time of the Umayyad construction work. On the basis of some of these ‘Haggadic’ traditions the hypothesis has recently been put forward that a particular detail of the Rock formed the nucleus of the veneration of the place, providing the motive for the erection of the Dome.⁶⁸ This is a cavity in the surface of the Rock, which can be taken for the imprint of a foot. In the Haggadic imagination it had become associated with the creation of the world, being interpreted as the imprint of God’s own foot, left in the Rock after He had completed the six days of creation, as He rose from His worldly throne, the Temple Mount of Jerusalem, to return to Heaven.

The assumption that such mythical beliefs lie behind the erection of the Dome would be in stark contradiction with the evidence in the Dome’s long foundation inscription dating to AD 692 left by the founder, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.⁶⁹ The building contains no anthropomorphic or figurative representative of the Holy whatsoever. The inscription, which consists mainly of quotations from the Qur’an, does, it is true, twice include the beginning of Sura 2: 225—the so-called Throne verse.⁷⁰ The imagery of this might, of course, recall the Haggadic throne tradition in question. However, the full text of the inscription—apart from two polemic passages addressed to the Christians⁷¹—attests mainly the two basic articles of the Islamic catechism: namely the Unity of God⁷² and the dignity of Muhammad as His

⁶³ The problem of a secondary intention for the building, which aimed at the self-legitimation of the new dynasty at that time confronted by an anti-caliphate at Mecca, is discussed again by van Ess 1992: 93-101. Busse (1986: 460) rejects the idea that ‘Abd al-Malik, by building the Dome, might have intended to replace the Ka’ba which had fallen under the jurisdiction of his rival; this view is again explored by Elad: 1992: 33-58. Busse continues to support the view that the alleged existence of precious relics in the Dome of the Rock (among them the ‘crown of Khusrau’), as well as the fact that Mu’awiya and later Sulaiman accepted homage there, ‘would mean nothing less than the elevation of that shrine to the ideological and political center of Omayyad rule.’

⁶⁴ The most telling Islamic testimony for the thesis that the building activities of ‘Abd al-Malik were inspired by the Church of the Anastasis (*Qubbat al-qiya*)—as the Holy Sepulchre is called in the Byzantine tradition—and other Jerusalem churches is given by al-Muqaddasi 1877: 159. The passage, which is frequently quoted, is translated by Le Strange 1896/1971: 22-3.

⁶⁵ For the physical relationship between the Church of the Anastasis and the Dome of the Rock, see Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, vol. 3: 72-92.

⁶⁶ For the Umayyad building complex on the Temple Mount, see Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 and particularly Rosen-Ayalon 1989, cf. Busse’s diligent review of research to date (1991: 144-54). For the influence still exerted on Islamic architecture by the Dome of the Rock, see Hillenbrand 1990: 64-71.

⁶⁷ For the idea of the Haram as the centre of the world, see the testimonies collected by van Ess (1992: 89) and the account of al-Muqaddasi referred to in note 64 above; see too Miquel 1984: 127-35.

⁶⁸ See Busse 1986: 455-60, and van Ess 1992: 89-104.

⁶⁹ The building inscription is published by van Berchem *CIA*, vol. 2, *Jérusalem Haram*, no. 215-7 and has been translated into German by Busse 1977: 8-24.

⁷⁰ The quotation of the initial phrase of the Throne Verse taken alone could be interpreted as an allusion to the debate that took place in the presence of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik on whether the Temple Mount in Jerusalem could be considered as the worldly throne of God. See van Ess 1992: 98-99. A late polemic against that assumption is to be found in Ibn Taimiyya, *Iqtida’ al-sirat al-mustaqim fi mukhalafat ahab al-jahim* p. 445, cf. the English translation by Muhammad ‘Umar Memon 1976. The entire Throne Verse is reproduced in the Ottoman inscription in the cupola; the possibility that it is none other than the restoration of a former epigraphic decoration of the cupola cannot be ruled out, for nothing is known of the former Umayyad appearance of the dome.

⁷¹ Polemical statements against Christianity are found in the inner ambulatory—Sura 4: 171-2, 19: 34-6, and in the outer ambulatory 17: 111. For these texts in detail, see Busse 1981: 168-78. For the whole inscription, see, too, van Ess 1991: 10-16.

⁷² The first part of the Islamic confession of the Unity of God and Muhammad’s status as Messenger (*shahada*) appears nine times; in addition, the idea of unity is taken up several times in the context of quotations from the Qur’an.

messenger.⁷³ Both are affirmed in the inscription in a way very similar to their appearance on contemporary coinage.⁷⁴ As might be expected from a caliphal edifice, the issue of self-legitimation is also prominently reflected. This is expressed by the repeated statement that sovereignty belongs to God alone and is granted by Him to whomsoever He wills.

If there is a single, comprehensive message to be read from the inscription, it should be seen as the following—the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, who is mentioned in the text more than ten times, is, very much like Jesus,⁷⁵ a servant and messenger of God. He is, as the Christians hold to be true of Jesus, highly esteemed in heaven as on earth.⁷⁶ He even transcends the border between heaven and earth, as affirmed by the Qur’anic verse Sura 33: 56, which is either quoted in full or alluded to several times in the inscriptions; and he is expected to be the intercessor for his community on the Day of Judgment. The prayer in the inscription, which culminates in this plea for the eschatological intercession of Muhammad,⁷⁷ is the longest and most emotional passage of all, only equalled by the polemical verses directed against the Christians. The association of Muhammad with the world of angels established by the quotation of the unique verse 33: 56 bestows on him the aura of a mediator *par excellence*. The only comparable figure is Jesus, whose person, venerated in so many places in Jerusalem, is strongly felt to be present in the Islamic sanctuary too.

⁷³ The distinguished position of Muhammad is referred to five times in the repetition of the second part of the *shahada*, as well as frequently in other contexts; twice Sura 33: 26 recalls his elevation to a rank even above that of the angels, who pronounce their benedictions upon him.

⁷⁴ The shared identity of the formulas used in the inscription and in contemporary Umayyad coinage is also stressed by van Ess 1992: 10–11. Welch underlines the paradigmatic character of the forms created by ‘Abd al-Malik in coinage as in epigraphy. These were to become prototypes for the later development of Islamic epigraphy as well as numismatics; see Welch 1977: 63–74.

⁷⁵ The formula, which reappears as a stereotype in the inscription ‘May God bless Muhammad, His servant and prophet’, is echoed in the inscription found in the inner ambulatory, ‘Oh God! bless our messenger and our servant, Jesus.’

⁷⁶ Sura 33: 26 is to be found in both outer and inner ambulatories. It reads: ‘God and His angels bless the Prophet. Oh believers! do you also bless him and pray him peace.’

⁷⁷ The full text of the inscription reads: ‘Oh God! we pray You to grant us—through Your beautiful names (*al-asma’ al-husna*), Your noble face, Your elevated majesty, and Your perfect word by which You preserve heaven and earth, through Your mercy which shelters us from Satan and saves us from Your punishment on the Day of Resurrection, through Your overflowing generosity, through Your kindness, through Your gentleness and Your omnipotence, through Your forgiveness and Your magnanimity—that You might utter Your blessing over Muhammad, Your servant and prophet, and that You might accept his intercession for his community—may God bless him and grant him mercy.’

In view of the eschatological role of Muhammad reflected in the inscription, it is hardly surprising that the footprint, ascribed by the Jewish Haggada to the divine ascent to Heaven by God Himself, was re-interpreted at some stage—we cannot determine the date—after the erection of the Dome of the Rock. It was recognised as belonging to the Prophet Muhammad. Muhammad, of high standing in heaven as on earth and over whom God and the angels pronounce benedictions (Sura 33: 56), was himself touched by the aura of Jerusalem, as the Qur’anic allusion to his nocturnal journey attests. As to his proximity to God, he is in no way inferior to that other prophet, Jesus, who is revered above all in Jerusalem and whose own ascent to heaven is recalled in a special building in the close neighbourhood of the Dome of the Rock. In this way it is completely plausible that Islam elevates the Prophet Muhammad on the one hand to a figure closely related to the founder of monotheistic Jerusalem, David, and on the other to the man deemed by his adherents to be the restorer of creation through his own death in Jerusalem, Jesus. Tradition, as presented in the account ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ud, the scribe of the Prophet, has Muhammad entering Jerusalem in Davidic guise, riding on a beast closely associated with the messianic ass. From there he ascends to heaven, and, passing through the celestial spheres, meets God Himself. The account culminates in the following scene, which is a miraculous aetiology for the introduction of the Islamic institution of prayer:

He (i.e., the Prophet), accompanied by the angel Gabriel, finally reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers was laid upon him.

The apostle said: ‘On my return I passed by Moses and what a fine friend of yours he was! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, “Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask Him to reduce the number for you and your community.” I did so and He took off ten. Again I passed by Moses and he said the same again; and so it went on until only five prayers for the whole day and night were left. Moses again gave me the same advice. I replied that I had been back to my Lord and asked Him to reduce the number until I was ashamed, and I would not do it again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers’ (Ibn Hisham 1955: 397–98).

This narrative, which is related in the ‘official’ biography of the Prophet regarding Muhammad’s

ascension (*mi'raj*) from Jerusalem, gives a new, prophet-oriented meaning to the otherwise cosmically-determined worship of Islam. The account of the *mi'raj*, which eventually also resulted in the establishment of a particular feast in honour of the Prophet, was to become henceforth the main basis of the notion of the holiness of Jerusalem within Islam. From the second half of the 8th century onwards, when the *mi'raj* account was integrated into the first biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq (died 150/767), the narrative was widely enough known to contribute to the mythical aetiology of the construction of the Dome of the Rock, which is thus conceived by the Muslim believer first and foremost as a memorial to the Prophet Muhammad. The concept of Muhammad transcending the borders between heaven and earth, alluded to only in the restrained language of the Qur'an in 'Abd al-Malik's inscription, thus becomes material in a narrative, figurative way.⁷⁸ In this way, Jerusalem, the place of pilgrimage ranking only in third place within the canon of sanctuaries, retains a wealth of meaning which is hardly less honorific than that of the other two sanctuaries.

There is no allusion in the inscription of the Dome of the Rock to God's work of creation—in spite of the fact that the Rock in Haggadic tradition and also in popular Muslim piety is heavily laden with cosmological associations that may even have contributed to the erection of the dome over the Rock in the first place. There are, however, many references to the re-establishment of creation on the Last Day, when the Islamic Prophet will act as mediator. In this function, he is analogous to Jesus, who plays a similar role as the restorer of creation within a Christian context. Whether the interior decoration of the Dome of the Rock evokes a heavenly paradisaical landscape, as has been convincingly argued by Miriam Rosen-Ayalon

(1989), or even an earthly paradise (which would accord with the Dome's symbolism, characteristic of sacred buildings and already familiar to the educated observer from the iconography of contemporary Christian churches), the idea of paradise in the Dome of the Rock is still primarily related to the situation *after* the Last Judgment rather than that at the beginning of creation. The inscription explicitly refers to the Day of Resurrection and, repeatedly, to God's power to resuscitate the dead.⁷⁹ Moreover, there are emblems of the Last Judgment to be discovered within the mosaic decoration—horns that may be interpreted as trumpets (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 68–69)—and these find an echo even in the names of two of the gates of the Dome of the Rock: Bab al-Sur (the Gate of the Trumpet), and Bab Israfil (the Gate of the Angel of Death).

It is true that the architecture of the Dome of the Rock attests a strong awareness of the centrality of the sanctuary. This is even more true of the design of the whole building complex of the Haram al-Sharif, marked as it is at the intersection of its axes by a specific building, the Dome of the Chain, whose sole function is to point to the *omphalos mundi*.⁸⁰ But this awareness is never expressed verbally. The epigraphic articulation relies heavily on the Qur'an which speaks a different language, its basic objective being ethico-historical. The only detail of the inscription which allows a cosmological interpretation is the Qur'anic quotation of God's creative imperative—'Be!', '*kun*' (Sura 19: 35). This is adduced with a theological purpose, as a guarantee of His Unity, for, being able to create, He is not in need of procreation. It is a certainty to which believers may appeal when they pray to Him to bless Muhammad and to accept his intercession on behalf of his community.⁸¹ It is noteworthy that the inscription, thanks to the oft-repeated benediction of the Prophet (*tasliya*), the confession of God's Unity (*shahada*), and the evocation of the formula 'in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate' (*basmala*), reflects some of the most substantial elements of Islamic prayer. The Dome thus becomes a uniquely appropriate place for the articulation

⁷⁸ Although we cannot definitely solve the chronological question as to when the association between the Dome of the Rock and the *mi'raj* was made, the pertinent Hadith material may be assumed to have originated during the Umayyad era, and thus hardly in isolation from the dynastic self-manifestations in the city of Jerusalem itself. The heavenly world, as reflected in the iconography of the Dome of the Rock, could well remind later visitors of the *mi'raj* experience of the Prophet. A recent study by Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 46–62) shows that angels appear prominently in the iconography of the mosaics of the Sakhra. She presents a most convincing re-interpretation of the somewhat ambiguous amphora-like shapes that dominate the mosaic decoration of the drum of the dome; following the interpretations of Creswell (1969: 31–33) and Grabar (1959: 33–62), these had previously been understood to be stylized images of precious spolia (cf. the legend of the 'crown of Khusrau' referred to in note 67 above) reputedly brought back by the victorious rulers of Islam from their expeditions against the neighbouring empires. The new interpretation is enhanced by the inscription according to which it is the angels who, even before mankind, pronounce blessings over the Prophet (Sura 33: 56), and who testify with God Himself to the Divine Unity.

⁷⁹ The portion of the inscription above the eastern gate culminates in the long prayer that the intercession of Muhammad on the Day of Judgment (*yaum al-qiyama*) might be accepted; a shorter version of this prayer is found in the outer ambulatory. Jesus is similarly placed within an eschatological context through the quotation of Sura 19: 34; God appears as the One who gives life and takes it again (*yuyhi wa-yumit*). The term 'resurrection' (*qiyama*), which is twice repeated, for the local reader at least also evokes the official name of the central church of Jerusalem—the Church of the Resurrection, or Anastasis (Kanizat al-Qiyama).

⁸⁰ For the interpretation of the Qubbat al-Silsila as *omphalos mundi*, see Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 25–29. The cosmological idea behind it, that Jerusalem is the centre of the world, is evolved in detail by al-Muqaddasi, cf. Miquel 1984: 133–35.

⁸¹ In the prayer of intercession of the Prophet, which is placed over the eastern gate, there is an explicit recourse to the 'perfect word' (*al-kalima al-tamma*).

of prayer, because prayer is already echoed in the scriptural adornment of its architectural forms. What is missing, however, is the verbalisation of the parallel between the Prophet and Abraham which is so prominent in the wording of ritual prayer. Instead, the inscription rather draws a parallel between the Prophet and Jesus. This is probably due to a kind of catalytic effect produced by the *genius loci*, which is also reflected in the prominence given to the eschatological functions ascribed to Muhammad in the text. It seems, then, that in the 7th century the cosmological traditions associated with the site of the Temple Mount, so abundant in Haggadic literature (Schäfer 1974: 122-23), had become marginal compared to the sober, restrained spirituality of the Qur'an, reflected so tellingly in the epigraphic expression of the Dome of the Rock.

4.3 The Haram and its vicinity as the destination of eschatological pilgrimage

The symbolic dimension of the inscription is hardly surprising given the locality, where the borders between heaven and earth, between time and eternity, are permeable. The whole of the Temple Mount had been discovered to be a *topographia eschatologica* by the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem. All that was needed was the identification of the individual elements. In this way, as already pointed out, one of the gates of the Dome of the Rock was called after the Angel of Death, Israfil. His presence is also signified by his symbol, the trumpet, both in the mosaic decoration on the intrados of the northern arcade of the Dome (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 68-69) and in the name of a second gate. What is heralded only as a prediction in the Dome of the Rock—that earthly image of paradise—will be fully realised in its surroundings on the Last Day. The small dome, whose sole original function was to mark the axial centre of the Haram, will then reveal its eschatological function as the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*)—that is, the place in which will hang the chains to carry the scales of judgment. It will take centre stage in a vast scenario of Judgment. Behind the Dome, to the east, the Gate of Mercy will open to receive the Blessed. To the south, lying below the Haram, stretches the Wadi Jahannam, once believed to be the destination of the Damned.⁸² Further north, beyond the wall of the Haram on the slope of the Mount of Olives, is the area called *al-*

sahira,⁸³ where all of mankind will be summoned to Judgment. Later, a gate leading into the city of Jerusalem will allude to this site (*bab al-sahira*).

It was not only the literature in praise of Jerusalem (*Fada'il al-Quds*), codified from the 9th century onwards, and a number of mediaeval travelogues⁸⁴ that stressed the idea of the Haram as the site of the Last Things. The post-Umayyad epigraphic testimonies inside the Dome of the Rock also underline the eschatological function of the place. Whereas the Haram inscriptions installed by Salah al-Din still concentrate on the miracle of the Dome of the Rock's metamorphosis back into a Muslim sanctuary from a Christian shrine,⁸⁵ the Ottoman inscriptions unequivocally take up the eschatological theme. In addition to the Throne verse, which obviously remained closely associated with the Rock, the whole text of Sura 32 (*Ya Sin*), which has a markedly eschatological character, is cited. The unique Qur'anic verse, Sura 17: 1, which associates the Prophet with the site through his nocturnal journey, and which at this later stage has become understood exclusively as an allusion to the Prophet's ascent to heaven, his *mi'raj*, is also adduced, serving to underline Jerusalem's affinity to the transcendental realm.

The awareness of the transitory quality of the Jerusalem sanctuary—where space is felt to turn into time⁸⁶—and thus of the resultant merit of the believer's approach to the shrine, reached its climax in the Mamluk period. It is remarkable that proximity to the place where creation would in future dissolve, and where the dead would be resurrected to another life, should have aroused

⁸³ The place name *al-sahira* seems to go back to a rather daring interpretation of a Qur'anic passage with somewhat unusual phraseology. The verse in question is found in Sura 79: 14. It is speaking of the resurrection: 'But it shall be only a single scare / and behold, they are awakened.' The expression 'in the state of being awake', '*fi al-sahira*' was re-interpreted to become a toponym for the place traditionally associated in Jerusalem with the event of the assembly of the resurrected.

⁸⁴ A most useful anthology of relevant travel accounts is to be found in al-'Asali 1992. The Haram as the site of the Last Things was already described by writers in the 10th and 11th centuries; see al-Muqaddasi 1877: 171-72 and Nasir-i Khusrau 1975: 26-40.

⁸⁵ The inscription of Salah al-Din, which was published by van Berchem (1927: 363-71), cites the beginning of Sura 21: 1-21, *Ta Ha*, where the event of the Burning Bush is associated typologically with the consecration of the sanctuary. Just as Moses was made aware that he was treading on holy ground, so should the visitor to the re-consecrated Dome of the Rock be aware that this too is a holy site. In a similar way, the event of the reconstitution of the rod of Moses should be interpreted, according to Busse 1977: 8-24, as a prototype for the reconstitution of the Dome of the Rock to its original status as an Islamic sanctuary. The Qur'anic quotation ends with the words 'We will restore it to its first state' (Sura 20: 21).

⁸⁶ See too Miquel's analysis (1984: 135) of al-Muqaddasi's account of Jerusalem.

⁸² For the Haram gates in general, see Burgoyne 1992: 125-40. The double gate to the south known as the Bab al-Rahma goes back to the original building complex of 'Abd al-Malik. The Gate of Darkness, Bab al-'Atm, which was originally a double gate like the Bab al-Rahma, also belongs to the original complex. The Wadi Jahannam (in Hebrew, Ge Hennom, 'Gehenna') is located to the south-east of Jerusalem. For the traditions that migrated there, see Peters 1985: 455-8.

the desire of self-perpetuation. This took the form of building mausolea⁸⁷ and other architectonic structures which should be seen as memorial buildings, if not in their primary intention then at least as a secondary purpose.⁸⁸ This is perhaps most evident in the luxuriously-adorned main access road to the Haram described by Burgoyne (1987: 84ff) as an architectonic complex in itself. That sense of self-perpetuation is expressed by the super-elevated, thoroughly expressive façades, which are decorated with monumental epigraphic and heraldic⁸⁹ emblems of royal—or at least amiral—self-legitimation. These buildings conceal a multitude of institutions that were charged with the preservation of memory: these include religious endowments laden with minutely fixed prescriptions for the maintenance of liturgical, meditative and theological activities.⁹⁰ These institutions preserved the memory of their founder long after his death, not only through the continuous evocation of his name in prayer, but even more through another auditory device, the ‘remembrance of God’ (*dhikr Allah*)—ceremonial recitation of the Qur’an. The sound of the recitation was carried out into the street and heard by believers passing through the Bab al-Silsila Road on the way to worship in the Haram, who thus received a blessing on behalf of the pious founder.⁹¹

But it should be borne in mind that the Haram al-Sharif is not only a place of pilgrimage for the living, who during their stay in Jerusalem enjoy the blessing of the neighbourhood of the sanctuary, the *jiwar*.⁹² It is also the

final destination of the eschatological pilgrimage of mankind. On the Day of Judgment, all men will stand there before their Lord, in the same way as in the *hajj* ceremony of *wuquf*, when pilgrims stand motionless beneath Mount ‘Arafat. This final destination has already been approached by those who were able in some way to erect a memorial for themselves in Jerusalem by commissioning a professional Qur’an reader in their will, thus ensuring that long after their death a continuous recitation of the Qur’an would be performed at their tomb. Other monuments with an inscription that contained or evoked Qur’anic verses would serve a similar purpose: their founders, long after their deaths, could hope for continuous blessings to be returned to them from passers-by, who were expected to utter a pious formula on reading a written verse in the inscription, or on hearing a Qur’anic *cantilena* resounding into the road from a mausoleum. These reciprocal blessings were apt to create a singular communication between the living and the dead, and help to bridge the time that still remained until the day when they would be allowed to enter the Haram, located so close to their tombs in terms of space. A verse of the Qur’an which is often quoted in a funerary context gains additional significance when it is encountered in an inscription over a mausoleum in Jerusalem, in this particular case erected by a lady from distant Transoxiana, who either died in Jerusalem or, in accordance with her will, was transported there after her death. Sura 3: 185⁹³ reads:

*Kullu nafsin dha’iqatu l-mauti
tuwaffauna ujurakum yauma l-qiyamati
fa-man zuhziha ‘ani l-nari wa-udkhila l-jannata
fa-qad faza
wa-ma hayatu l-dunya illa mata’u l-ghurur*

Every soul shall taste of death; you shall surely be paid in full your wages on the Day of Resurrection. Whosoever is removed from the Fire and admitted to Paradise shall win the triumph. The present life is but the joy of delusion.

5. Conclusion

The significance of Jerusalem to Islam becomes fully

⁸⁷ Burgoyne 1987 lists at least seven mausolea located in Bab al-Silsila Road.

⁸⁸ Stephen Humphreys 1972: 69–119 stresses the importance of realising the effective nature of a secondary intention, which communicates a particular consciousness or even ideology, in addition to the primary function of a building.

⁸⁹ See Mayer 1933 and Meinecke 1972. I owe this reference to the kindness of my colleague, Ulrich Haarmann.

⁹⁰ See Little 1984. The texts have been published by Little 1984b, and by al-‘Asali 1983–9.

⁹¹ The survey by Burgoyne (1987) has shown that buildings were deliberately constructed with their main space opening onto the street through large windows in order to allow the recitation of the Qur’an, which was taking place inside the tomb of the founder or within one of the lecture halls, to be heard outside in the street. The fact that certain areas of Jerusalem resounded to the recitation of the Qur’an is attested by Muslim pilgrims congregating from distant lands. See, for example, the account left by Abu Bakr ibn al-‘Arabi, who lived in Jerusalem in the years 1093 and 1095; see al-Maqqari n.d: 42.

⁹² Accounts describing pious visitors (*jiran*), who had come to Jerusalem to seek spiritual experience through meditation on the Temple Mount, are to be found in the *Fada’il* literature; see al-Wasiti, Ibn al-Murajja and al-Suyuti 1982–84. Cf. the quotations of several *fada’il* traditions presented by Busse (1986), as well as in the biographies of sufi mystics. They are particularly numerous in Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaimi (15th century) and Burhan al-Din ibn al-Firkah al-Fazari (writing in 1350).

⁹³ For the mausoleum of Turkan Khatun dating from the year 753/1352–3, see Burgoyne 1987: 321–4. The quotation, which in the inscription is limited to the first phrase only, is mnemotechnically strong enough to evoke in the reader’s mind any one of three possible continuations. The short *gnome* in the quotation appears in no less than three different Qur’anic passages, Suras 3: 185, 21: 25 and 29: 57. In each case, the verse finishes with an eschatological prediction which is most vividly expressed in Sura 3: 185.

evident only in the context of the three sanctuaries. This conclusion to the foregoing study is perhaps communicated more vividly through a drawing than through any written testimony. In a simple image which, according to Jerusalemite custom, is drawn in a naive, popular technique on the wall or the door of the house of a pilgrim returning home from the *hajj*, the three Islamic sanctuaries are arranged to form a triangle. The Ka'ba of Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina mark the two angles below. The Qubbat al-Sakhra marks the apex. The two sanctuaries of Mecca, the site of the establishment of the key religious rites through Abraham and their restoration through Muhammad, and of Madina, the place to which the beginnings of the worldly political self-

assertion of Islam are attached, could become the holy places of a universal religion only because Islam sees itself as a new rendition of those older religions of the book whose bedrock is the Rock of Jerusalem. Muhammad himself was touched by the particular aura of the place. The Prophet's experience was formulated in the powerful image of the Nocturnal Journey and Ascent to Heaven, both easily remembered and full of evocative power for every Muslim believer. The unquenchable aura of the place as an opening to 'the other world'—to heaven—is matched in architectural terms by the form of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock, the Qubbat al-Sakhra, which still today asserts its identity as an icon of Islamic spirituality.

Chapter 9

POPULAR AND SYMBOLIC ICONOGRAPHIES RELATED TO THE HARAM AL-SHARIF DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Michele Bernardini*

In Islamic historiography the tradition regarding the holiness of the city of Jerusalem, and in particular of the sacredness of the Haram al-Sharif, had undergone a long evolution by the time of the Ottoman conquest in 1516. In fact from the early Islamic period there had been different and often contrasting views that had substantiated these traditions. In the early Islamic centuries the debate centred on the holy nature of the city and pertained in particular to its designation as a pilgrimage centre (Kister 1969). The discussion was based mainly on the interpretation of the relative *Hadiths* and on the references to the city found in the Qur'an, which are allusive rather than explicit.¹

The debate, in an earlier period, found a first response in the construction of the Qubbat al-Sakhra by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik.² However it was the reaction ensuing from the Crusades, and the conquest of

the city by Salah al-Din, that led to a more pronounced awareness and recognition of the sacred character of the city. This trend is underlined by the phenomenon defined by E Sivan as *Fada'il al-Quds* ('The Merits of Jerusalem') literature, which, as pointed out by this scholar, dates from the 11th century.³ A guiding theme highlighted by such literary production is that one of the ultimate aims of the *jihād* was the conquest of Jerusalem, with a special emphasis placed on the religious value of the Haram al-Sharif and in particular of al-Aqsa mosque.

A further constituent element of the traditions concerning the sacred character of the city is to be found in the mediaeval literary elaboration of Muhammad's *mi'raj*. Though this theme was duly underlined in Islamic historiographical works, it was mainly in literary (especially non-Arabic⁴) works that the *mi'rajnama* ('Book of the Ascension') typology had a considerable success. This is

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¹ See J W Hirschberg, 'The Sources of Moslem traditions concerning Jerusalem', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 17 1951-2: 314-50; among the Qur'anic references to Jerusalem, the *sura* of the Nocturnal Journey (*al-Isra'*, 17), certainly the most discussed by the commentators, contains a reference to the Distant Temple, *masjid al-aqsa* (for other quotations probably relating to Jerusalem see also Qur'an 17 1; and 53 1-8). It should be noted that the *ayat al-isra'* was, according to Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, trans. and notes J Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, inscribed on the mosaics inside the al-Aqsa Mosque in the year 1035. My grateful thanks to Rachel Milstein who very generously gave me a copy of her article, 'Drawings of the Haram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts', in advance of its publication in *Aspects of Ottoman History, Papers from CIEPO IX*, (eds.) A Singer, A Cohen, 1994: 62-9. This scholar writes that the mosaics have since disappeared (64), but remained the *raison d'être* for a visit to Jerusalem for pilgrims, as well as for Harawi.

² See O Grabar, 'The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem', *Ars Orientalis* 3 1959: 33-62; M Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif. An Iconographic Study*, Jerusalem 1989; *Bayt al-Maqdis. 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem I*, (eds.) J Raby, J Johns, Oxford 1992; R Hillenbrand, 'Das Vermächtnis des Felsendoms', *Forschungs Forum (Orientalistik)* 2 1990: 64-71, Part 2, *Jerusalem and Early Islam*, (ed.) J Johns, Oxford 1998.

³ See E Sivan, 'Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles', *Studia Islamica* 27 1967: 149-82; *idem*, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, Paris 1968: 115-20; *idem*, 'The Beginnings of the Fada'il al-Quds Literature', *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 1971: 263-71: 'The most ancient *Fada'il al-Quds* tract seems to be the one composed in Jerusalem not later than 410/1019-20 by Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Wasiti, *khatib* at al-Aqsa Mosque of Jerusalem' (263); see also A Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, Leiden 1995.

⁴ On the Arabic texts see J Knappert, *Mi'radj*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* 6: 99-105.

attested by the place that the subject had in Persian *belles lettres* from the Saljuq period onwards.⁵

A third consideration is that prior to the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem the views of the city presented by Islamic historiography had become highly composite. The hagiographical traditions associating the city with Solomon's Temple⁶ and Muhammad's *mi'raj* became interwoven with subsequent narratives concerning the historical role played by the city, including the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim.⁷ Another factor that led to this particular consideration of Jerusalem prior to the Ottoman conquest was the high esteem with which mystics, in particular Iranians, viewed the city.⁸ A manifestation of this growing interest is to be found in the illustrated manuscripts linked by tradition with the *mi'raj* which, from the 15th century onwards, were to find a considerable success in Persian lands.⁹

It is within the Persian tradition that the Turkish literary production of the *mi'rajname* develops, although remote non-Iranian influences can be traced in its evolution.¹⁰ Within the Ottoman cultural context, the *mi'raj*

tradition quite quickly became popular. An early description is furnished by Sulaiman Çelebi (who lived in Bursa in the second half of the 14th century) who is known primarily for his literary composition regarding the nativity of the Prophet, the *Mevlid*.¹¹ At almost the same time, the *Iskendername* of Ahmedi is to be found, a *masnavi* which describes Muhammad's heavenly flight. It is noteworthy that this work was subsequently to become the subject of several illustrated manuscripts.¹²

But it was during the Timurid period that we are first presented with illustrated manuscripts concerning the *mi'raj* in which a systematic treatment of the subject matter is evident. One of the earliest of such works is the Supplement Turc 190 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, written in Uighur characters and dated 1436, which has been studied by several scholars.¹³ In 1957 R. Ettinghausen published isolated leaves from another manuscript mounted in the album H. 2154 of the Topkapi Sarayı Library dated 951/1544, and this focuses on the Prophet's *mi'raj*. These leaves, datable to the 14th century, are most likely the work of the famous Ahmad Musa.¹⁴ One particular miniature in the album (f.107r) raised discussions among scholars who identified the city depicted in it with Constantinople (Ettinghausen 1957), Jerusalem,¹⁵ or Medina.¹⁶

is in A S Levend, *Ali Şir Nevaî, I, Hayatı, sanatı, kişiliği*, Ankara 1965: 23.

¹¹ E J W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, I, London 1900: 235; see also A Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1969: 301-5.

¹² For Ahmedi's *Iskendername*, see the recent article of S Bağcı, 'Osmanlı dünyasında Efsanevi yönetici imgesi olarak büyük İskender ve osmanlı İskendernâmesi', in *Humana Bozkurt Güvenç'e Armağan*, Ankara 1994: 111-31. One miniature illustrating the *mi'raj* of Muhammad found in a manuscript copy of Ahmedi's *Iskendername* and datable to c.1450, can be found in E Grube, 'The Date of the Venice Iskandar-Nama', *Islamic Art* 2 1987: 196, fig. 1.

¹³ The manuscript was first edited by A J Pavet de Courteille, *Mirâdj-Nâmeh. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit ouïgour de la Bibliothèque Nationale (traduit et annoté)*, Paris 1882. Its miniatures have been investigated on different occasions: E Cerulli 1949, reproduced all of them; I Stchoukine, in his 'Notes sur les peintures persanes du Sérail de Stamboul', *Journal Asiatique* 206 1935: 133-4, offered the first discussion of two of them, which was taken up again by R Ettinghausen, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century', *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, vol. 12 (Convegno di scienze morali storiche e filologiche 27 maggio-1° giugno 1956: Oriente e Occidente nel Medio Evo), Rome 1957: 360-1; M R Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet. Mirâj nâmeh. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Manuscrit supplément turc 190)* London 1997.

¹⁴ R Ettinghausen 1957: 360-83. See also E Grube, *Miniature islamiche nella collezione del Topkapi Sarayı di Istanbul*, Padua 1975: 17-20.

¹⁵ P Soucek 1976. The interpretation of this scholar was confuted by J M Rogers, *The Topkapi Saray Museum. The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, London 1986: 69.

¹⁶ E Esin, 'Al-Qubbah al-turkiyyah, an Essay on the Architectonic form of the Islamic Monument', in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi arabi e islamici*, Ravello 1966: 308.

⁵ A M Piemontese, 'Una versione persiana della storia del "Mi'raj"', *Oriente Moderno* 60/1-6 1980: 225-43; *idem*, 'Le voyage de Mahomet au Paradis et en Enfer: une version persane du Mi'raj', in *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au delà*, (ed.) C Kappler, Paris 1987: 293-320; C-H de Fouchécour, 'Les recits d'ascension (*me'raj*) dans l'œuvre de Nezâmi', in *Études Irano-Aryennes offerts à Gilbert Lazard*, (eds.) C-H de Fouchécour and P Gignoux, Paris 1989: 99-108; certainly linked with this literary tradition are the Occidental versions exemplified by the *Libro della Scala*. This literary production was evaluated (principally as a source of Dante's *Divina Commedia*) by M Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, and E Cerulli, *Il Libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Città del Vaticano 1949; *idem*, 'Nuove ricerche sul Libro della Scala e la conoscenza dell'Islam' in *Occidente*, Città del Vaticano 1972. See also the rich bibliography in *Il Libro della Scala di Maometto*, (eds.) R Rossi Testa, and C Saccone, Milan 1991.

⁶ See P Soucek, 'The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art', in *The Temple of Solomon. Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art*, (ed.) J Guttmann, Missoula, Montana 1976: 73-124.

⁷ See M Canard, 'La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection par le calife Hâkim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré', *Byzantion* 35 1955: 16-43.

⁸ S D Goitein, 'The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 2 1950: 107. Not only had Persian mystics such as Sa'di visited the city, but also several craftsmen who were escaping from the Mongol and Khwarizmshahi raids; see M Bernardini, 'L'Islam e Federico II in Terrasanta. La pace come esperimento politico', in *Federico II di Svevia. Stupor Mundi*, (ed.) F Cardini, Rome 1994: 111-14.

⁹ Among the principal works treating the subject of the *mi'raj*, see the literary works of Sana'i, Nizami, Amir Khusrâu, Avicenna, Qusairi, 'Ibadi Marvazi, 'Attar, Abu' l-Futuh al-Razi, Surabadi, Maibudi and later Jami. See Piemontese, 1980 and 1987; de Fouchécour 1987; for the links between the Masjid al-Aqsa and the *mi'raj* see also Hillenbrand 1990: 70-1.

¹⁰ See A Metin, *Türk edebiyatında manzum mi'racnameler*, Ankara 1987; one example of a Mamluk Kipchaq Turkish *mi'rajname*

Some of these scholars, moreover, have identified the Aqsa Mosque on one of the leaves of H. 2154, although the representation hardly mirrors its real appearance,¹⁷ for it tends instead to represent Timurid architectural typologies.¹⁸

The present work does not aim to fathom the unsolved questions relating to the illustrated tradition of the *mi'rajnama*.¹⁹ Instead the aim is to bring into focus the fact that in the Ottoman period the earlier representational tradition, which had achieved definitive form within the Timurid cultural setting, was to continue.

The link with the earlier iconographical heritage is graphically shown by the recourse to a 'sacred topography' which had been a salient feature of the earlier *mi'rajnama*. From this perspective, a basic role was played by the area of the Haram, and in particular by the 'Distant Mosque' (Masjid al-Aqsa), from which the Prophet left on his heavenly journey. Moreover the sacred area of the Haram had come to be closely associated in the Islamic iconographical tradition with the sacred precincts of Mecca and Medina. This identification was to play a significant iconographical role in the Ottoman popular representations of this subject, as we shall demonstrate below.

The Ottomans turned back to and revived those popular elements which had played a conspicuously significant role in the description of the city. The continuity of this trend in the 15th century is attested by the description of the Haram area by al-Suyuti, written in 1470.²⁰ M Perlmann, in his edition of the 17th century

Arabic work of Abu'l-Fath al-Dajjani, the *Jawahir al-Qala'id fi Fadl al-Masajid*, has focused his attention on the survival of popular customs associated with the sacred area of the Haram.²¹ Al-Dajjani in fact denounced the adoption of circumambulatory *tawaf* ceremonies performed around the Dome of the Rock which imitated the prescribed ritual Meccan *tawaf* (Perlmann 1973: 264-5).

Such popular aspects were most likely fully exploited for economic ends by the Ottomans.²² However, far more important appear to be the ideological implications associated with the growing religious importance of this holy centre, which were also fully exploited by Ottoman rulers.

According to Evliya Çelebi, the delivery of the keys of al-Aqsa Mosque and of the Dome of the Rock to Selim I brought a real feeling of exaltation, causing the sultan to claim to be 'the possessor of the first *qibla*'.²³ It is well known that Sulaiman I, in his urban renewal of the city, paid particular attention to the restoration of the holy places.²⁴ O Grabar has duly underlined that on the basis of such activities, the sultan conceived of himself as a 'second Solomon' (1990: 152). Moreover it appears that this self-perception is confirmed by literary and historical sources²⁵ and has ancient origins, especially in Turkish tradition. It is certainly the case for the post-Mongol Turkish rulers of Fars and their explicit identification with Solomon.²⁶ But

¹⁷ The mosque is depicted on f. 45v in the ms. Suppl.Turc 190, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and in f. 62r of the Topkapi Sarayı's ms. Hazine 2154; Ettinghausen 1957: 366, n.1, writes about the H. 2154 miniature 'That only a limited number of the characteristic aspects of a building has to be reproduced is shown by the "Qubbat al-Sakhra" which occurs in another miniature of the 14th century, an illustration to an *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* ms. dated 790/1388 Bibl.Nat.Suppl.pers.332, fol. 140b). Here the artist rendered only the "dome", although in his more schematic design he gave both outside and inside features and could therefore have included the "rock" ... by contrast the "Rock" is represented in the Istanbul painting and the "dome" only indicated.'

¹⁸ For the architecture to be found in f. 45v of the Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Suppl.Turc 190, see the identification with the Mausoleum of Baisunghur in Herat dated 1432, made by L. Golombek, 'Some Representations of Architecture in the Istanbul Albums', in *Between China and Iran. Paintings from four Istanbul Albums*, (eds.) E J Grube, E Sims, a colloquy held 23-36 June 1980 (Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia No. 10): 131, fig. 435.

¹⁹ See B W Robinson, 'Mi'radj V—Le Mi'radj dans l'art islamique', in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*², vol. 6: 106-7.

²⁰ G Le Strange, 'Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 AD, by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûti', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 1887: 247-305.

²¹ M Perlmann, 'A seventeenth-century exhortation concerning Al-Aqsa', *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 1973: 261-92; see also E Ashtor, 'A Seventeenth-Century Exhortation concerning al-Aqsa' (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 30 1960: 209-16.

²² On the economy of the town see A Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1989 in particular 1-127.

²³ St H Stephan 1938: 147; also in B St Laurent and A Riedlmayer 1993: 76.

²⁴ St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 77; see S Kh. al-Tell, 'The Exterior Tile Decoration of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem', in *First International Congress on Turkish Tiles and Ceramics. Communications program*, 6-11/7/1986, Kütahya 1989: 15-24; see also G Necipoglu, 'From International Timurid to Ottoman: A change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles', *Muqarnas* 7 1990: 154. For the identification of Solomon's Temple with the Bait al-Maqdis see also 'Beschreibung des Thron's Salomon's; übersetzt aus dem persischen Manuscript betitelt Bayt al-Maqdis, oder Geschichte von Jerusalem', *Asiatisches Magazin* 1 1802: 113-15.

²⁵ On Solomon (with Constantine and Justinian) as a precursor of Sulaiman see S Yerasimos, *La Fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, Paris 1990.

²⁶ See especially the symbolic appropriation of Persepolis and Pasargadae sites by the Atabegs and the Timurids as an interesting parallel, shown by A S Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le Royaume de Salomon. Les inscriptions persanes des sites achéménides', in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, 1, 1971: 1-41. See also the new reading of some miniatures of the much studied Topkapi Sarayı Library ms. H 2153 by C Haase, 'On the attribution of some paintings in H 2153 to the time of Timur', *Islamic Art* 1 1981: 50-5, especially p. 53, in which the author suggests a new iconographic interpretation of Solomon's representation based on the sources' comparison between Solomon and Timur.

one of the more significant reasons that brought Sulaiman the Magnificent to undertake such ambitious reconstruction work can be seen in his intention to associate his new role with that of Caesar (*qaisar*), thus postulating a continuation of the Roman-Byzantine empire. The roots of this Ottoman-Roman association are already clearly evident during the time of Bayazid I;²⁷ however, it was in the period of Sulaiman that this identification became fully manifest. Sulaiman's building efforts should be seen as intimately linked to this ideological stand.²⁸ In fact such activities are Western-oriented and appear also to be linked to the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry within the Islamic scenario.²⁹

It is interesting to note, however, that in the second half of the 15th century, Pope Sixtus IV, who had in 1472-3 proclaimed a crusade against the Turks, in building the Sistine Chapel proceeded to postulate openly his own identification with Solomon. In fact a great deal of effort was expended in building the chapel in order to follow the measurements of Solomon's Temple described in the Biblical text.³⁰

This can also explain a reaction against the association of the Qubbat al-Sakhra with the Temple of Solomon that appears to have been present in the Western cultural milieu even before Sulaiman's restorations. Carpaccio in his *San Giorgio che uccide il Drago nella città di Selene* (1502-7), to be found in the Scuola Dalmata dei SS Giorgio e Trifone in Venice, presents a building which both F G de la Tourette (1924: 139-42) and R Pallucchini (1961) have identified with the Dome of the Rock. Carpaccio was most likely inspired by some contemporary wood engravings, such as those present in Bernhard of Breydenbach's work, *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam*,

published by E Reeuwich in 1486.³¹ One of them clearly shows the inscription *Templum Salomonis* on the building representing the Qubbat al-Sakhra.

An interesting *contrappunto* to this phenomenon can be seen in the practice of the *damnatio memoriae* with reference to the Holy Sepulchre which was activated by the Ottomans. A Iacobini points to a possible removal, for which the Ottomans were responsible, of a miniature representing this Christian building, from the Octateuch Gr. 8 in the Topkapi Sarayı Library.³² Moreover the appropriation of Christian ideas has been underlined by R Milstein, who has noted the relationship between the representation of Ottoman Jerusalem and the 'Heavenly Jerusalem' which was present in the Christian tradition (Milstein 1994).

Against the backdrop of these considerations, it is not an unreasonable hypothesis to consider the restoration work promoted by Sulaiman as an answer to contemporary Western efforts to revive traditions associated with the city of Jerusalem, and in particular those associated with the figure of Solomon. From this perspective, these efforts were, however, to find new channels which proposed a new concept of the city and of its religious role. The new exigencies could not be satisfied by the iconographical apparatus furnished by the *mi'rajnama* literature, and it is within this new context that popular elements percolated in the corresponding Ottoman iconographical tradition.

²⁷ For the appropriation of the title of *qaisar* and the attribution of that of *tekefur* by the last Byzantine emperors, see M Bernardini, 'Un 'ambasceria del Takvur di Costantinopoli alla corte di Tamerlano: riflessioni sul "Cesare" di Rum nelle fonti timuridi', in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei*, Roma 1996: 297-304; see also the very interesting consideration concerning the Aq-Qoyunlu and the Ottomans, in A M Piemontese, 'La représentation de Uzun Hasan sur scène à Rome (2 mars 1473)', *Turcica* 21-3 1991: 191-203.

²⁸ See G Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry', *The Art Bulletin* 71 3 1989: 401-27; see also Yerasimos 1990.

²⁹ See also 'Jerusalem in Ottoman-Mughal relations' in N R Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, Delhi 1989: 195 n. 75, and 211.

³⁰ See E Battisti, 'Il significato simbolico della Cappella Sistina', *Commentari* 8 1957: 96-104, especially 102-4. During the second half of the 15th century the role played by the pope's court in connection with the growth of Ottoman power must be underlined. In particular it is important to consider the help furnished to Uzun Hasan, the Aq-Qoyunlu leader, who also assumed a sort of role as a defender of Christianity, see Piemontese 1991.

³¹ Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land, ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1485*, (ed.) E Geck, Wiesbaden 1961. Compare also Fra Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, eds. T Bellorini and E Hoade, Jerusalem 1949: 41-50; see also F Bardon, *La peinture narrative de Carpaccio dans le cycle de Ste Ursule*, Venice 1985: 60-1, in which the representation of the Holy Sepulchre church in Carpaccio's painting is discussed. In the same period in a Florentine context different 'representations' of the Holy Sepulchre appear. This phenomenon seems to have influenced two Florentine aedicules, the first built by Alberti for the Holy Sepulchre in the Rucellai Chapel, and the second by Brunelleschi in San Lorenzo, see C Seymour Jr., *The Sculpture of Verrocchio*, London 1971: 55 figs. 125-6. Recently A Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, Venice 1996: 54, has described the building as the '*Tempio di Salomone/Cupola della Rocca sensibilmente virato in battistero cristiano*'.

³² A Iacobini, 'La "Lettera di Aristeia": un prologo illustrato al ciclo degli ottateuchi mediobizantini', *Arte Medievale* 7, 1 1993: 85-6; the Ottomans seem in fact to give new vitality to the relative positions of the two holy edifices, which had been pointed out by al-Muqaddasi as early as the 10th century. That historian had held the view that the Dome of the Rock was built to furnish a valid alternative to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim*, M J de Goeje (ed.) *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* 3, Leiden 1906: 159; see also A Elad, 'Why did 'Abd al-Malik build the Dome of the Rock? a re-examination of the Muslim sources', in *Bayt al-Maqdis. 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, 1 1992: 33-58; J van Ess, 'Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock. An analysis of some texts', *ibid*: 89-103.

A basic prototype followed in this process was indeed the iconographical models relating to Mecca and Medina. This latter tradition was attested not only by illustrations contained in manuscripts, but also by ceramics, carpets and stonework. In fact one of the earliest representations of the Ka'ba is a work in stone dating to a period between 486-98/1096-1104 housed in the Iraqi Museum of Baghdad (Strika 1976). Prior to the 16th century, however, such iconographic exempla are rare, although scrolls relating to the *hajj* were widely used, as pointed out by al-Harawi in the *Kitab al-Ziyarat* of the 12th century.³³

On the basis of such traditions the Ottomans proceeded to assimilate the iconography relating to the Haram to that of Mecca and Medina.³⁴ Such a process is clearly evident in a *Hajj Vekaletnamesi* dated 951/1544-5, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (H1812: col. pl. I).³⁵ In it, those characteristics that were subsequently to play a dominant role are already clearly delineated. In the first place, the depiction of the Ka'ba sanctuary becomes the prevailing architectural iconographic model, with particular attention paid to relevant didactic information. Secondly, a pronounced schematism in the topographic treatment prevails, following the pattern already present in Byzantine tradition, in the same way as in representations of

Byzantine cities (Strika 1976; Krautheimer 1942). This iconographic heritage relating to the Haram was to remain unchanged for several centuries.³⁶ In fact, apart from new stylistic exigencies, the tradition hardly demonstrates any innovative features over a period of several centuries.³⁷

The Ottoman iconographic tradition pertaining to Jerusalem was however influenced by a third important factor. During the Ottoman period, as pointed out above, popular writing concerning the life of the Prophet assumed a particular relevance. Such works became the fountainhead for significant representations which have been the subject of various studies.³⁸ Popular perception of the Prophet constituted a core element of such literary religious manifestations; however, given the apotropaism present in these works,³⁹ orthodoxy often rejected their religious validity. Nevertheless, from their beginnings, such texts incorporated a rich corpus of symbolic and popular images relating to the performance of the *ziyarat* of the Haram sanctuary. As pointed out above, the same Dajjani lamented the popular excesses pertaining to the cult of the Haram. In fact he stressed that 'Story-tellers are a plague' (Perlmann 1973: 263), a comment which appears to echo the opposition to such popular religious sentiment and probably to Shi'ite religious representations. But this form of popular religiosity has undoubtedly had a profound influence on the elaboration of Islamic hagiographical iconography, a fact which has been brilliantly demonstrated by M V Fontana in a recent work (1994).

The influence of such popular perceptions is

³³ In Milstein 1994: 62-9, these sources are investigated. See al-Harawi 1957. We must signal here the existence of a pre-Ottoman pilgrimage scroll which is illustrated with representations of Mecca and Medina found in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi: no. T.4104 dated 608/1285. This scroll is mentioned by Z Tanındı, 'İslam resminde kutsal kent ve yöre tasvirleri', in *Orhan Saik Gökay Armağanı* 2: 409-10 no. 12 (*Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 1983); Z Tanındı, 'Resimli bir Hac Vekaletnamesi', *Sanat Dünyamız* 9 28, 1983: 2-6; see also D Sourdel, J Sourdel-Thomine, 'A propos des documents de la grande Mosquée de Damas conservés à Istanbul. Résultats de la seconde enquête', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 33 1965: 73-85.

³⁴ For Meccan and Medinan iconographies compare R Ettinghausen, 'Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im islamischen Kulturkreis', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 12 3-4 1933: 175-90; K Erdmann, 'Ka'bah-Fliesen', *Ars Orientalis* 3 1959: 192-7; E Esin, *al-Qubbah al-Turkiyyah* 1966: 306-9; S Dilaver, 'Osmanlı sanatında Kâbe tasvirli bir fresk', *Belleten* 34 1970: 255-7; Z Tanındı, 'Resimli bir Hac Vekaletnamesi', *Sanat Dünyamız* 9/28 1983: 2-6; Z Tanındı, 'İslam resimde kutsal kent ve yöre tasvirleri', *Orhan Saik Gökay Armağanı*, eds. A T Kut, G Kut, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 1983: 407-37; H el-Basha, 'Ottoman Pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina as historical and documentary Sources', *Islamic Art* 3 1989: 227-33.

³⁵ See E Esin, 'Un manuscrit illustré représentant les sanctuaires de la Mecque et Médine et le Dôme du Mi'raj à l'époque des sultans turcs Sélim et Süleyman 1er (H.982-74/1516-66)', *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 31-2 1983: 409-10 nr. 12; *Süleyman the Magnificent*, (eds.) J M Rogers, R M Ward, London 1988: 100-1, nr. 36; *Soliman le Magnifique*, (ed.) M. Bernus Taylor, Paris 1990: 129; Milstein 1994: 63.

³⁶ Milstein 1994: 63 n.4 presents different examples of this iconographical subject: ms. Supp. Pers. 1514, f.42a, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; ms. Türk 463, f.95r, Chester Beatty Library (Kütahya 1798); ms. Türk 464, in the same Library (1861-76). See also the examples quoted by Tanındı 1983, figs. 8, 17, 19, which are, in order, a copy of the *Şarh-i Sajarat al-İman*, *Kurra al-Uyun*, in Topkapı Sarayı Library, A.3547, f.86r, dated 1540-5; and in the same Library the *Nabzat al-Manasik*, H 116, plans 1 and 2 (19th century).

³⁷ It is particularly the case in the introduction of Western conventions of the representation of perspective between the 18th and the 19th centuries, as in ms. H 116 of the Topkapı Sarayı, quoted by Tanındı 1983, fig. 19, in which Western taste is clearly apparent. On the westernised representations of Mecca and Medina see also G Renda, *Batıllaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı* 1700-1850, Ankara 1977: 73-6.

³⁸ E J Grube, 'The Siyar-i Nabi of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library', in *Atti del Secondo Congresso internazionale di Arte Turca, Venezia* 26-29 settembre 1963, Naples 1965: 149-76; C Garret Fisher, *The Pictorial Cycle of the Siyer-i Nabi: A late 16th-century Manuscript of the Life of Muhammad*, University of Michigan (thesis), 1981; *idem*, 'A Reconstruction of the Pictorial Cycle of the Siyar-i Nabi of Murat III', *Ars Orientalis* 14 1984: 75-94; Z Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi, İslam tasvir sanatında Hz. Muhammad'ın hayatı*, İstanbul 1984; J M Rogers, R Ward 1988: 239 n. 17; A Gallotta, 'Un trittico ottomano con hilye-i serif del Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale di Roma', in *Arte Orientale in Italia* 3 Rome 1973: 25-59.

³⁹ On the origins of this aspect see the recent introduction by I Zilio-Grandi to *Qaḍi 'Iyād, I miracoli del Profeta. Dallo Şifā' bi-Ta'rīf huquq al-Mustafā*, Turin 1995: IX-XXXI.

clearly evident in the manuscript Vat. Turco 125 in the Vatican Library. The work, although a late production, appears to preserve in its four illustrations an 'archaic' iconographic structure, lacking any sign of the Western influence already mentioned. The manuscript is a mystical treatise, the *Nur-i vahhaj li tahsil al-ilaj* (1164/1751), in both verse and prose, written by Musa Efendi, who is better known as Amani. The manuscript was written and illuminated by the copyist Mustafa Kashif (*müzehhib*) in 1253/1857.⁴⁰ In the manuscript, there is a miniature depicting the Haram (f. 26r: col. pl. II), in which some of the peculiarities mentioned above are evident. One of the other miniatures of great interest is one which deals with the recurring theme—from the western Islamic lands to India—of the Prophet's sandal⁴¹ (col. pl. III). The illustration presents a two-dimensional depiction of a sandal with a horizontal lace. On the upper part, three discs are arranged in a triangular form, creating a motif similar to the so-called *cintamani*, which is often found in Ottoman clothing. In the middle appears an ornamental kufic inscription stating '*jimjime al-nabi*' (the sandal of the Prophet).

The cult associated with the veneration of the footprint of the Prophet had in fact become widespread in the centuries following the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem. The rock on which it was believed that the footprint was impressed was placed in a shrine where, during the period of the reign of Sultan Ahmad I (1609), it was kept under an iron grille inlaid with silver. The iconography of the sandal appears in miniatures dating to an earlier period,⁴² such as in a miniature of a *manasik al-hajj* manuscript of the 18th century in the Jerusalem National and University Library (Yah. ms. Ar. 1117, fol. 41r: col. pl. IV). In this miniature, the two sandals of the Prophet are shown in the folio opposite to the miniature of the Haram (Milstein 1994). This iconographic motif is also to be found in other cities where the cult had a large following. This is the case of Damascus where the Prophet's sandals are represented in a ceramic panel in the Darwishiyya Mosque dating to 982/1574-5 (col. pl. V).⁴³ Hasan has given a detailed list of the recurring examples of this subject, such as that found in Masjid al-Qadam in Damascus, another in the Library of the Oratorium of Sitt

Ruqaiya in the same city, two examples to be found in Cairo, one in the Atar al-Nabi Mosque, and the other in the Qa'itbai mausoleum. Furthermore she points to an example in 'Abd al-Hamid I's mausoleum, and another from the Ayyub al-Ansari mausoleum, currently kept in the Topkapı (Hasan 1993: 335-6).

This motif made its appearance quite early in an Iranian context. This is attested by a Safavid *falnama* attributed to Aqa Mirak, produced in Tabriz and dating to 1550, and at present in the Pozzi Collection of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire of Geneva (no. 1971-107/35: col. pl. VI).⁴⁴ Though presenting a treatment that is stylistically different from Ottoman examples, the miniature shows the iconographic characteristics which were to prove highly successful in Ottoman art. In another miniature found in the same manuscript, an architectural context is depicted for a dervish scene; it has been erroneously interpreted as a Meccan setting (col. pl. VII).⁴⁵ However, not only the octagonal domed building of the Geneva miniature, but also, far more importantly, its location near an iconographic representation of the Prophet's footprints leads us to think it is yet another depiction of the Qubbat al-Sakhra.

The thesis put forward by Hasan (1993), according to which the iconographic representation of the Prophet's sandals/footprint is to be associated with Hindu and Buddhist models, appears to constitute a possible syncretistic tendency limited to the Indian area.⁴⁶ On the other hand, within the context of Jerusalem, the possible influence of Christian models (themselves the product of classical traditions) appears more likely. From this perspective there are several reasons that bring us to postulate the influence of the Quo Vadis footprint model. In her seminal work, M Guarducci (1942-3) traced the different aspects of the classical iconographic heritage which influenced the development of the Christian footprint typology, as exemplified by the footprint found in the Roman Quo Vadis chapel (col. pl. VIII), a copy of the 'original' preserved in the church of San Sebastiano in Rome. In this work the author presented a detailed exposition of the popularity of this theme within several different religious traditions. She went on to delineate a framework of the complex motivations at the root of this

⁴⁰ See E Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti Turchi della Biblioteca Vaticana. Vaticani-Barberiniani-Borgiani-Rossiani-Chigiani*, Città del Vaticano 1953: 105-6. The miniatures are reproduced in A M Piemontese, *La Comunicazione nella Storia. Lo sviluppo del pensiero e le forme del comunicare. Medioevo-Islam*, Turin 1992: 287, 290, 304-5; see also my recent communication 'Vat. Turco 125 elyazması', 9th International Congress of Turkish Art, 23-27 September 1991, I Ankara 1995: 365-8.

⁴¹ See T W Arnold, 'Kadam Sharif', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*² 4 1978: 383-4; P Hasan, 'The Footprint of the Prophet', in *Muqarnas* 10 1993: 335-43.

⁴² The first one known is in the above mentioned ms. H 1812 of the Topkapı Sarayı Library.

⁴³ See J Carswell, 'Two tiny Turkish pots – some recent discoveries in Syria', *Islamic Art* 2 1987: 205 pl. XIII c.

⁴⁴ Published in the catalogue *Treasures of Islam*, Geneva 1985: 97 nr 63; see also B W Robinson, *Miniatures persanes, Donation Pozzi*, Geneva 1974: nr 35.

⁴⁵ A Schimmel in *Treasures of Islam*, 1985: 99; concerning Majnun and the Ka'ba see for example one Timurid miniature (1442) in the British Museum (Add. 25900, f 114v) from a *Khamisa* of Nizami; the *Falnama* genre is certainly linked with Jerusalem as attested by Milstein 1994: 68-9, and as demonstrated also by ms. Supp. Turc 242, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁴⁶ Hasan 1993. Recently Hasan's work has been refuted by A M Quagliotti in *Buddha padas. An essay on the representation of the footprints of the Buddha with a descriptive catalogue of the Indian specimens from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD*, Kama Kura 1998: 166, note 21.



Pl. 9.1. *Zübdet üt-tevarih* of Luqman, 16th century, Topkapı Sarayı Library H.1321, f.46.

iconographic subject. It is interesting to note the stress she placed on the ancient Egyptian tradition, which used the motif to show a symbolic depiction of the passage to the next world (Guarducci 1942-3: 338-9). Following the author's intuitive observations, one is brought to hypothesise the survival of this ancient belief in the Islamic world. Such a likelihood finds corroboration in the footprint (or sandal) associated with the *mi'raj* theme, itself a form of journey to the next world.

Moreover, the Ottomans were fully acquainted with Christian iconography. This fact is evidenced by a miniature in the *Zübdet üt-tevarih* of Luqman, an Ottoman writer of the 16th century, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (H.1321, 991/1586: fol. 46, pl. 1).⁴⁷ In this miniature Christ is depicted being lifted to the sky so as to escape the fury of the Jews.⁴⁸ In the lower part of the

miniature, what is presumably the place of departure for flight is marked by the representation of Jesus' sandals. This model is indeed analogous to the examples of the Prophet's sandals quoted above. Further evidence of a possible Christian influence on the development of this iconographic model is furnished by the sandals of the miniature of the Vat. Turco 125 manuscript (col. pl. III). The inscription that accompanies the miniature—*'jimjime al-nabi'*—although a terminology used to denote the Prophet's sandals,⁴⁹ also brings to mind a connection with Golgotha, given the association of the term *'jimjime* with a skull.⁵⁰ This latter association is substantially confirmed by the Christian traditions concerning the theme of Jesus' crucifixion above Adam's skull.

Another miniature in the Vat. Turco 125 manuscript illustrates Solomon's 'Library' (*Kitabkhane*, f. 20r: col. pl. IX), which is represented as a rectangular labyrinth. In the middle of the labyrinth, there is a stylised triangular staircase formed by seven steps leading to a red rectangle, which symbolises Solomon's throne. In spite of the original subject of the 'Library' appearing as a *unicum* in Islamic literature, the association of Solomon's Temple with a labyrinth is certainly not new. This theme had been present in numerous Christian drawings and miniatures, such as the drawing of the Cod. Marc. Gr. Z 299 (f. 102v), or in the drawing (f. 107v) of the Cod. Marc. Gr. Z 598 (=909), both in the Marciana Library of Venice. With regard to the first Venetian manuscript, this contains the earliest reference to Solomon as a builder of labyrinths (11th century—Kern 1981: 163-4).

text tells the story of how the Jews wanting to execute Jesus, selected a man named Feltiyanus among themselves for this mission but because God made him look exactly like Jesus, he was executed instead. Jesus Christ, on the other hand, ascended to heaven.' The identity of Feltiyanus is uncertain. Stchoukine identified him with Judas. The same identity also appears in other sources (Asyū?, Qat'yatus, Titanus) like those listed encyclopaedically by Khvandamir, *Habib al-siyar*, (ed.) M Dabirsiyaqi I, Tehran 1362/1983: 147. See also the comments made by Milstein (1994: 65) about the Aqsa Mosque as the cradle of Jesus and the church of Ascension on Mount of Olives in relation to the above-mentioned ms. H.1812 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library.

⁴⁹ *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1983: 46: 'Tabani paçavradan ve koncu çorap gibi ip ile örülerek yapılan bir çeşit ayyakkabgi'. The chapter of the Vat. Turco 125 is entitled '*na'l al-Nabi*'.

⁵⁰ This link could be derived from an etymology of the word *jumjume*, 'skull', which is connected with Jesus Christ in Islamic tradition, especially in Persian and Turkish hagiographical literature. See, for example, the *Jumjumenam* of Farid al-Din 'Attar, in H Ritter, 'Philologia XIV. Fariduddin 'Attar II', *Oriens* 11 1951: 21; M Cumbur, 'Cimcime Sultan destanı', *Türk Folkloru Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 1976: 39-54; F A Tansel, 'Cümcüme Sultan. Translations of the Fourteenth-Century Kipchak Turkic Story', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 2 1970: 252-69; Ja S Achmetgaleeva, *Issledovanie Tyurkoyazychnogo pamyatnika 'Kisekbaş kitabı*, Moscow 1979.

⁴⁷ See I Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. Ière partie, Sulayman I à 'Osman II 1520-1622*, Paris 1966: 74 LV. The author mistakenly identified the title (*Silsilenâme*) because of a false notification on the binding of the codex. G Renda, 'Topkapı Sarayı müzesindeki H. 1321 no.lu Silsilenam'e'nin minyatürleri—The Miniatures of Silsilenam No.1321 in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5 1972-3: 487-8, gave the new, correct identification of the literary work found in this manuscript.

⁴⁸ An episode mentioned in Islamic historiography relating to Jesus. G Renda 1972-3: 487 summarises it as follows: 'The

Apart from the above-mentioned Vat. Turco 125 miniature, there is no reference in the Islamic tradition to Solomon as a builder of labyrinths, even though the labyrinth theme is often present, and the topographical treatment of the city of Constantinople was viewed by Qazvini as a labyrinth (Kern 1981: 156). On the other hand, al-Biruni represented some Indian cities as labyrinths in map form (Bausani 1984). It is thus possible to trace the model which inspired the miniature of the Vat. Turco 125 to non-Islamic sources. A possible candidate may indeed be the iconography of Jericho, a city which, like other ancient cities, was represented as surrounded by seven walls. This does not exclude the influence of other representations which are not linked to the labyrinth theme.⁵¹ This is the case of the depiction of Solomon's Temple found in the Codex Amiatinus: the work, belonging to the 7th century and at present kept in the Laurenziana Library in Florence, offers the earliest representation of the Tabernacle area.⁵² It is probable that this kind of representation may have influenced the artist of the Vat. Turco 125.

Moreover, the location of the throne above the Temple, clearly specified by a didactic marginal gloss, can be found in other miniatures. This is the case with the two full-page miniatures included in the *Süleymanname* of Sharaf al-Din Musa patronized by Bayazid II (1481-1512), presently in the Chester Beatty Library (ms. Turk. 406).⁵³ The two miniatures represent Solomon seated on his throne, placed at the summit of his palace. Below, different scenes are represented in regular strips in which different kinds of courtesans and demons are represented (f. 1v). It should be noted that this iconographical solution has been traced to Western models, like the one represented in Torcello (Grube 1990).

The last miniature present in the Vat. Turco 125 (f. 45r: col. pl. X) represents a *Mundus Imaginalis*. This

illustration can be connected with those recognised by Milstein as a reference to a cosmic element. The tradition has different later manifestations, as for example the one in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (cod. Arab. 461, fols. 45r, 88r),⁵⁴ or another produced in the 18th century,⁵⁵ now in a private collection in Michigan. In the Vat. Turco 125 miniature, the eschatological connections appear strictly linked with the conventional Haram al-Sharif iconography. In fact those references are implicit in the building itself (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 46-69), and their worth during the Ottoman Period is characterised by the didactic tendency typical of the dynasty, especially in the activity of illustrating manuscripts.

The miniature is tripartite, and represents, in the upper part, the *jannat al-mawa* (Paradise) with the celestial lotus on the left and the *'arsh al-'azim* (the Throne of the Heavens) in the middle. This is a clear reference to the *mi'raj* tradition, according to which Muhammad had touched this celestial piece of furniture with his sandal. Between this upper part and the scene below, there appears a dividing band representing the *wasit a'raf*, a sort of purgatory which divides the Muslim Paradise from Hell. Below, the true way (*sirat al-mustaqim*) is depicted, which believers have to follow in order to enter Paradise. One chain of light (*silsila-yi nur*) joins the two scenes traversing the *wasit a'raf*. This element is clearly linked with the specifically Ottoman perception of the Dome of the Rock, even if the symbol of the chain appears before this period.⁵⁶ On the right side of this part of the miniature, there appears a *minbar* on which a pentagonal standard reproduces the *fatiha* and the *shahada*, as attested in other, less elaborate manuscripts. Below the seven itineraries are the *minbaran al-haqq* (the Pulpits of Truth), by which access to the eternal world is granted. These appear at the upper level of the earthly world, which is represented in the lowest part of the miniature. All around the folio, the inscription *la makan* is repeated to show, as in the *mi'raj* tradition, the void dividing this 'Day of Judgment' area from the rest.

⁵¹ Kern 1981: 165 fig. 199; *ibid.*: 171-82. On Jericho see considerations by Milstein 1994. Here the author made further comments on ms. H 1812 Topkapi Sarayı mentioned above: 'Other names were added arbitrarily, such as the tomb of Moses, thought to be found not far from Jericho, in an architectural complex named Abi Musa.'

⁵² S Ferber, 'The Temple of Solomon in Early Christian Art', *The Temple of Solomon*, ed. J Gutmann 1976: 25; R L S Bruce Mitford, 'The Art of Codex Amiatinus', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser. 32 1969: 1-25.

⁵³ V Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, with an Introduction by J V S Wilkinson, Dublin 1958, colour plate frontispiece, pl. 2 no. 406 9-10; N Atasoy, F Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, 1974: 20; E Atil, *Turkish Art*, 1980: 162-3; E J Grube, 'Two Paintings in a Copy of the "Süleyman-Name" in The Chester Beatty Library', *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, (ed.) T Majda 1990: 133-45. See also a contribution on this subject by J M Rogers in *Studies in Persian Painting—Festschrift for B W Robinson*, (ed.) R Hillenbrand (in press).

⁵⁴ Milstein 1994: 66 also underlines that for Muslims the 'vulgarisation of an abstract concept became widespread and was soon considered as a part of the material reality of the holy precinct'; see also H-C Graf von Bothmer, 'Buchkunst', *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus Osmanischer Zeit* 2, 1985: 61.

⁵⁵ *Islamic Art from Michigan Collections*, (eds.) C Garrett Fisher and A Washburn Fisher, Kresge Art Gallery, Michigan State University, 7 February-7 March 1982, Dexter (Michigan) 1982: 99, 101 no. 55. See Milstein 1994: 66; this scholar refers to other mss. such as the *Ma'rifatname*, of Ibrahim Hakki, in the British Library (Or. 12964, fols. 23v-24r), for which see N M Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, 1981 no. 40.

⁵⁶ For this subject see the *Haridat al-'aja'ib wa faridat al-ghara'ib* (c. 1590) found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. Arab 461, f. 45r on which see H.-C. Graf von Bothmer 1985 and Milstein 1994: 68.

Chapter 10

ASPECTS OF THE *SIJILLS* OF THE SHARI'A COURT IN JERUSALEM

Khadr Salameh

I. Introduction

The city of Jerusalem occupied an important religious position for Muslims even before the beginning of the wider spread of Islam. An early divine connection between Muslims and the city is represented in the event of the *Isra'*, the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem, and the *Mi'raj*, his ascension from the Haram al-Sharif to the highest heavens, as recorded in the Qur'an.¹ Jerusalem was also the first *qibla* direction towards which Muslims prayed² and so Jerusalem rates as the third of the Noble Sanctuaries after Mecca and Medina in its sanctity for Muslims. This connection is strengthened by the *hadith* reports that go back to the Prophet which are recorded in the 'Merits of Jerusalem' literature.³ Throughout the history of the city this religious connection has been reflected architecturally and economically as well as in other ways. The connection is represented by the edifices contained within its walls, whether they be the Umayyad monuments as represented by the Masjid al-

Aqsa or the Dome of the Rock, the Ayyubid and Mamluk buildings, or the Ottoman constructions both inside and outside the walls.

The Ottoman empire, the last of the caliphates, ruled Jerusalem for a period of four hundred years. During that period Jerusalem was affected by Ottoman culture in a variety of ways and to varying degrees. Throughout the period of their rule in Palestine the interest of the Ottomans concentrated on Jerusalem in general, and on the Haram al-Sharif in particular.⁴ Here we will confine ourselves to three examples of the Ottoman interest in the city: (1) the works of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni; (2) the renovations undertaken by Sultan Mahmud II; and (3) the Ottoman Qur'ans in the Islamic Museum.

1. The works of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni

From the beginning of their rule the Haram al-Sharif—including the Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and the various other related monuments—received the lion's share of Ottoman attention. This concern first manifested itself in concrete form in the reign of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni (926-74/1520-66). He undertook many important projects

¹ 'Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night, from the Sacred Mosque to the Furthest Mosque, the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show of Our signs, surely He is All-Hearing, All-Seeing,' Sura 17: *The Night Journey*.

² The historians record that Bait al-Maqdis remained the *qibla* for a period of some sixteen to seventeen months, when the direction was changed towards Mecca in the middle of Sha'ban AH2. See Maqrizi n.d: 59.

³ See al-'Asali 1981, where forty-nine manuscripts are listed which deal with the Merits of Jerusalem; most of these remain in manuscript, although sixteen have been lost.

⁴ This term refers to the south-eastern part of the Old City of Jerusalem. The word 'al-Aqsa' literally means 'the most distant' and the mosque located to the south of the area is also known as the Aqsa Mosque. When the term is used in this study, it means the mosque itself, while the whole area is identified by the term 'al-Haram al-Sharif'. The size of the whole area is a little over 14 hectares.

in Jerusalem, of which three will be briefly mentioned here. The first consisted of covering the upper part of the octagon of the Dome of the Rock and its drum with glazed tiles in place of the existing mosaics, as well as renovating the windows and drum, and the renewal of the windows of the Aqsa Mosque (Stephan 1980: 73-6; Meinecke 1988: 3). During Sulaiman's reign, the walls of the Dome of the Chain located to the east of the Dome of the Rock were also covered with glazed tiles; and the Kas, the place of ritual ablution located between the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, was renovated. Sulaiman also concerned himself with the restoration of the Citadel at the Jaffa Gate. Evliya Çelebi records that the person in charge of this restoration work in Jerusalem was the *mi'mari* Qoja (Khwaja) Sinan (Stephan 1980: 75).

It is reported that the reason for Sultan Sulaiman's concern for Jerusalem was the result of a vision in which he saw the Prophet Muhammad, who ordered him to take care of the holy places. Sulaiman consequently sent 1,000 purses (*kis*—1 *kis* equalled 500 *ghirsh*) to renovate the buildings of Jerusalem and to decorate the Dome of the Rock (Stephan 1980: 73-6). It is odd that there is no mention of Qoja Sinan in the *sijills* that I have examined; the inference seems to be that Sinan did not in fact have any connection with the restorations that took place in Jerusalem during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman.

Concern for the daily life of the inhabitants during the period of this sultan is demonstrated by the solution which he arranged for the problem of the city's water supply. Throughout its history Jerusalem has depended on two sources for water. The first is the collection of rainwater; there is hardly a single house to be found in the city without its own cistern, while in the Haram al-Sharif alone there are twenty-seven reservoirs of varying sizes. The second source is water transported to the city from outside the urban boundaries. The Ottomans were concerned with preserving the aqueduct that brought water to the city, and appointed workmen and guards to ensure that it reached Jerusalem safely. In order to distribute the water, public fountains (*sabils*) were established. In Jerusalem today there are eleven fountains, six of which bear the name of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni. Of these, four are inside the Old City, one is in the northern part of the Haram al-Sharif, and the sixth is outside the city walls, south of the Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate). They all date back to the first half of 943/1537. The other five fountains date to later Ottoman times—three are inside the Haram and the other two are in the Old City (Rosen-Ayalon 1989; Meinecke 1988; Salama 1986: 91-106; al-'Asali 1992: 250; Najm 1983: 332-41).

From the start of their reign it was a priority of the Ottoman authorities to find a solution to the problem of water supply within Jerusalem. On Sunday 1 Jumada II 936/31 January 1530 a document records that the

aqueduct to supply the public fountains reached Jerusalem (New Series Sijill 1a: 241); its supervisor was Hajj 'Ali ibn Khawan (New Series Sijill 1a: 331). Three years later, on 9 Shawwal 939/3 May 1533, Ahmad ibn Qansuh al-Sharkasi was appointed to the post of supervisor at a daily wage of 4 'uthmanis over the 'Arub aqueduct to Jerusalem (Sijill 3: 86).

The restoration and renovation of the city walls also date to the time of Sultan Sulaiman, and again show his concern for the security of the city. The supervisor of this great project was Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (Cohen 1989c: 467-72). At the end of the project, a complaint was lodged with the *daftardar* against Muhammad al-Naqqash, apparently accusing him of negligence in the construction of the walls. From the complaint we learn that at this time the work was in its final stages, and that it had then lasted four years. It appears that the complaint arose from the alleged collapse of certain equipment and building materials during the final stages of construction in the western section of the wall (Sijill 14: 196). Darwish, one of the city-wall master-builders from Aleppo, had been accused of lodging this complaint against al-Naqqash but when Darwish was brought to court, he denied the accusation with the words 'I was with him for four years and I never saw anything objectionable about him, so how at the end of the work can I write a complaint against him?' (Sijill 14: 28; Cohen 1989c: 33). From the records in the *sijills*, it is possible to follow the stages of the wall construction and discover the names of the architects and where they came from, as well as those of the porters and clerks. This is particularly the case since working on the wall became a way of describing the worker who was labelled, for example, 'the porter of the wall' (Sijill 12: 122) or 'the clerk of the wall' (Sijill 12: 110). In the same way, it is possible to learn the various sources of the construction materials—the stones and mortar and their different types. It appears that the Citadel was constructed early on and that its walls were inspected under the supervision of three master builders (*mi'mar*) (Sijill 1: 400). In a later period there are records (Sijill 2: 6) of the payment of the sum of 4,330 'uthmanis from the official in charge of the construction (*al-mishadd*) to the clerk responsible for the restoration (*bi-rasm al-'amara*).⁵

⁵ It appears that the operations connected with the major projects like the city walls, the Takiya Khassaki Sultan and the renovations on the Haram had special *sijills*. The documents that have come down to us in the records of the Shari'a court are related to adjudicated problems, or disputes, or debts on which a judge was required to take a decision. This explains the small number of documents relating to the major projects whose patron was the sultan. For example, we know that the building of the city wall reached the Slaughterhouse Quarter of Jerusalem on 19 Muharram 946/6 June 1539 because a jar full of old coins was found and the matter was brought to the *qadi* for a ruling on what to do with it.

2. Restorations of Sultan Mahmud II

During the time of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39), a major renovation of the Haram al-Sharif was carried out. Detailed accounts of this work from start to finish are recorded in two *daftar*s (documents) in the Islamic Museum (Islamic Museum documents 926, 927 pl, 10.1). The first consists of 32 pages, 44cm by 16cm in size, and covers the period between 18 Sha'ban 1232/3 July 1817 to 9 Muharram 1234/8 November 1818. It is entitled 'The *Daftar* of the Expenses of the Workshop of the Haram al-Sharif by the hand of its clerk Mustafa 'Ali Efendi'. It contains the names and prices of the raw materials that were used in the renovation, and details of their sources, whether local or imported. Some of the materials were brought by sea to the port of Jaffa and from there were transported overland to Jerusalem. The glazed tiles were manufactured locally in a Jerusalem factory, most probably located to the east of the Haram al-Sharif. The document also provides the names of the workers and artists and their salaries. The total sum spent on the workshop, as recorded in the *daftar*, was 213,377 *ghirsh*. From that sum about 7,000 *ghirsh* were spent on the Haram al-Ibrahimi in Hebron. The document also provides information on the sources of the finance for the renovation. On page 26 (pl. 10.1) there is 'the record from the treasury of the governor (*wali al-ni'am*) for the expenses of the building of the Haram'. Most of the sums were transferred from Acre in a series of more than thirty payments. Recorded before each payment is the name of the person who brought the money and the date of its arrival. We also learn from the document when work on the tiles began, the names of the workers and their salaries. Four skilled workers in lead, all Turks, were brought from Istanbul. The wages of the master were 1.5 *para* for each Egyptian *oka* (*uqqa*—the equivalent modern weight is 1.282 kg; Hinz 1955: 19) of lead that was cast. A daily salary of five *ghirsh* was paid to him for roofing over the ceiling. Also recorded are the names of the painters and the workers in marble and stone (both *nahhat* and *marmarji*), whom we know to have come from Syria. The names included those of ten masters and two journeymen (*sanir*), seven of whom were Christian. They arrived in Jerusalem on 3 Muharram 1233/13 November 1817 and continued their work until 27 Rajab 1233/2 June 1818—that is, for a period of nearly seven months.

The second *daftar* is the same size and completes the first. Twelve pages survive, with two pages lost from the middle. The total expenses of the workshop had totalled 374,433 *ghirsh* when work stopped on 15 Shawwal 1234/7 August 1819. At the end of each document we find the amounts of the payments and the dates, who paid them, the amount of money that each artisan received, his name, the date of the start of his work, his wage, whether daily or monthly, and the amount of *qusurmil* (see below) that he

used, which was brought from the baths of Jerusalem. 4,435 *qafiz* of *qusurmil* were purchased from four baths in Jerusalem.

From this detailed document it becomes clear that this particular restoration was one of the largest renovation projects that took place during the entire Ottoman period. It lasted more than two years and also included the city of Hebron. In the Islamic Museum some of the tiles from these works are preserved. These were removed during a later restoration of the Dome of the Rock. A number of them bear the names of the artists and the date of the restoration (pl. 10.2).

3. The Ottoman Qur'ans in the Islamic Museum

There have survived into our own times many copies of the complete Qur'an and the *rab'as*⁶ that the sultans, rulers, wealthy individuals, and other pious people endowed to the Haram al-Sharif, the Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and the schools (*madrasas*) of Jerusalem. The Islamic Museum holds remnants of such Qur'ans and *rab'as* endowed to the holy places dating from throughout the Islamic period; they were brought to the Islamic Museum when it was founded in 1922. About half of them date to the Ottoman period. The existence of these Qur'ans is due to the income of the pious endowments that paid for Qur'an readers, whether inside or outside Palestine. The bath of Amasya was endowed for the upkeep of the Dome of the Rock (Sijill 7: 121) and the *rab'a* had associated with it an inspector (*mutawalli*), an administrator (*nazir*), a servant, an attendance clerk, and thirty readers.⁷ More than that number of people benefitted materially from each *rab'a*. The amount of the monetary yield varied according to the importance of the endower and his position and the amount of the income from the endowment. From an examination of the copies of the Qur'an and reading the documents connected with them in the *sijills*, it seems clear that all of the Ottoman sultans endowed one or more *rab'as* for the Haram al-Sharif. Four *rab'as* in the Islamic

⁶ *Rab'a* is a term used for one of the thirty parts of the Holy Qur'an, which was divided in order to make it easier to distribute the text among the appointed readers. Such a donation was a recognised act of charity for pious donors.

⁷ See the *waqf* document of Uwais Beg ibn Hamza, the ruler of the *liwa'* of Gaza, Jerusalem, Karak and Ramla, who established as an endowment three pieces of land covered with trees located in the region of al-Baq'a in Jerusalem (known as Tell Abyut today), and a public bath in Gaza. The *waqf* was for twenty reciters of the Qur'an in the Dome of the Rock. They recited the scriptures inside the south door of the Sakhra, and thus procured the merit of the recitation for the founder of the *waqf*, for his deceased brother Muhammad Pasha, and for his parents, as well as for the Prophet and other prophets and saints (Sijill 12: 592–4).

Museum were endowed by Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni, and one by Sultan Murad III—his is the only Ottoman *rab'a* that is in its original Qur'an box. All of the parts of this *rab'a*, the script, and the cover have the same decoration. At the beginning of the first part is written its endowment document, which stipulates that every day thirty men should read from it after the afternoon prayer. The date of the endowment is 1001/1593. Also in the collection there is a copy of the Qur'an in the name of Sultan Bayazid, the son of Sulaiman al-Qanuni;⁸ the date of his endowment is 964/1556 (col. pl. XI). The Qur'an was to be read in the Dome of the Rock. The style of its decoration and the division of the text show that it is the copy that matches the *rab'a* of Sultan Murad.

Not only men, but also women endowed copies of the Qur'an. A Lady Bilqis endowed a *rab'a* for the Haram in 1000/1591, of which five parts (*juz'*) have survived. Another woman by the name of Salihya, the wife of Mustafa al-Baituni from the village of Salfit, endowed a copy of the Qur'an to the Haram al-Sharif in 1238/1822.

These few examples give an idea of the Ottoman concerns for Jerusalem. Dozens of others could be mentioned, both within and outside the walls of the city. It is true that the Ottoman buildings lack the artistic flavour, richness and splendour of the Mamluk buildings, but it is also true that the Mamluk buildings would not have survived if the Ottomans had not been concerned with renovating them and restoring to their original state the parts which had been destroyed or damaged.

II. The *sijills* of the Shari'a court

The following section presents two aspects of the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem: first, the *sijills* themselves, their number, their locations, and their types; many articles have been written on those dating to the Ottoman period (for example, Manna' 1986: 351-62; Mandaville 1975: 517-24 and 1966: 311-19; Shaw 1960: 1-12; Lewis 1951: 141-55). It attempts to investigate the *sijills* as closely as possible and is based on the available information. The documents form three groups: (1) the original series *sijills*; (2) a new series of 150 *sijills*; and (3) a number of *sijills* in

the Department of Islamic Heritage. Secondly, the content of the *sijills* is discussed. This section attempts to understand the way of life of the general public in Jerusalem of the period.

With these objectives in mind, the first thirteen *sijills* of the Ottoman period were studied, covering the period from 7 Sha'ban 935/16 April 1529 to 947/1540. The study will be concentrated on the city of Jerusalem, but naturally that limitation cannot be strictly adhered to and it will be enlarged on a number of occasions in order to provide an idea, however limited, of the relationship between the city and countryside. This period and later periods are compared, especially on the basis of contrasts between the original series and the new series *sijills*, in order to give an idea of life in Jerusalem throughout the whole period of Ottoman rule. In this way the aim of this section is to give an overview of the topics included in the *sijills* as a whole.

The *sijills* of the Shari'a courts in Damascus and Jordan (Rafeq 1966/1970; Bakhit PhD thesis [unpublished] 1972) have been used as a basic source of information in a number of studies, while the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem⁹ have also been used either as a secondary or a primary source, in many cases for narrow topics. 'Arif al-'Arif was the first scholar to make partial use of the *sijills* in his book (1961), while more recently Amnon Cohen has become renowned over the past thirty years for his use of the *sijills* as a basic source in his studies.¹⁰ Mahmud 'Atallah also used the *sijills* in his book on guilds in the 17th century (1991).

In spite of all these studies based on the *sijills* of the Shari'a Court, the *sijills* are—and will continue to be—a fundamental source for anyone wanting to write about Ottoman Jerusalem in particular (as well as Palestine in general), whether for social, economic, architectural, cultural, or administrative topics. In the following study the three groups of *sijills* of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem will be presented, together with details of their locations.

1. The original *Sijills*

There are 415 known *sijills* of the Jerusalem Shari'a Court¹¹ that cover the Ottoman period, divided according

⁸ Bayazid, the second son of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni, endowed this copy of the Qur'an when he was *amir* in 964/1556. Bayazid fell into dispute with his father which led to his dismissal from the city of Konya where he had been ruler. Fearing for his life, Bayazid gathered an army of 20,000 men, but he was defeated. He fled to Persia but the Shah handed him over to Sultan Sulaiman and he was killed, together with his five children, in September 1561. The copy of the Qur'an refers to him as 'sultan', and this seems to have been added later by one of his supporters. For more information, see Farid 1981: 247-8; Clot 1991: 250-4.

⁹ Muhammad Adnan al-Bakhit, working in Jordan, is the pioneer in the indexing and publishing of the *sijills* in Syria-Palestine. He has used them as a basic source for a number of studies, both as the author and as a supervisor. He has published the indices for a number of *sijills* (1984, 1991).

¹⁰ Amnon Cohen has written a number of books and many articles in English, Hebrew and French based on the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem. For a partial list of these publications, see Cohen 1994: 10, n. 7.

to centuries, as follows:

16th century	81
17th century	119
18th century	81
19th century	114
20th century	20
Total	415

Of these *sijills*, twenty-four are in Ottoman Turkish, fourteen of which date to the 16th century and ten to the 17th century. They consist of *firman*s and orders (Heyd 1960; Cohen 1976). The first of these is no. 9, with 78 pages that contain *firman*s dating to the period 933-49/1527-42. The majority of its documents date to 947 and 948. The second *sijill* is number 11 with 163 pages. The first 73 pages are documents listing inheritances. The remaining pages of the *sijill* are *firman*s dating to 1002/1593, with the exception of pages 95-102, which are connected with the endowments of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni and the names of the beneficiaries. All the other *sijills* have at least one or more documents written in Ottoman Turkish.

For a number of years a group of clerks from the Department of the Chief Qadi in Jerusalem have been summarising the Court *sijills*. Their project consists of the continuous numbering of the documents of each *sijill*,¹² beginning with the first; it includes a summary of the topic of each document in a line or two, recording the name of the person connected with the document, the name of the *qadi* and the date of the document. In spite of the importance of this task and the efforts that have been expended on it, there has been no classification of the topics, with the result that it remains necessary to go back to the *sijills*. This has to be done according to the sequential ordering in the original records. As a consequence, the end product is a summary of the original document. Their value is in the time saved for the researcher who can refer to them to determine the documents that he or she needs. From there he or she can go to the *sijills* themselves, providing permission is granted. To examine this summary in the office of the court, located in Salah al-Din Street in Jerusalem, requires the permission of the Mufti of Jerusalem.¹³ A copy of these summaries is located in the Department of the Chief Qadi in 'Amman, Jordan. It is

only rarely permitted to examine the original *sijills*, but permission to see the summaries can be obtained with less difficulty.

The Ottoman *sijills* have been photographed on microfilm¹⁴ more than once, and the material fills sixty-three 35mm films.

The originals were written in a number of scribal hands and as a consequence the handwriting varies between bad and good according to the individual writer (pl. 10.4). Sometimes a document consisting of a small number of lines can require hours of concentration before a reader with an excellent command of Arabic can copy and understand it. The length of time it takes to read a given document is related to a certain degree to the extent of the reader's knowledge of Arabic. The language of the *sijills* is closer to a colloquial than a literary Arabic. The records do not use commas, full-stops, or paragraphs and are written in a special language that reflects the spirit of the age. Sometimes they are difficult even for someone who knows Arabic well, especially at the beginning; but by degrees the eye and mind become accustomed to their form. Use of a microfilm reader and the prohibition against examining the original *sijills* add to the difficulty, especially since a large part of the documents of the first Ottoman century were written in a poor *naskhi* script, while the closer the *sijills* come to the modern period the easier the language becomes to read.¹⁵

The number of documents on a single page varies according to the length or brevity of the document, which in turn depends on its subject. Some of the documents need a page or more if they are endowments, or the inventories of the estates of a merchant or wealthy person. The number of pages in each *sijill* also varies, especially in the *sijills* of the 16th century, in which the number of pages can reach as high as one thousand. The dimensions of each *sijill* are around 30cm by 20cm. The documents were recorded according to their temporal sequence. No blank spaces are left on the pages, either between the documents or in the margins. Each double page is filled up completely with writing over all four sides. If there is a space left without writing, which rarely happens, the word '*battal*' (void) is written a number of times along the empty space. It appears that this was done to guard against forgery. Each document is distinguished from the others by a title,

¹¹ For example, see the following, based on the *sijills*: Doumani 1986; Manna' 1986; Cohen 1976; Mandaville 1966.

¹² The supervisor of the team was the late Imam Shaikh As'ad, who had long experience in reading the *sijills*. At the end of 1995, the number of indexed *sijills* was 160. Sijill 1, for example, contains 1,859 documents, while Sijill 2 contains 1,691 documents and there are 3,388 documents in Sijill 3.

¹³ The *mufti* who grants permission to examine the *sijills* is Qadi 'Abd al-Qadir 'Abidin, who has his office in the Nahawiyya Madrasa in the Haram al-Sharif. A personal interview is necessary to obtain permission.

¹⁴ Copies of the films are located in a number of different places. Within Palestine, a copy is lodged in the Department of the Chief Qadi, another is in the Department of Heritage in Abu Dis, and a third in the Najah University in Nablus. More than one copy is located in the University of Jordan in Amman.

¹⁵ The names of four scribes recur in the first *sijill*: Ahmad al-Hammam, who has the best hand; Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Imran al-Hanafi; Badr al-Din ibn Rabi' al-Hanafi; and Khalil al-Hanafi, who has the worst hand of all.

written in red ink in some of the early *sijills*, such as ‘The Sijill (Document) of the Shaikh of Islam’, ‘The Sijill of the Account of Muhammad ibn Zuraiq’, ‘The Sijill of the Shaikh of the Maghariba’, ‘The Sijill of the Hammam al-‘Ain for Ibn al-‘Ajan’, ‘Sijill of the Pricing’, and so on, but such titles disappear in the later documents. Usually each document is sealed with the Hijri date, most often spelled out. Then come the names of all the parties to the case, written along the line, followed by the name of the scribe, or the word ‘its writer’ without a name, followed by the names of the witnesses and that of the *qadi*.

The beginning of each document differs depending on the topic. In general the topic can be understood by reading the first two lines. Examples of the start of a document are: ‘The price of good flour from the mill stabilised ...’, ‘Muhammad ibn Muhammad alleged ...’, ‘The renter, our lord ...’, ‘The allegiance of the patrol remained ...’, ‘Before our lord the Efendi ...’, ‘Was purchased ...’, ‘The woman testified against her ...’, ‘The legal recognition for the master ... about what he spent on reconstructing the *khan*’, ‘The husband ...’, ‘The price of grapes stabilised ...’ etc. These general references appear scattered throughout the documents.

Naturally Palestinian society was affected by the Ottoman Turkish language and this is reflected in the *sijills*, where we find many Turkish phrases, even in the early records. The frequency of such words increases in the later *sijills*. Most of these phrases occur in the documents relating to inventories of estates, such as the words for clothes or their description, such as *kuhna* (old), *besht* (a coat made from black goats’ wool), *dara’a* (coat), *qatarmiz* (a very large glass bottle or vase used by apothecaries or confectioners as a show-vase), *tartur* (hat), *saraquh*, *baidak*, and *nahbaq silk*.

A final point connected with the original *sijills* concerns the repairs that took place in the 1930s, when they were sent to the Islamic Orphanage so that their bindings could be repaired. As a result of this work, which entailed the pages being unbound and then re-sewn, some of the pages of the *sijills* became displaced. These loose pages were gathered together at the beginning of Sijill 135 of the new series. It contains the following:

- 4 pages from Sijill 1
- 36 pages from Sijill 192
- 44 pages from Sijill 152
- 16 pages from Sijill 221

2. The New Series of Sijills

In the Shari’a court, in addition to the original *sijills* already described, there are 150 *sijills* called the ‘New Series Sijills’ in order to distinguish them from the first group. Divided

according to century they comprise:

16th century	1 <i>sijill</i>
18th century	10 <i>sijills</i>
19th century	107 <i>sijills</i>
20th century	32 <i>sijills</i>
Total	<u>150 <i>sijills</i></u>

Their content is the same as that of the original series. In general they contain records of marriages, divorces, alimony, guardianship, inventories of estates, buying, selling and trading, prices of commodities, construction, documents related to the villages of Jerusalem with regard to the purchase of land, and documents related to murders. About half of the 140 pages of Sijill 34 are documents related to villages. These *sijills* contain many documents about the *dhimmis* (Jews and Christians). The number of documents connected with them increases when the purchase and sale of land—and occasionally its endowment—is involved, especially after the promulgation of the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman empire in the middle of the 19th century. The majority of the endowments in these *sijills* are family endowments, in contrast to the original 16th-century *sijills*, most of which were charitable endowments. This indicates the general triumph of personal interest. Perhaps it also demonstrates the difficult economic situation that compelled people to endow parts (*qirats*) of their property to their children.

The number of pages in these *sijills* varies; most of them range between 150–200 pages. They measure around 30cm by 20cm, with the exception of three *sijills* of an elongated format which measure 30cm by 10cm. They are better organised in the presentation of material, so that a number of these *sijills* have only one document recorded on each page, especially those of the 19th century. At the beginning of each *sijill* there is usually a confirmatory document containing the name of the *qadi* and the clerk. For example, ‘This page was prepared to ascertain the events that occurred in the time of ... Muhammad Efendi, the *qadi* at that time in the city of Jerusalem along with what his deputy ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar added, beginning at the end of Rabi’ II 1122/24 September 1710’ (New Series Sijill 2: 1). There are many indications specifying when the deputy *qadi* held his session: ‘On Monday, 1 Muharram 1151/21 April 1738 ‘Abd al-Wahhab Efendi al-Shihabi held session in the Shari’a court of Jerusalem, legally deputising for Muhammad Efendi, the Qadi of Jerusalem’ (New Series Sijill 8: 34).

The style of writing of the documents in these *sijills* is less difficult to deal with than the documents of the 16th century. Writing continued without the use of punctuation between sentences and also without diacritics and *hamzas*.

Often the date of the document is repeated at the beginning. The documents begin, for example, as follows: 'There was present on that date ...', 'Bakir Agha was present, the representative ...', 'He alleged ...', 'The rental continued ...', 'The wife purchased ...', 'The *khwaja* (merchant) purchased ...', 'Based on the legal investigation the court sent an official authorised by the *qadi* concerning the following ...'

Five are drafts of documents before they were officially recorded in the *sijill*. They consist of papers 15cm by 10cm in size, pasted onto empty *sijills* so that one page contains more than one of these draft papers. There is no apparent order and it is difficult to utilise them. They comprise the following:

Sijill 60, 1305-6/1887-8	559 pages
Sijill 132, 1322-5/1904-7	1,117 pages
Sijill 133, 1317-19/1899-1901	840 pages
Sijill 135, 1333-6/1914-17	625 pages
Sijill 136, 1331-4/1912-15	559 pages

The years listed are the ones recorded in the beginning and end of the *sijills*. There may be missing years in between or other years that fall outside that range. To complete the characterisation of this collection, we include the dates and lengths of some of the New Series Sijills, and examine three of them—Sijills nos. 1a, 11 and 192.

Sijill 18 covers the 20-day period from 10 Rabi' I 1286/20 June 1869	33 pages
Sijill 19 1286-95/1869-78	204 pages
Sijill 29 1288-9/1871-2	133 pages
Sijill 31 (1) 1289-95/1872-8	92 pages
Sijill 59 (1) 1304-29/1886-1911	148 pages
Sijill 95 1315-16/1897-8	229 pages

a. Sijill 1a

This is the oldest of the Ottoman *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem. It consists of 350 pages, measures 21cm by 21cm and covers a period of fifteen months from 7 Sha'ban 935-18 Shawwal 936/16 April 1529-15 June 1530. The following list gives the flavour of its contents:

6 endowment documents
3 documents in Ottoman Turkish
23 documents connected with Christians
26 documents connected with Jews
12 documents of restoration to buildings
168 documents dealing with villages

The village-related documents show the importance of the economic and social relations between the village and the city. The villages were the providers of

vegetables, fruits, grain and meat for the city and many of the villages were endowed for the benefit of the Haram al-Sharif or for the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, whether in whole or in part, or they were *timars*.

From the documents about building, we know that in Jerusalem in the period of this *sijill* there were thirteen builders (*mi'mar*), eight of whom were from the city of Aleppo; one was Christian, another was from Hebron, another from Ramla, and two were head masons/chief architects (*mi'mar bashi*)—Ibrahim ibn Ma'tuq al-Halabi and Husain ibn Nammar. This large number of chief architects demonstrates the amount of building activity in the city and the attention of the state in supervising the construction, renovation and inspection of buildings—especially those that were endowments—to determine the renovations that were needed.¹⁶

b. Sijill 11

This is dated 21 Ramadan-1 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1256/16 November-25 December 1840. Despite the small number of its pages—42—it is one of the most important *sijills* because it records the transitional period immediately following the withdrawal of the Egyptians (Mamluks), when order in Palestine was restored under the umbrella of the Ottoman state, and it includes the appointments and dismissals in the state bureaucracy in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Bethlehem and the Jerusalem hills, and the award of allowances of bread from the hospice of Khassaki Sultan for the clients of the state. The judge signed his decrees with the following text: 'Muhammad Hamdi, the Qadi in Jerusalem and presently the Qa'im maqam of the Wali of Sidon', while in some of his appointments he indicated that he was deputising for the Wali of Sidon: 'And according to our deputyship coming from Muhammad 'Izzat Pasha, the Governor of Sidon and presently the Ser 'Askar'. The term 'and temporarily of Egypt' is added to the previous terms in some of the documents. A few examples from this *sijill* are:

—Appointment of Husni Agha Butbaq as an officer of the cavalry of the treasury and the enrolment of 70 cavalymen with a monthly salary of 150 *ghirsh* (Sijill 11: 3).

—A decree to Muhammad Agha the Mutasallim of Jaffa appointing the Khwaja 'Abd al-Nur Kalakuti to the position of secretary and the provision of the

¹⁶ The *qadis* who are mentioned in this *sijill* are Burhan al-Din al-Khazraji, Shams al-Din ibn 'Imran, Sa'd al-Din al-Muhandis, Shams al-Din al-Faqusi, and Ghars al-Din al-Dairi, while the post of Chief Qadi was filled by Sharaf al-Din Musa ibn al-Dairi al-Hanafi and Sa'd al-Din Muhammad ibn al-'Alam al-Maliki.

general employees of the treasury of Jaffa, Ramla and Ludd with a monthly salary of 800 *ghirsh asadi* in the place of Nasr Allah al-Qibtī al-Maltī because 'he favoured the faction of the Egyptian military forces' (Sijill 11: 3).

—The appointment of Muhammad Agha al-Qarrafi Buzuk Bashi in Jerusalem as officer over 500 cavalymen with a monthly salary of 2,500 *ghirsh asadi*, a ration of bread and fodder for his horse, while the salary of the cavalymen was 110 *ghirsh asadi* (Sijill 11: 6).

—The appointment of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Kiswani to a third of the district of the Jerusalem hills to protect travellers and repair roads (Sijill 11: 20).

—The appointment of 'Abd al-Latif ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab as inspector (*nazir*) of a third of the district of the Jerusalem hills (Sijill 11: 20).

—The appointment of Sulaiman al-Talhami as *shaikh* of the European sect in Bethlehem with three assistants, and the appointment of Ya'qub al-Ja'ar as *shaikh* of the Rum (Greek Orthodox) sect, also in Bethlehem (Sijill 11: 28).

—The appointment of Abu 'l-Hasan Efendi as chief doctor and surgeon for the Ottoman troops in Jerusalem with a monthly salary of 300 *ghirsh asadi* (Sijill 11: 34).

c. Sijill 192

This collection is the result of the rebinding of the *sijills* in the 1930s as mentioned earlier, when the covers of the *sijills* were completely replaced with new ones. The interior sections of the old covers contain valuable information and observations on such matters as natural events like snow, earthquakes and disease in Jerusalem; appointments or dismissals of employees and judges; important visitors who came to Jerusalem or travelled from it to Istanbul, Cairo, or on the Hajj; the date of death of important people, judges and women and their burial places, as well as information about gifts or endowments that were presented to the Haram al-Sharif—mats, carpets, lamps, copies of the Qur'an or *rab'as*—and their storage places; the names of the officials responsible for them; who presented them; and the dates of the Islamic, Jewish and Christian holidays. Examples of such information have been selected to give the reader a general idea about this unusual *sijill*.

i. Natural events

A plague occurred in Jerusalem on 1 Jumada I 1028/16 April 1619 which 'took children and was heart-breaking. It continued in Jerusalem and has not lifted up to the present day, 16 Shawwal of the same year/26 September 1619'.

ii. Islamic, Jewish and Christian Holidays

—Permission [granted] to the Jews to enter the public baths on condition that they have a special place for bathing separated from the Muslims. Date 17 Dhu'l-Hijja 1056/24 January 1647.

—Pentecost on Wednesday 5 Dhu'l-Hijja 977/11 May 1570.

—Passover on Thursday 14 Rajab 967/10 April 1560.

—The holiday of the Eastern Christian sects and their entrance into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Sunday, 21 Rajab 968/6 April 1561.

—The visitation of Musa (Moses) on 9 Rajab 967/5 April 1560.

—The visitation of Musa on 13 Rajab 968/30 March 1561.

—The visitation of Musa on 15 Rajab 969/21 March 1562.

iii. Arrival of visitors in Jerusalem

—The arrival of Farrukh Beg in Jerusalem on Monday 25 Rabi' II 964/25 February 1557 after the noon prayer.

—The arrival of the ruler of Damascus (*malik al-umara*) Ridwan Beg in Jerusalem on Thursday 15 Ramadan 968/29 May 1561.

—The departure of Ridwan Beg to Ramla and then to Damascus on 29 Shawwal 968/12 July 1561.

—The arrival of Ahmad Beg, commander of the Lajjun *liwa*, on Monday 5 Jumada II 969/9 February 1562 and his departure to Egypt on Thursday 29 Muharram 970/28 September 1562.

iv. Deaths of *qadis* and news of other important personalities

—The Shaikh Abu 'l-'Aun al-Dairi died on Monday 25 Rabi' II 965/14 December 1558 after the noon prayer.

—Abu 'l-Fath ibn Fityan died on Monday 25 Rabi' II 965 after the death of the Shaikh Abu 'l-'Aun.

—The Qadi Abu 'l-Thana' ibn al-Duwaik died on Saturday 28 Shawwal 956/19 November 1549.

—The death of the Qadi Shams al-Din ibn Rabi' on 2 Rabi' I 967/2 December 1559.

—The death of al-Shihabi Ahmad in the city of Ramla on 11 Rabi' II 967/10 January 1560. He was brought to the city of Jerusalem and was placed for the night in the al-Adhamiyya and was buried next to his father near the Gate of Mercy on Sunday.

—Bairam Beg departed to Cairo on 13 Rabi' I 965/2 January 1558.

—The late Bairam Beg passed away to the mercy of God, may He be exalted, on 9 Rabi' I 970/6 November 1562.

—The death of the Shaikh Ahmad al-Dajani on Thursday the 24th of the same month; and he was buried on Friday, 25 Jumada I 969/30 January 1562 in the cemetery of Ma'mun Allah near the courtyard of the Shaikh Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Quraishi.

—The late Khatun, daughter of Muslih al-Din Efendi died

in the daytime on Tuesday 11 Dhu'l-Hijja 977/17 May 1570. She was buried near the Bab al-Rahma in the mausoleum of Ahmad Beg, the provincial secretary, at noon.

—The news of the death of the late Rustam Beg, the minister, on 7 Dhu'l-Hijja 968/19 August 1561.

—The news of the death of the late ... Shaikh Mahmud al-Baluni, the Shaf'i Mufti in Aleppo, who died in Egypt on the Hajj at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 1007/25 June 1599.

—The dismissal of Khusrau Efendi on 6 Rajab 1015/7 November 1606, who departed in health and safety to Turkey by way of Egypt on the 12th of the same month.

—The Qadi Sharaf al-Din al-'Asali was dismissed from the (post of) assistant magistrate (*al-niyaba*) in Jerusalem on Monday, 8 Muharram 978/12 June 1570.

—The Shaikh Abu 'l-Sa'ud al-Ghazi and the pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem on 3 Rabi' I 982/23 June 1574.

—Muhammad Beg al-Tafaji, appointed to renovate the Dome of the Rock, left Jerusalem for al-Rum after completing the renovation on 8 Ramadan 996/31 July 1588.

—The killing of Abu Saifain, the former commander of the district of Jerusalem, in the land of the *'ajam* (non-Arabs) on 2 Rajab (...).

—The revenue of the endowment of Nasr al-Din son of the legal scholar Muhammad ibn 'Umar, known as Abu Dabus, for the year 1015/1606.

—In the presence of the commander-in-chief Muhammad Bashi residing in the city of Jerusalem were brought those in the prison of the citadel, who had been imprisoned in the time of the commander Muhammad Beg, the former *muhafiz* of the city of Jerusalem. They were Thabit ibn 'Uthman, one of the *shaikhs* of Dair al-Shaikh; he was found to have been unjustly imprisoned and he was released. The next ... and seven people were brought from the prison of Jerusalem known as the political (*siyasa*) prison and he recorded their names and released them on 10 Jumada I 1031/23 March 1622.

v. The Sessions of the court and the council, held in various places on the Haram al-Sharif

—The session of the court in the Mosque of the Hanbalis (today the location of the Library of the Aqsa Mosque) on 8 Ramadan 968/22 May 1561.

—The session of the court in the Qubbat Musa on 15 Ramadan 979/30 January 1572. The session of the council in the Qubbat al-Silsila for the complaint against the servants of the commander of the district of Jerusalem, Ahmad Beg, on 24 Rabi' II 991/17 May 1583.

vi. Gifts for the Haram al-Sharif and the names of Qur'an readers and their salaries.

—The names of those allowed to recite parts of the *rab'a* of

the Sultan Selim Khan for 1008/1599, of whom there were thirty-two named. Among them was the man who distributed the parts and the recorder of those attending, who gave each individual twelve gold pieces annually. Also mentioned is the *rab'a* endowed by the sultan's mother, with thirty readers, each with an annual salary of 9 gold *sultanis*.

—A woman, Sa'adat al-Mar'ashiyya, endowed two bound collections of books to the library of the Dome of the Rock for the use of students. She handed over the books to the Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili, the superintendent of the books, on 12 Muharram 1015/19 May 1606.

—On 2 Sha'ban 1018/31 October 1609, 1,345 lamps (*qandil*) were delivered to the storeroom of al-Aqsa and up to the date of 8 Ramadan of the same year (i.e., one month and six days) a total of 680 were used.

From other records we know the number of lamps used to illuminate the mosques of the Haram al-Sharif. The Dome of the Rock was lit by three hundred and twenty-one lamps and its doors by fifteen. The Aqsa Mosque was lit by two hundred and thirty-five lamps and it had fifteen at its door. The Mosque of the Magharibis was lit by eighty-nine lamps, and the Mosque of the Hanbalis by eighteen. The Mosque of the Women (located between the Aqsa Mosque to the east and the Islamic Museum on the west) was used as a storeroom. The record of the inventory of its contents, taken in the presence of Muhammad Agha, the inspector of the Two Sanctuaries, and Murtada Efendi al-Sharif, the head of the doorkeepers, is repeatedly mentioned.

—At the beginning of 1029/1619, the gift of a candlestick weighing 390 *dirhams* and a censer of bronze with seven domes is recorded, donated to the Dome of the Rock by the Hajja Fatima, the daughter of the commander Junbalat.

—Eight lamps were given to the graves of the prophets in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron by the Khatun, the daughter of the *amir* Sulaiman, who was the grandson of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyid, in 1015/1606.

—During the day of 14 Rajab 1073/22 February 1663, the spring waters (*'uyun*) reached the city of Jerusalem from al-Raji' pool.

—On 25 Rajab 1015/26 November 1606, it was announced in the markets that the value of each *ghirsh* was 30 *qit'a misri* and the gold *dinar* was worth 45 *qit'a*.

3. The sijills of the Department of Islamic Heritage¹⁷

The *sijill* listing bequests is lodged in the Department of Islamic Heritage. It has one hundred and twenty pages

¹⁷ The *sijill*, which is referred to here as the Heritage Sijill, is located in the Department of Heritage in Abu Dis, 3km south of Jerusalem. The number of the file is 29/5/1/1, 2/945.

dating from the end of Dhu'l-Hijja 939 to 14 Safar 945/21 July 1533 to 12 July 1538. The largest bequest recorded in this *sijill* is that of the deceased Hajj Khalil ibn Zainat al-Ghazzi and totalled 76,826 *qit'a* (Heritage Sijill 21-22). From details of his bequest we know that the deceased was a cloth merchant in Jerusalem.

Three years later it appears that a dispute over the bequest was renewed, because the inventory of the inheritance connected with al-Ghazzi is repeated in Sijill 10: 76-8. In this document the bequest is recorded as totalling 86,986 *'uthmanis*, of which 14,000 *'uthmanis* represents the interest on the principal, declared in this document to be 320 *'uthmanis*. The sum includes debts owed by forty people—merchants, *qadis* and others from Jerusalem—and debts on credit. The name of each debtor is recorded, together with the amount of his debt and the date on which it fell due.

In addition to this *sijill*, there are in the Department six volumes of drafts of the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem of the same type as those described above.

III. Currency

Before we turn to the economic situation in Jerusalem, it is necessary to examine the currency that was in use in the period under discussion (935-48/1528-41), as well as to cite examples of the gold and silver coins that were in use in the later period, especially in the 19th century. I will mention the weights and measures recorded within our period, and also provide at the end a table of special numerals used by the scribes of the Shari'a court to record the prices of food commodities, houses, inheritance portions, rental of property, prices of building materials, and everything else connected with quantities. Work on this table was done after perusing the *sijills* and comparing the numerals with each other. It appears that each law court had its own special language for numerals. Those recorded in the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem are almost completely different from those recorded in Elker's study (1953) on the numerals known by the term *siyaqat*.

The system of currency at the end of the Mamluk period had reached a state of collapse due to its steady depreciation; it was so debased that merchants had reverted to a system of barter. The last Mamluk sultan, Qansuh al-Ghuri, minted a new copper *fil* in Safar 907/August 1501 but it lost a third of its value in commercial exchanges. After five months, he again minted a coin known as 'new' to distinguish it from the first, older, one (al-Shafi'i 1980: 110). As the Mamluk state approached its end, the copper *fil* was sold by the *ratl* (al-Mubayyid 1989: 217) because the percentage of copper represented nine-tenths of the *fil*, with silver making up the remaining part. This led to a rise in the price of gold

(Ali 1986: 229). In their financial transactions, the inhabitants of Bilad al-Sham continued to use the Mamluk coins, which consisted of silver *dirhams*, copper *fil*s, and gold *dinars*, alongside the Ottoman currency (Lutfi 1985: 286). The Ottomans cancelled the use of Mamluk coins as a means of lowering the value of the Ottoman coinage by half, which in turn harmed the interests of the populace (Rafeq 1993: 64). The Ottomans minted new coins and distributed them to the *sanjaqs* by means of decrees from the governors. On 13 Safar 938/26 September 1531, a document in the *sijills* of the Shari'a court of Jerusalem records the arrival of new copper *fil*s for distribution to the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants. Because of this document's importance, we reproduce it here in full:

The reason that led to the writing of this document was the occasion when Mahmud the Janissary and his associates Hajj Hasan ibn Hajj 'Izz al-Din and Hajj Muhammad ibn Hajj 'Ali, the master treasurer in the mint, delivered the decree of our lord the Pasha in Damascus concerning the new coins (*fulus*) that they brought to distribute in Safad, Nablus, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. They gathered the populace of Jerusalem so that they could hear and obey. It was decided that the aforementioned copper *fil*s would be exchanged in the markets of Jerusalem at the rate of 5,000 *'uthmanis*. The *muhtasibs* Muhammad ibn al-Mujarad and Taj al-Din al-Sukari received the aforementioned coins legally in order to exchange them legally in the markets of Jerusalem ... written on 3 Safar 938/16 September 1531 (Sijill 1: 403).

It is clear that the name of the *'uthmani* coin mentioned in the documents is the *akçe*, a term never used in the first fourteen *sijills* that I examined. The *'uthmani* is a local term that the Jerusalem residents applied to the *akçe* because it was issued by the Ottomans. In the next document, dated 1 Ramadan 941/6 March 1535 another quantity of the new copper *fil*s is reported to have arrived in Jerusalem. The portion (*hissa*) for the Jews for exchanging the new copper *fil*s was 2,900 *'uthmanis*, for the Muslims 4,000 *'uthmanis*, and for the Christians 2,000 *'uthmanis*, on the basis that every twenty *fil*s equalled one *'uthmani*, and forty *fil*s equalled one piece (*qit'a*) (Sijill 4: 612). The *'uthmani* was equal to 2.5 silver *halabis*, and each silver *halabi* equalled 8 new copper *fil*s. Numerous documents warn against using 'black' *fil*s (*al-fulus al-sud*); if it became apparent that someone was using black *fil*s, he had to pay a fine of 1,000 *'uthmanis* to the *amir* of the *sanjaq* (Sijill 4: 617). The new *fil*s were known by a variety of terms describing their characteristics. Once they were

termed 'pure red *fil*s' (Sijill 5: 69) and another time 'red *fil*s free of black *fil*s' (Sijill 5: 278). The price of these *fil*s dropped within a short time. Only two days after the previous document, another document was issued to the effect that every *halabi dirham* equalled 16 new red copper *fil*s—in other words, its price had dropped by half (Sijill 4: 617). At the end of Rabi' I 944/5 September 1537, the value of the new *fil*s dropped again and every 24 bought one *halabi dirham*, while the *fil*s bought iron and copper at three *dirhams* for an *uqiya* (Sijill 6: 642). After a year, exchanging the coins for copper and lead was no longer allowed because of the harm it caused to the public (Sijill 10: 360).

The silver coins recorded during our period according to the value in terms of the silver *halabi* were:

- (1) The *sulaimaniyya*, also called the 'shaved piece', which was rarely used. The value of each one was 5 silver *halabis* and equalled two 'uthmanis.
- (2) The 'uthmaniyya, also known as the 'uthmani silver coin. It equalled 2.5 silver *halabis*. It was the principal silver coin and was used most often in leasing endowed land and property. As mentioned earlier, it seems to be the coin known elsewhere as the *akçe*.
- (3) The silver *halabi* coin, also known as the *dirham*. Most commercial transactions and pricing of goods used this coin.
- (4) The new *fil*s, which was introduced at the beginning of the Ottoman period to take the place of the copper, lead and black *fil*s. At the beginning, the value of every eight *fil*s equalled one *halabi dirham*. The exchange rate thereafter quickly dropped until one *halabi dirham* equalled 24 *fil*s.

In the 18th century, three types of silver currency are mentioned in the New Series Sijills: *al-zulta*, which equalled 30 silver pieces (New Series Sijill 9b: 51); *al-misriyya*, which equalled one silver piece (New Series Sijill 9b: 54); and the *ghirsh al-asadi*, which equalled 40 *misriyya*.

On 4 Safar 1254/29 April 1838, a document was issued which priced six types of silver coins that were exchanged in that period in terms of the *ghirsh* and the *para* (New Series Sijill 6: 31).

Name of silver coin	Equivalent in <i>ghirsh</i>	Equivalent in <i>para</i>
Old <i>bashlak</i>	16	22
Old <i>buzli</i>	11	23
Old <i>iklikt</i>	0	39
New <i>bashlak</i>	2	24
<i>Timshlik</i>	3	1
Old <i>sali riyal</i>	13	28

In Dhu'l-Hijja 1288/February 1872, the value of the *bashlak* reached 5.25 *ghirsh* (New Series Sijill 29: 33).

Many types of gold coins were used in the Ottoman empire and their values varied according to the quantity of gold in them, and also according to the current value of the silver coins. We will present two tables, the first from the original *sijills* and the second from the New Series Sijills which detail the types and prices of the gold coins in the two periods. Their values are presented in the first table according to the piece, the 'uthmani and the *halabi dirham*, and in the second table according to the *ghirsh*.

The following gold coins are recorded in the estate of the merchant Khalil al-Ghazzawi, which was divided on 12 Rabi' II 942/10 October 1535 (Heritage Sijill 21).

Name of Gold Piece	Equivalent in <i>Qit'a</i>	Equivalent in 'Uthmani	Equivalent in Silver <i>Halabi</i>
<i>Halabi</i>	22	44	110
<i>Sultani</i>	38	76	190
<i>Selimi</i>	25	50	125
<i>Shami</i>	26	52	130
<i>Zahiri</i>	34	68	170
<i>Ghuri</i>	28	56	140
<i>Qa'itba'iyyi</i>	35	70	175
<i>Qubrusi</i>	40	80	200

Three centuries later, another document (New Series Sijill 6: 31) records the names and varieties of sixteen types of gold and their prices according to the *ghirsh* and *para*, 'on the announcement of necessary transactions, its prices among the population for buying and selling on the types of gold':

Name of gold piece	Equivalent in <i>Ghirsh</i>	Equivalent in <i>Para</i>
Old <i>Mahmudiyya</i>	60	23
New <i>Mahmudiyya</i>	50	33
Old <i>Mahmudiyya Funduqli</i>	43	10
Old <i>Salim Funduqli</i>	36	22
New <i>Funduqli</i>	34	9
<i>Islambuli Salimi Mahbub</i>	25	13
Old <i>Mustafawi Misri Mahbub</i>	24	1
New <i>Mahmudi Misri Mahbub</i>	20	24
Old 'Adli	17	16
New 'Adli	15	28
Old <i>Mahmudi Zarifa</i>	3	3
New <i>Zarifa</i>	2	28
Old <i>Islambuli Khairi</i>	20	5
New <i>Islambuli Khairi</i>	17	10
Old <i>Yusufo</i>	174	4
New <i>Yusufo</i>	173	11

'This is what was issued by the order of al-

Hukumdari. Anyone who violates this, and gives an increase or decrease in these types, will be punished. 4 Safar 1254/28 April 1838.'

IV. Weights and measures

The weights and measures, too, varied from city to city and region to region. Various grains were used for measures, and the units of weight varied as well. The *ratl* was the main unit of weight and was divided into smaller units, such as half-*ratl*, two *uqiyas*, *uqiya*, and half-*uqiya*. I have found nothing to indicate that the kilogram was known or used in our thirteen-year period. From the *ratl* is derived the *qintar*, which was 100 times the weight of the *ratl*. Thus in the Ottoman period in Jerusalem the *qintar* equalled 250 kilograms, based on the weight of the Jerusalem *ratl* at 800 *dirhams*. The *qintar* was used for weighing large quantities of seeds, rice and flour, just as the quantities of oil that were sent to the soap factories were measured by the *qintar*, as was the buying and selling of soap in large quantities for export. The monasteries bought grapes by the *qintar*, apparently for the purpose of producing wine (Sijill 10: 21).

The *mann* unit of measure is mentioned once in terms of the Egyptian *ratl*, where 137.75 Egyptian *ratls* of saffron equal 55 *mann* (Sijill 13: 448). Thus the *mann* equalled 2.5 Egyptian *ratls*. The term *himl* (load) was used to indicate what an animal could carry. Its quantity varied according to the type of animal. A camel-load of soap was as much as 125 Jerusalem *ratls* (Sijill 6: 621), i.e., 312.5 kilograms. In another document (Sijill 1: 99) a camel-load of soap is recorded as something different: 'all the load of the soap with a weight of 131.5 *ratls* according to the Jerusalem weight.' It is clear that the weight of a load of the same commodity was not fixed even in relation to the load of an animal such as a camel. A load of wheat of 14.25 *mudd* is mentioned (Sijill 4: 186). *Qusurmil* and mortar were also sold by the load. A measurement called a *farda* of rice with a weight of 55 *ratls* is mentioned (Sijill 7: 20), while the weight of a *farda* of silk was 65 Damascus *ratls* (Heritage Sijill 40) and a *farda* of soap was 63 *ratls* (Sijill 7: 11). Various commodities were measured by the *mudd*, such as wheat, barley, semolina, and sesame. 'Abbasid, Egyptian, Ramli, and Jerusalem *mudds* are mentioned, showing that the size of these measures varied from one city to the next. The size of a *mudd* can be determined on the basis of the information in a document (New Series Sijill 1a, 2) in which the sale of a number of *ghararas* and *mudds* of wheat for eight people is recorded. The size of a *gharara* was 72 *mudd* and the weight of the Jerusalem *gharara* was 613.5 *ratls* (Hinz 1970: 64). Thus the size of a *mudd* was about 8.5 *ratls*.

Two units of length are recorded. The first is called the 'work cubit' (*dira' al-'amal*), used for measuring the

surface of a hall in the Bab al-Nazir (Sijill 11: 128). It appears to be the architectural cubit, which was 79.8cm long (Hinz 1955: 86). The second term is a cubit for measuring cloth. One refers notes '45cm *Hurmuzi* cubits long according to the Jerusalem cubit (*dira' Hurmuzi bi dira' Qudsi*)' (New Series Sijill 1a: 191).

V. Economic aspects

The markets and *khans* were the central sites for internal and external trade in Jerusalem. The number of markets corresponded directly to the economic situation—that is, a large number of markets indicates that the economic situation was good for internal and external trade, and *vice versa*. A number of markets in Ottoman Jerusalem became well known (Cohen 1990: 131). Their names were derived from the type of goods sold in them, just as in other Palestinian cities (al-Hanbali 1973: 50). Some markets of Jerusalem were concentrated in the main streets, which still exist today. The first such street extends southward from Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate) in the north of the city, where it branches into two roughly parallel streets, al-Wad (Valley) Street to the east, which was then called the Wadi al-Tawahin (Valley of the Mills), and Khan al-Zait (Oil Market) Street to the west, which still has the same name, until they intersect at two different points with the other main street. This begins at the Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) in the west of the city and extends eastward until it reaches the Bab al-Silsila (Chain Gate), one of the gates of the Haram al-Sharif. In the Ottoman period this thoroughfare was called David Street (as it is today). Each street was divided into a number of markets, and each part was named after the type of goods sold in it.

The markets of Jerusalem mentioned in the *sijills* in the Ottoman period (Cohen 1978: 5-12) are: the Bashura Market, the Market of the Traders, the Silk Market, the Dukhaniyya Market, the Oil Market, the Market of the Cooks, the Market of the Spice Merchants, the Thread Market, the Pottery Market, the Wickerwork (*qashashiyyin*) Market (whose goods continue to be sold in the same place within our own period), the Cotton Market, and the Large Market. Smaller markets are also mentioned, such as the *suwaiqa*¹⁸ of Bab Hitta, and the *suwaiqa* of Bab al-Qattanin (Gate of the Cotton-Merchants).

Some of the markets were already in existence in the Mamluk period, and continued with the same function and bore the same names into the Ottoman period. Among

¹⁸ The word *suwaiqa* is a diminutive form of *sug* and was, it seems, used for markets specific to certain quarters that were smaller than the main *sugs*.

these is the Market of the Cotton Merchants,¹⁹ also identified in the documents as the Cotton Market and the Market of the Gate of the Cotton Merchants. The market contained two *khans*, two public baths, and thirty-two shops. It was an endowment for the Tankiziyya Madrasa²⁰ and the Aqsa Mosque. The market formed an economic unit in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Some of its shops were rented for a variety of functions. It appears that the market in its entirety did not specialise exclusively in the sale of cotton, at least in the Ottoman period. One of the shops was rented as a tailor's shop (Sijill 4: 189) and another as a residence (Sijill 5: 90).

Some names are recorded in the *sijills* that did not exist in the Mamluk period, such as Bashura Market and Thread Market, just as some of the markets in the Mamluk period are no longer recorded in the Ottoman period, or had changed their names, such as the Market of Knowledge, the Market of the Metal Polishers, or the Market of the Cloth Merchants (Lutfi 1985: 283).

Many types of products, both those made locally and imported, were sold in the markets. It is possible to identify the types, names, and sources of these from the documents concerning prices which were recorded in the special ledger kept in the Shari'a court. The pricing of goods took place in the presence of a group of merchants, each according to his speciality, and the *shaikh* of the professions, as well as the *muhtasib*, one of the chief assistants of the *qadi* (see section on the *Muhtasib*). The documents have similar patterns in pricing the goods, such as 'consideration of the prices of the listed goods according to what was fixed in the presence of the *muhtasib* and a group from the markets of Jerusalem, in silver *dirhams* (*qit'a halabiyya*)—*mawi* bread ...' (Sijill 3: 19). The goods are listed and their prices follow immediately. The pricing was determined using the *ratl* as the unit of weight, unless otherwise specified. If the date of the pricing is not mentioned at the beginning of the document, it comes at the end. The prices of the currencies exchanged in the market are repeated at the end of this type of document in the majority of cases—'consideration of the prices that are mentioned in it according to how its price was determined before the Hanafi Qadi of Jerusalem, Muhammad al-'Uthmani ... and the price of the red *fihs* was stable at 16 for a Halabi *dirham* and that the *maqtu'a* coins, the copper

coins, and the iron coins were abrogated on the date of 18 Jumada I 938/28 December 1531' (Sijill 2: 25). Because the demand for food increased during the month of Ramadan and the prices rose—whether as a result of the increased demand or because of the cupidity of the merchants—an increase is noticeable in the number of pricing documents. Likewise the *qadi* instructed the sellers to provide food in the market: 'The price of good bread was stable for each *ratl* ... and each miller, baker, and butcher was required to provide the city with commodities from today until the third of Shawwal of the same year 19 Ramadan 937/6 May 1531' (Sijill 2: 264).

The source of each item can also be discovered from the pricing documents. The sources of the imported items are also mentioned in these documents. For example, among the commodities sold by the spice merchants, 'Egyptian iron' is listed, and among the types of fruit 'Gazan', 'Syrian' and 'local' apricots are specified, as are 'Gazan' apples, and 'Syrian' pears. The documents of inventories of estates also inform us about the source of clothes and household items, such as 'Ottoman' *tartur* (head cover), 'Frankish' knife, 'blue Yemeni' blanket, 'Rumi' mattress, 'Rumi' carpet and so on. These terms appear throughout the *sijills*.

The names of all the types of goods exchanged in Jerusalem are recorded in the documents. To mention but a few: various kinds of meat, soap, sweets and bread, sesame oil, sesame paste, dairy products, nuts (almonds, walnuts, hazelnuts, pistachios), watermelon, cotton, various kinds of fruits, fish, oil, grain, skins, and spices.

A few examples follow, limited to such basic commodities as olive oil, sesame oil and sesame paste, bread and its associated mills and bakeries, and meat.

Nutritional aspects

a. Olive oil

The olive tree is one of the most ubiquitous fruit trees in Palestine. There are two types. The term '*rumi*' is used to describe the trees that were planted a long time ago—the description is intended to denote that the trees date from the Roman period. The 'Islamic' type is more recent than the '*rumi*'. The season for harvesting olives in Palestine is the end of October and the beginning of November. The quantity produced depends on natural as well as human factors. It is common that olive trees will produce well one year, but less well the following year. The olives were used after pressing and the oil was used as a food for the local inhabitants, a practice that continues today. There is not a single household that does not still today buy an annual supply of this food. The oil was transported and stored in pottery jars, and pure oil with no *zibar* (the dark sediment of the oil) was used for food. When the oil was less pure

¹⁹ The name refers to the sale of cotton, just as the 'Gate of the Cotton Merchants', one of the western gates of the Haram al-Sharif, was so named because of its connection with the market. Sultan al-Malik al-Nasr Muhammad ibn Qala'un renovated the market in 737/1336, which supports Mujir al-Din's statement that the market predates the 8th/14th century. See Burgoyne 1987: 273–98.

²⁰ A *madrasa* and *khanqah* located to the east of the beginning of Bab al-Silsila Street, founded by the then-Governor of Syria, Tankiz al-Nasiri (died 740/1339); for details see Burgoyne 1987: 223; al-'Asali 1981: 118.

(*turbid*), it was used to make the soap for which Jerusalem and Nablus were famous in the Ottoman period, as well as being used for lighting in homes and places of worship.

The villages in the area of Jerusalem, especially the villages of Bani Zaid, were famous for growing olives.²¹ The crop was given as security to the traders of Jerusalem, or to the owners of soap factories before the season (New Series Sijill 19). The supply of oil resulted in the establishment of soap factories, a number of which were well known in the inner Zion Quarter, located north-west of the city, and in the area of the Damascus Gate. The soap factories were known by the names of their owners, whether they were the founders or later purchasers. Three soap factories are mentioned in the thirteen-year period covered by this study, all located in the Zion Quarter: the Jabariyya and the Mansuriyya (which later merged into one factory), and the slaughterhouse factory, bordering them on the north.²² Abu 'l-Nasr Muhammad ibn Burhan al-Din Ibrahim Sharwin bought a *qirat* of the Mansuriyya soap factory for 1,000 *dirhams* (Sijill 4: 78) and a woman, Asil, sold him a *qirat* of the two factories. Later he became an owner of 5% *qirats* and the same woman also sold him $\frac{1}{8}$ *qirat* of the ruined northern soap factory. In total he possessed 6% *qirats* for which he paid the price of 1,350 *dirhams* (Sijill 5: 78). This Ibn Sharwin was the owner of a soap factory located at the Damascus Gate which is mentioned twice as the boundary of a press (Sijill 10: 49, 59). He manufactured soap and traded in it, both buying and selling. One of the documents (Sijill 2: 169) records that he undertook to produce a *nassja* of soap for one of the *qadis* and its cost was listed as the following:

The price of 16 <i>qintars</i> of oil—	12,672 'uthmanis
The rental of a cook and the cost of plaster, water, fuel, producers and scales—	1,269 'uthmanis
The price of 14 <i>qintars</i> of <i>qali</i> (alkaline) oil to cook the <i>nassja</i> —	1,162 'uthmanis
Total	15,103 'uthmanis

The *nassja* of soap was sold for 45,000 *dirhams*. Ibn Sharwin himself bought a quarter of it. By a simple calculation we find that the *qadi* earned a profit of 7,245.5

dirhams from the production of the soap and that the price of a *qintar* of alkaline was 83 'uthmanis. The price of a *qintar* of the oil from which the soap was made was 792 'uthmanis. The prices of oil varied both according to its type and to supply and demand, as well as according to the olive season. A *qintar* of oil was sold for the production of soap for a total of 580 'uthmanis (Sijill 7: 479) and the inspector of the Haram al-Sharif sold the impure residue of the oil for lighting. The profit in the waste product weighing 14 *qintars* was 5,880 'uthmanis at a price of 420 'uthmanis for each *qintar* (Sijill 7:188). Another document from a later period specifies 'the price of a *qintar* of oil destined for the soap factories' as 400 'uthmanis; this was testified 'in the presence of the merchants in Jerusalem, the people who bring the oil, the Qadi Shihab al-Din Ahmad, the *faqih al-zait*, and the master Khalil ibn 'Alyan, the measurer of the oil' (Sijill 12: 69).

The price of soap varied according to its type. A *ratl* of dry soap sold for 27 *dirhams* and fresh soap sold for 24 *dirhams* (Sijill 2: 85). A woman sold eight loads of very dry soap weighing 10 *qintars*, using the Jerusalem weight, for 10,200 'uthmanis (Sijill 6: 621). Part of the soap produced was for local consumption and the remainder was exported, especially to Egypt. The overland route from Jerusalem to Gaza and then on to Egypt was well known, and the port of Jaffa was also used to export soap. In spite of the costs of transporting a load of soap to Cairo overland, surprisingly it cost twice as much to transport it by sea and, because of its reliability, the overland route became increasingly common, as is indicated by the rise in the price of soap in Cairo. But, despite the high costs, the expansion of the Egyptian market and the increase in demand continued without interruption (Cohen 1989b: 88). One document records that the Qadi 'Abd al-Nabi ibn Jama'a al-Kanani handed over to Musa al-Salti nineteen loads of soap to sell in Cairo (Sijill 12: 244).

On 25 Rajab 1215/11 December 1800, a document records the number of *tabkhas* produced in the three soap factories in Jerusalem for the years 1213/1798 and 1215/1800. These were the factory of 'Abd al-Ghani Çelebi al-Sabbagh, who produced 65 *tabkhas*, of which he sold fifteen in the city; the factory of Shaikh 'Ali al-Qutb, who produced 91 *tabkhas*, of which he sold sixteen in Jerusalem; and the factory of Sulaiman Qutaina, who produced 15 *tabkhas* (Sijill 10: 276). The size of a *tabkha* may have equalled a *nassja*, as a price comparison would indicate, and it equalled 2,000 *ratls* (al-'Arif 1961: 346). The document demonstrates that the local market in two years consumed 46 *tabkhas*, or 276,000 kilograms of soap. This large amount of soap shows the importance of cleanliness to the citizens and may also indicate an improvement in the economic situation, with perhaps the consequence of an increase in the size of the population. The export in two years of 125 *tabkhas* of soap, equalling

²¹ The twenty-three villages of the Bani Zaid are located in the hills north of Jerusalem and cover an area of 360 sq.km. They are famous for the extensive cultivation of olive trees and the production of olive oil there at present exceeds 3,000 tons annually. In the Ottoman period the Bani Zaid villages were administered as one of the *nahiyas* of Jerusalem. See Ahmad 1992.

²² Amnon Cohen mentions the names of seventeen soap factories in Jerusalem in the 16th century. For more information on these, their dates and their role in the 16th-century economic life of Palestine see Cohen 1989b: 106.

750 tons, generated a revenue of 5 million *dirhams* at a price of 20 *dirhams* for one *ratl*. The small number of soap factories is notable in this late period, as are the names of the factory owners, who were members of Jerusalem families that still continue today. It is clear that most of the soap was exported to Egypt and that the Egyptian market also absorbed the bulk of the soap production of Palestine as a whole. Raymond commented that the Palestinian sector in Cairo controlled almost the entire market in soap (Raymond 1990: 186). Anyone could rent a soap factory for a specified number of days. Yahya al-Dairi rented a medium kettle for making soap in the Mansuriyya factory as well as the other necessary furnishings, buckets and the like, for a period of twenty days in order to produce soap privately for his own use. He paid a rent of 4 gold *qit'a qubrusi* for the period (Sijill 12: 400).

The *sijills* refer to two of the *badds* (the place where the oil was pressed in the open air), the first outside the Lions' Gate, rented for ten months for 1,000 *dirhams* (Sijill 5: 195), and the other in the Mashariqa Quarter, from which six *qirat* were sold for 1,500 *qit'a halabi* (Sijill 6: 290).

b. Sesame oil and paste

The prices of this commodity were volatile. This can easily be deduced in relation to the two products obtained from pressed sesame oil. Perhaps their prices changed because of the small number of presses in Jerusalem, in addition to the greed of the traders, which has been commented on throughout the ages. In Dhu'l-Qa'da 936/June 1530, a jar of sesame oil (*sirj*) sold for 65 *dirhams*, and a jar of sesame paste (*tahina*) for 48 *dirhams* (Sijill 1: 25). Two years later a jar of *sirj* sold for 150 *dirhams*, and a jar of *tahina* for 100 *dirhams* (Sijill 2: 145). That is, the price of *sirj* rose more than 130 percent and during the following years up to 948/1541, the price of these two products rose and fell dozens of times. They were sold from the press by the jar (weighing some 5 *ratls*) and by the *ratl* and *uqiya*, as well as being sold retail in the market. Naturally the price in the market was higher than the price at the press. The following is an example of the documents concerning these two commodities: 'The price of *sirj* from the press was stable at 2.5 for each *uqiya* and in the market at 2.75, calculating 30 for each *ratl* from the press and 33 in the market, while a jar of *tahina* was 100 from the press and 2 in the market for each *uqiya* on the aforementioned date' (Sijill 12: 372—21 Rabi' I 947/26 July 1540). The *sirj* and *tahina* were priced almost cyclically whether in individual documents or in lists of general prices. This shows the degree of importance that this food commodity had for the people of Jerusalem as well as the extent of consumption and the manipulation of prices to gain quick profits.

Four presses (*ma'saras*) are mentioned in Jerusalem. A press consisted of an oven to cook the sesame, a stone for grinding the seed, a cellar for storage, basins, a cistern for water, and a roller (perhaps to turn over the sesame). The press was known by the name of the street in which it was located, in contrast to the soap factories which were known by the names of their owners. One of these presses was located in Damascus Gate Street and was owned by the master Hasan ibn al-Fuqa'i, known as Ibn al-Asfar. His three sons, his two daughters and his wife inherited the press from him. The sale of the shares of this press is recorded in six documents because of a dispute among the heirs. The sale price of the press reached 2,200 *'uthmanis* and it was bought by Badr al-Din Muhsin ibn 'Ali who was known as 'Ibn al-Masri the merchant in Jerusalem' (Sijills 2: 410; 6: 277; 10: 47, 49, 69). A second press is mentioned in the Aulad al-'Alam Quarter; the master Hasan, son of the master Muhammad ibn Zuraiq, bought half of it from the master 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn al-Dahina for a price of 2,200 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 6: 405). This means that the price of that particular press was twice that of the one at Bab al-'Amud—perhaps because of its larger size, or because of the type of equipment, or even its location. The rental for half of the third press located in David Street, and known as the press of Ibn al-Hisni, for one year was two *dirhams* a day (Sijill 10: 109). The fourth press was located in the Abu Shama Lane; Saniyya bint Nasir al-Din al-Samasami al-Dabbagh, the wife of Barakat Muhammad al-Khalili, ceded half of it to her four sons (Sijill 12: 421).

On 2 Ramadan 1125/22 September 1713, there were eight sellers of *sirj* in Jerusalem and the *qadi* ordered them to supply the market with adequate amounts of the commodity; each merchant brought his jar to the market, according to the custom (New Series Sijill 2: 286). On 13 Safar 1205/22 October 1790 a new order from the *qadi* to the presses is recorded, instructing them to supply the city with *sirj*, and he assigned each one of them a day on which to sell the product (New Series Sijill 9b: 532). There were five presses in September 1719—two were in the Jewish Quarter, another two were in the Christian Quarter, and the fifth was at the Damascus Gate. Hajj Musa ibn Mahmud Qatana, who owned one of the presses in the Jewish Quarter, was appointed *shaikh* over the presses (New Series Sijill 4: 173). It seems that the press at the Damascus Gate was in ruins; it was rented for a period of ten years for a price of 200 *ghirsh* and half of the rent was spent on its renovation (New Series Sijill 4: 5). It was a *waqf* for the Ribat al-Mansuri. A document of 13 Ramadan 1182/21 January 1769 records that its operators contracted to sell to the inhabitants of Jerusalem—Muslims, Christians, and Jews—one *uqiya* of oil for 2.5 *misriyyas* (New Series Sijill 9b: 45).

c. Bread

Bread was of course a basic commodity for the daily sustenance of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The daily diet of many poor families is limited even today to bread and pressed olives or olive oil. The grain was grown in the countryside and, regardless of who owned the land, it was the peasant farmer who grew the crops. A part of the harvest was stored to provide his yearly needs and the seed-corn for the following year, while the remainder was sold. A variety of documents refer to the prices of wheat using a number of measures, among them *qintar*, *makuk*, and *mudd*. Each town had its own *mudd* measure with an individual name—for example, ‘the Egyptian ‘Abbasi’, and the ‘Jerusalem *mudd*’. A *makuk* of wheat was sold for 450 ‘*uthmanis* to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) (Sijill 7: 262) while 1,500 *mudd* of wheat using the Ramla measure sold for 15,000 ‘*uthmanis* (Sijill 10: 66), and 500 *mudd* of wheat, using the Jerusalem measure, sold for 4,000 ‘*uthmanis* (Sijill 10: 75). The prices for a *mudd* of barley varied between 9 *halabiyya* (Sijill 5: 1) and 12 *halabiyya* (Sijill 10: 586). A pricing document on 20 Jamada II 937/8 February 1531 records that ‘Shaikh Bakir, the *muhtasib*, attended the legal council of Jerusalem, and Nasir Elias from the Millers’ Market in Jerusalem accompanied him and together they priced flour and good *simid* at 8 *dirhams* for each *ratl*; of *mawi* bread flour six *dirhams*; and *simid* bread flour 6.5 *dirhams*’ (Sijill 1: 92). In general the prices of *simid* are mentioned more often in the *sijills* than the price of flour. Occasionally the pricing was done separately, in addition to their being listed in the general pricing documents. The prices of *simid* fluctuated over short periods of time, indicating changes in demand for this commodity. Two months after the previous date, the price dropped to 5 *dirhams* for a *ratl*. On 18 Rabi’ I 938/30 October 1531 its price returned to 6.5 *dirhams*, and at the end of the month the price of 10 *ratls* of *simid* from the mill became 70 *dirhams* (Sijill 1: 481). Two months later the price for each ten *ratls* rose to 85 *dirhams* (Sijill 2: 25). Some of the documents indicate that grain was sold in places other than the ones designated, which led to those who lost out as a result to complain to the *qadi*, grumbling that some people were going to sellers outside the city walls and buying grain from them without it being measured in the designated location, ‘and so one of the handlers of the commodity was brought to the grain lot (*‘arasat al-ghilal*)²³ and it was measured in the lot, as happened usually; and when it became clear that one of the people had hidden some grain and did not declare it to the masters of the

grain lot, he was guilty of a crime. For every load two pieces of Sulaimani silver were necessary without an increase on that. Thus the two pieces (of silver) were collected and none of his goods were taken, neither wheat nor anything else ... 3 Jumada II 945/27 October 1538’ (Sijill 10: 131). The grain was normally measured in the ‘*arasat al-ghilal*. In 947/1540, the weighing of the grain was undertaken by the master Hamidain and his sons and Muzaffar ibn Arghun, a task which included ‘the measurement of wheat, barley and various types of grain and anything else that enters the ‘*arasat al-ghilal* in Jerusalem and other markets within the city ... for a sum of 8,000 ‘*uthmanis*. The sum of money was to be paid to the ruler of the Sanjaq of Jerusalem by the *kikhya*’ (Sijill 12: 160). It appears that the problem of selling grain outside the designated area continued throughout the Ottoman period. On 3 Muharram 1181/31 May 1767 a document records the names of the people permitted to buy and sell grain in the bazaar, while carriers were prohibited from selling grain. The *qadi* ordered the shop-owners next to the bazaar to close their shops in the morning and to open them in the afternoon, after the grain stores in the bazaar had closed. He further imposed the condition on the shops outside the bazaar that they were to be restricted to the sale of barley and corn only as grain varieties. He likewise instructed the shops that sold grain at the Bab Hitta not to sell barley and corn. If they wanted to continue selling those grains, they would have to come to the bazaar (New Series Sijill 19: 538). It is clear from some documents that the tradesmen did not comply with the laws of their professions. On 15 Jumada II 1182/27 October 1768, the *qadi* issued a document instructing the millers not to sell *simid* or flour and to restrict their work to milling for a rent, and that the sale of those two commodities were restricted to the owners of *tawabins* (the name given to the place where flour and *simid* were sold) (New Series Sijill 9b: 27). At the beginning of Ramadan 1196/10 August 1782, the six members of the millers’ group pledged not to sell *simid* in their mills or to work in the *tawabins* (New Series Sijill 9b: 265).

d. Meat

If we turn to animal products, we find that their prices remained stable over this period of thirteen years. The lowest price for a *ratl* of mutton, the most expensive kind of meat, was 11 *dirhams*, while once the price reached 16 *dirhams*, the highest recorded in the period. The lowest priced meat was beef and buffalo. The price for a *ratl* of *qa’ud* meat (a young camel) is once recorded as 10 *dirhams* (Sijill 10: 494). A *fatr* camel (one whose incisors have grown) reached 4,000 *dirhams* (Sijill 13: 444). The price of fat was continuously among the highest paid for meat. Meat was sometimes sold deboned according to demand. Naturally its price was higher than that of meat sold with bones. All Muslims consumed a great deal of meat during

²³ The term ‘*arasa* means literally an ‘open space’ or ‘any space without buildings’. Most probably in the Ottoman period it was in the Khan al-Sultan, located at the top end of the Bab al-Silsila market. See Cohen 1989: 106; al-Munajjid 1980: 497.

the 'Id al-Fitr and 'Id al-Adha, while the upper classes used it daily. Every day the house of the *qadi* was provided with two *ratls* of meat, for example (Sijill 1: 78). Occasionally meat was sold to Jews at a rate of an extra *dirham* per *ratl* above the price charged to Muslims (Sijill 8: 59), probably because the sheep were slaughtered by Jews which entailed greater expenditure to conform to Jewish dietary laws. Meat was sold to the Arabs for two *dirhams* above the price charged to the Janissaries (Sijill 3: 203). I did not find anything to indicate that meat was sold to Christians at a price higher than that for Muslims. The sheep were raised in the countryside, and either belonged to the peasants or to the city's sheep merchants. Three hundred and ninety-four head of Dan sheep were sold for 14,000 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 10: 1950); they were butchered in the slaughterhouse located in the Jewish quarter (Cohen 1989b: 35). On 19 Sha'ban 1126/30 August 1714 there were a total of fourteen butchers' shops. One of them was in the Large Market, and a second was in the Market of the Cotton Merchants. The location of the other shops is not specified. The meat merchants were instructed to sell a *ratl* of meat for 14 *qit'a misriyya*. The *qadi* imposed the condition that they were under obligation to retain that price from the date of the document until after the 'Id (New Series Sijill 3: 271). Ten years later the number of butchers' shops had risen to sixteen. Five were in the Large Market, two in the Vegetable Market, another four in the New Market, and one was in each of the Grain Market, the Bab al-'Amud, the Cotton Merchants' Gate, and the Bab Hitta, while the location of the last one is not recorded (New Series Sijill 5: 1). By 16 Jumada II 1136/12 March 1724 there were fifteen butchers in Jerusalem (New Series Sijill 5: 213), while on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1193/10 November 1779 seventeen butchers pledged to provide the city with meat, and that no one else would butcher animals, for the sake of order. Hajj 'Uthman, the butcher, was appointed the *qassabbashi* over them (New Series Sijill 9b: 241).

e. Luxury items: spices, sweets, nuts and others

Numerous documents in the *sijills* of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem relate to luxury products. The commodities for which the *muhtasib* had the right to regulate prices included wax, ammonia, iron oxide, henna and sugar (Sijill 10: 69). There were three types of sugar, and the prices were very high. An *uqiya* of white sugar sold for 8 *dirhams* and of refined sugar for 11 *dirhams*, and of *banat* (perhaps to be read *nabat*, 'plant') sugar for 14 *dirhams* (Sijill 3: 122). A *ratl* of wax was sold for 110 *dirhams* (Sijill 4: 602). The highest prices per *uqiya* for this commodity during the thirteen years of our period are the following: white sugar—15 *dirhams*; *banat* sugar—20 *dirhams*; henna—1.5 *dirhams*; wax—10 *dirhams*; a *ratl* of *misri* and *halabi* iron—34 *dirhams* (Sijill 13: 382); and ammonia—22 *dirhams* per

uqiya (Sijill 10: 70). The high prices fetched by these commodities show that the use of perfume was confined to the women of the upper classes of Jerusalem society, while the lower-class women restricted themselves to henna because it was comparatively cheap. It is assumed that luxury items were imported from Egypt and Syria although this is not directly indicated in the *sijills*.

One document (Sijill 13: 448) dated 17 Rabi' II 948/10 August 1541 is connected specifically with spices. The document was originally recorded in the Maliki Islamic law court in Cairo, and was then recorded again in the Shari'a court in Jerusalem. It deals with the sale of saffron by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash to Ibrahim the Jew, known as Castro.²⁴

Various kinds of sweets are mentioned in the *sijills*, and without exception their prices were higher than those of other food items. Some of the sweets known in Jerusalem today go back to that period, such as *kunafa* and *qata'if*. The prices of these items tended to rise or fall according to the holidays, during which the supply and demand for sweets increased, or according to price manipulation of the basic commodities from which they were made. They were priced by the *ratl*. Among the sweets that are recorded are *al-mushshabak* (an Arabic pancake)—25 *dirhams*; *al-'aja'yin* (paste)—15 *dirhams*; *shami halwa* (a Damascus sweetmeat made of sesame seed meal)—33 *dirhams*; local *halwa*—28 *dirhams*; 'good' stuffed nuts—20 *dirhams*; sesame paste and sesame cakes and chick peas—8 *dirhams*; *qaraqish* (a kind of crisp biscuit)—16 *dirhams*; *maltut* (a paste mixed with oil and sugar)—12 *dirhams*; shredded *kunafa*—3.5 *dirhams*; *kunafa* on a tray—3.5 *dirhams* (see for example Sijills 5: 432; 7: 219, 329). The nuts were priced as part of the main price lists, without a separate document recording the details. A *ratl* of hazelnuts—60 *dirhams*; pistachios—60 *dirhams*; almond kernels—48 *dirhams*; walnut kernels—24 *dirhams* (Sijill 3: 19). A year later the prices had risen more than 50 percent; almonds with their shells—25 *dirhams*; almond kernels—65 *dirhams*; hazelnuts—90 *dirhams*; pistachios—90 *dirhams*; walnut kernels—73 *dirhams* (Sijill 5: 397).

The prices of all commodities were recorded in the registers, whether they were imported or produced locally. They were listed in the files in the presence of the *muhtasib* and a group of the merchants. Occasionally the prices of some goods were reviewed, on the basis of complaints made either by the traders or the citizens of Jerusalem. As

²⁴ It seems that there were economic relations between the Jew, Ibrahim Castro, and Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, who was in charge of building the city walls of Jerusalem. Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash borrowed 10,000 *'uthmanis* from Castro when he went to Cairo to meet the architects in connection with the walls (Sijill 12: 360). Kastruwa (Castro) did not have any direct connection with the construction of the walls, as Cohen makes clear in his article (1989c: 467-77).

a consequence the prices of certain commodities fluctuated. The *muhtasib* and his men supervised the market and the sale of some luxury commodities, like oil and wax. The presence of the *muhtasib* or one of his men was required in order to adhere to the price agreed at the time of sale, or to collect the specified fees on the commodity being sold. The Officer of the Oil complained to the Qadi Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Faqusi that he 'had been harmed because the oil is brought to the place of Bab al-'Amud and the merchants of Bab al-'Amud weigh it among themselves without him being present' (Sijill 10: 194). 'Abu Bakr al-Ja'ba' admitted that he had weighed wax without the knowledge of the *muhtasib* Hajj Muhammad ibn Zuraiq ... and the judgment was that he was required to pay the fine for the crime on the basis that he did not acknowledge the *muhtasib* and went against the decree ...' (Sijill 5: 147). Those who violated the agreed prices were brought before the judge and penalties were imposed. Warnings about violation of the fixed prices are repeated and exaggerated to such an extent that it would appear to us that they were merely intended as deterrents. In most of the pricing documents the phrase 'Everyone who exceeds the price will pay the *sanjaq* 2,000 and this in the presence of the traders' is repeated (Sijill 5: 333). Similarly the traders were warned against buying goods without going to the weighing area, because by not weighing they avoided payment of the weighing fee: 'The prices of the goods remained stable in the markets of Jerusalem, rice, etc., then the merchants came to the court and testified against themselves that all those who purchased goods without weighing them must be fined 100 *'uthmanis*' (Sijill 5: 75). On certain occasions, the pricing took place after the commodity had been presented to the court, especially in connection with a major commodity like bread. Then its pricing took place based on the inspection, for example: 'After the wheat was made, a sample was milled and brought to the law council. That was done and honesty in its sale was ascertained. For *simid* and flour were sold for 4 *halabi dirhams* for a *ratl*, and good *kimaj* for 4 *dirhams*, and good *tabun* bread for 3 *dirhams* ...' (Sijill 6: 650). On 28 Safar 948/22 June 1541 a document was brought by one of the group of Hasan Beg, the ruler of the *liwa*' of Jerusalem and Hebron; it ordered the Court to examine the weights of the traders in Jerusalem and Hebron—Muslims, *dhimmis*, and others—in the presence of the representative, according to the religious and secular laws (Sijill 12: 293). The weights were supervised and measured against the weights kept in the court, for example: 'The half *uqiya* of Musa the Jew was measured, and found to be slightly low ... then the *ratl* of Ibn Faris al-Tanur' was measured and found to be low by a quarter *uqiya*' (Sijill 6: 712). The chief unit of measure in selling was the *ratl* and on 23 Dhu'l-Hajja 944/23 May 1538 a price document records at the end that 'the Jerusalem *ratl*

weighed 800 *dirhams*' (Sijill 8: 118). This weight today equals 2.5 kilograms (translation of Hinz, 1970: 32). The *ratl* was divided into 12 *uqiyas* and thus the weight of an *uqiya* was 208 grams.

Many documents record that the *muhtasib* brought someone or other to the court because he sold higher than the set price, which indicates that the markets were regulated. This is most often observed in connection with the peasants who brought their produce from the villages and sold the goods in the markets. For example, the *muhtasib* seized a *ratl* of grapes sold for a *dirham* above the fixed price (Sijill 8: 351), and he arrested another person who sold yoghurt above its price (Sijill 2: 59).

The supervision was not limited to prices and weights, but also extended to quality control. It was required that anyone who did not do his work well should replace it, as in the following example: 'Hajj Ahmad ibn Bahr al-Duhn the *muhtasib* seized from Ghars al-Din Jabir bread baked on pebbles in the oven—the barley flour was altered in colour, black, and dried up, and it became clear that it was necessary from that day onwards for Ghars al-Din to change his guild' (Sijill 6: 565).

The Muhtasib

The office of *muhtasib* (inspector)²⁵ was considered one of the three most important positions in any Ottoman city (together with the *qadi* and *subashi*). In Jerusalem too the *muhtasib* had an important social and economic position and played an essential role connected with the markets in the city. For example, he supervised prices and weights, and fixed the prices of goods, combatted fraud and kept the roads open. He was considered to be an assistant to the *qadi* in the city and his work included ruling on cases connected with trade and industry (Gibb and Bowen 1970: 219). The office of *muhtasib* was farmed out for the highest price. Its income went to the ruler of the *liwa*' of Jerusalem. His deputy in the city, the *subashi*, was responsible for collecting income for his master, the ruler. He also had a role in paying the income of the office of *muhtasib* (Sijill 10: 406). In the Ottoman period, the *muhtasib* was one of the merchants; in particular, there were many who were members of the meat sellers' guild (Cohen 1989: 12). The first *muhtasib* recorded in the *sijills* is Taj al-Din Ahmad al-Sukari on 9 Sha'ban 935/17 April 1529 (New Series Sijill

²⁵ The *hisba* is an old post which, according to some scholars, predates Islam. Its origins in the Islamic period date from the end of the 8th century AD. It had two meanings; the first is a religious sense—to enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong; and the second is a civil sense which resembles to a certain extent that of 'municipal council' today. Twenty manuscripts concerning the *hisba* from various Islamic periods have survived. See Essid 1995: 123–51; 'Ali 1911: 537–54; 610–18.

1a: 5). More than one person could share the office, which included that of Master of the Market of the Traders. The bazaar *bashi* assisted the *muhtasib*, who rented out some of these positions to others, thereby making a profit. In Ramadan 937/May 1531 the *hisba* (market inspection) was granted to al-Nasiri Muhammad ibn 'Ala' al-Din ibn al-Mujarrad, known as Shaikh Bakir, for the sum of 2,800 'uthmanis a month; he shared the position with one Muhammad ibn al-Aqra' (Sijill 1: 286). The *hisba* was limited to a small number of names; the price of grant farming in 945/1538 reached 5,020 'uthmanis a month (Sijill 10: 246). Two years later the cost had jumped to 7,200 'uthmanis a month (Sijill 12: 321), that is 240 'uthmanis a day. With this level of daily grant farming, it was possible to rent an oven and mill for a year. In order to give an idea of the size of the sum, it should be seen as representing the wage of a worker at the time for a period of 120 days. To give a clearer indication of the speculation involved in taking on the position and to understand the role of the *muhtasib*, the following example gives an idea of the extent of his income over a sixteen day period: 'After the master Ahmad ibn Zuraiq and his companion master, Yusuf ibn Miran ibn Suaidan, settled into the *hisba* in Jerusalem as replacements for Hajj Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Halabi, when it became free of the direction of Hajj Ahmad al-Halabi—from the income of the *hisba* for sixteen days, 200 *halabi* coins and 30 *qubrusi* coins.' Hajj Ahmad also had to provide them with an additional sum of 300 new series 'uthmanis (Sijill 10: 250).

The grant farming of the *hisba* did not include weighing oil (which entailed a sum of 16,000 'uthmanis a year), nor guarding the gates of Jerusalem, the grant farming of which reached 11,000 'uthmanis a year. Both of these were under the control of Khadr Darsan al-Rumi (Sijill 1: 217). Also not included in the agreement was the grant farming of the grain store, the cost of which reached 8,000 'uthmanis a year (Sijill 12: 160). The *muhtasib* did not impose fees on the shops of the Perfumers' Market, nor on the goods that entered into the weighing areas of Jerusalem, because the fees of those goods were allocated to the Dome of the Rock. He also received no fees from loads of wheat or honey, nor from loads of garlic and onions that came into the city from outside Jerusalem (Sijill 13: 381).

The following document makes clear the extent of the fees that the *muhtasib* was able to levy weekly on the shops, mills, ovens, and cooks, and the level of the fee on the loads that were brought in for sale in the markets of Jerusalem. 'Copy of the law copied without addition or deletion concerning the amount of market-supervision fees in Jerusalem with the exception of the Spice Merchants' market:

For every shop each week	1 'uthmani
From the millers each week	2 'uthmanis

—From each bakery oven each week	2 'uthmanis
—From the cooks each week	2 'uthmanis

—The *muhtasib* is to receive nothing for honey or *mann* (a kind of sweetmeat). As for what [else] enters the scales, the weigher takes 2 'uthmanis for the Dome of the Rock.

—Grape syrup prepared in Jerusalem, if sold in the market, has no [tax] on it, and when it is weighed nothing is due to the *muhtasib*.

—Rice. For every Jerusalem *qintar*, a Jerusalem *ratl*. For everyone who brings a camel-load of rice from outside Jerusalem, a *ratl* of rice.

—For a camel load of flour, a *ratl* of flour.

—Loads of wheat carry no dues to the *muhtasib*.

—The sellers of grapes until their season is completely finished, each week 2 'uthmanis.

—A load of yellow melons, a melon; and if someone buys a yellow melon and sells it in the market, he must pay 1 'uthmani.

—For each load of eggplant, 2 'uthmanis.

—A green melon carries no dues.

—Garlic and onions, if brought from outside Jerusalem, carry no dues.

—Every load of apples brought from Syria, and pears: for every four boxes, two *ratls*.

—Every camel-load of *sumaq*, a *ratl* and for every load of dough, a *ratl*.

—For every camel-load of pomegranate seeds, a *ratl* and for every horse-load, half a *ratl*.

—For every camel-load of caraway seeds, 6 'uthmanis and for every horse- or donkey-load, 4 'uthmanis.

—For every camel-load of buffalo- or cattle-cheese, a *ratl*.

—And for every camel-load of flax, 20 'uthmanis.

—For every 30 *ratls* of fruit—apricots, figs, etc., a *ratl*.

—For every head of buffalo, cattle and camel if they are slaughtered, a *ratl* of meat.

—If the *muhtasib* buys something, he is not entitled to a discount and if he imposes that on the people with excess, then that is a violation of Ottoman law.'

This copy of the law was issued by Ja'far Beg, the provincial secretary, in the middle of the month of Rabi' I 948/June 1541 (Sijill 13: 381). If we add to these figures the amount that the *muhtasib* received from trade and supervising goods and prices as a result of his knowledge of the requirements of the market, it can be well understood why the *muhtasibs* came to number among the rich men of Jerusalem. It is noticeable from the documents of the *sijills* that these men had a finger in every pie—they were involved in all deals and trade relations in every area of economic

life connected with buying, selling and renting, whether in the daily necessities of life, or in property, or in offices.

One of the duties of the *muhtasib* was to inspect the roads to see that they remained safe and open. The *muhtasib*, Muhammad ibn Riziq, requested that the *subashi* investigate the *dir' al-tariq* (the supporting wall which gave protection on both sides of a road) of the public road in Harat al-Haidira quarter. The investigation and measurement of the road took place in the presence of the master architect, Muhammad ibn Ghanim ibn Nammar, and a group of other witnesses (Sijill 15: 552).

Four names recur most frequently in the office of market inspection over the thirteen year period:

- Taj al-Din ibn Ahmad al-Sukari (Cohen 1989b: 12 and following)
- al-Nasiri Muhammad ibn 'Ala' al-Din ibn al-Mujarrad, known as Shaikh Bakir
- Ahmad ibn Bahr al-Dahn
- Ahmad ibn Badr al-Din ibn Zuraiq

The names of two people are recorded in the position of bazaar *bashi*: Ibrahim ibn 'Ali al-Halabi and Yahya al-Halabi.

Public and private buildings

a. Khans

The *khans* were one of the basic necessities for trade in the cities of the medieval period because they were the main location for any buying and selling undertaken by traders. The name varied according to the time and place. In Syria, Iraq and Palestine they are referred to as a *khan*, while in Egypt in the Ottoman period they were called *wakala* and in North Africa *funduq* (Raymond 1990: 185). All *khans* were basically alike in their architectural form—a building, perhaps a square or an approximation to one, with a courtyard in its centre, normally open to the air but occasionally closed (especially in regions with a high rainfall). This was ringed by storerooms and shops for the merchandise. Above there was a top floor with small rooms used as sleeping quarters. The size of the *khans* varied according to the founder. In the *sijills*, four *khans* are mentioned: Khan Bab al-'Amud, the Khan of the Melons, the Khan al-Fakhriyya and the Khan al-Quttain. It seems that either they were not highly active or that the names had been taken from earlier *khans* which had become landmarks for the areas in which they were located. Many documents are connected with the six functioning *khans* in the city. The first is the Khan of the Wakala, known in the Mamluk period as the Khan of the Sultan (Burgoyne 1987: 479) reflecting the name of its founder. It was not used in the Ottoman period as a *khan*, but was rather a place for selling goods, fruits and vegetables. From this function in

the Ottoman period, it became known as the Khan of the Wakala and Dar of the Vegetables. It appears that part of it was used for measuring grain. The highest annual rent paid for the *khan* is recorded at 14,000 'uthmanis, paid to the Haram al-Sharif, for it formed part of its *waqf* (Sijill 8: 239). The most famous of the *khans* in the Ottoman period in Jerusalem was the Khan of the Cotton Merchants. It is referred to in the documents under several names, such as the Khan of the Market of the Cotton Merchants, the Khan of Cotton, the Khan of the Cotton Merchants' Gate; and the Khan of Tankiz, a name derived from that of its founder, the Amir Tankiz, the governor of Syria (Burgoyne 1987: 280). The *khan* was a *waqf* for the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya and a tenth of its income was a *waqf* for a group of 'the Egyptians'. Hajj Qasim ibn Ahmad and 'Ali ibn Abi al-Naja rented the *khan* in Shawwal 937/June 1531 for a sum of 3,200 'uthmanis for a year.

In Sha'ban 944/January 1538, Hajj Ahmad al-Sa'bi rented the *khan* for a year and ten months at a cost of 11,000 'uthmanis; in addition to the rent 'he donated the work of the keys and locks and removing the garbage and renovation with the exception of any necessary rebuilding' (Sijill 7: 250). That means that the rent of the *khan* rose more than three times in a period of less than seven years. This increase demonstrates the improvement in the economic situation in the city. Of the fourteen documents in the *sijills* examined concerning this *khan*, seven are connected with the lessee, Ahmad al-Sa'bi. Another *khan* mentioned in the Cotton Merchants' Market is al-Ghadiriyya Khan. The *sijills* record that it was located below the Gate of the Cotton Merchants, and once it is described as 'on the street of the Gate of the Cotton Merchants'. Its boundaries are not specified in the ten documents connected with its rental, but rather are limited to the phrase 'its location is well-known and does not need to be specified ... and from the total rented, all the six north and south shops' (Sijill 1: 107). It was located north of the Khan of the Cotton Merchants with the Cotton Merchants' market located between them. The *khan* was a *waqf* for the Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya (Burgoyne 1987: 526). The tax collector or trustee of the *waqf* undertook its lease. Its rent was very small in comparison with the rent of the Khan of the Cotton Merchants opposite it. In the nine documents that are connected with it, the average annual rent ranged between 500 to 700 'uthmanis (Sijill 2: 48; 3: 182). On 29 Jumada I 980/7 October 1572 a document records the rental of the *khan* by the tax collector of the *waqfs* of Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya. The document does not specify the boundaries, but limits itself to the statement that the *khan* was so well-known that it was unnecessary to do so. Its rental for a year and a half was 18 gold *sultani* and 21 pieces. 90 pieces of the rent money were spent on lighting the *madrasa* for the period of rental, and another 90 *qir'a* were spent on restoring the *khan* and its shops, and

illuminating its door (Sijill 55: 208). These three *khans* still exist today, although their function is now different.

A limited number of documents refer to three other *khans* in Jerusalem which no longer exist. We do not know when they stopped functioning as *khans*, or when their architectural remains disappeared. The first was named the Khan Daraj al-'Ain (Khan of the Steps of the Spring). Two documents are connected with its purchase by 'Hajj Qasim ibn Na'ib al-Nazar, (who) bought 20 *qirats* of it for a sum of 1,400 *'uthmanis*. This *khan* is known to have been founded by the Qadi Fakhr al-Din ibn Nasiba al-Khazraji.²⁶ The south boundary reaches the Hammam Tankiz. On the east is the house of Ibn Abu Sharif, and on the north is the furnace room of the aforementioned bath, and on the west is the street and in it is the door. The same is the account from the four shops located next to the entrance of the *khan*' (Sijill 1: 283). About four years later Hajj Qasim bought two *qirats* of the *khan* from the Qadi Abu al-Sa'ud, the son of the founder (Sijill 4: 440). The location can be identified at the end of al-Wad Street. A second *khan* was located near the Khan of the Wakala or Khan of the Sultan at the top of David Street (Chain Street); it was known as the Khan al-Fahm (charcoal) and was a *waqf* for the Haram al-Sharif. Two neighbouring shops were rented at the same time as the *khan* at an annual rent of 720 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 13: 250, 280-1). A single document mentions the third *khan*, which was called the Khan Wad al-Tawahiya. It was a *waqf* for 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir and was rented with a shop connected to it for a year for the nominal sum of 600 *halabi*. The delineation of this *khan* is not recorded either; the document merely states that 'its location is well known and does not need mentioning or delineating' (Sijill 12: 149). A document dated 15 Dhu'l-Hijja 946/22 April 1540 is connected with Khan al-Zabib in Damascus, including the *khan* itself, two lower levels, four shops, two seats, two storerooms, and an open-air courtyard. It was a *waqf* for the Haram al-Ibrahimi in Hebron. Al-Zaini Mahmud al-Yasaji rented it for the two

waqfs in his capacity as deputy for Muhammad Çelebi, the inspector of the Two Harams. The rent was 24,000 *'uthmanis*, to be paid in four instalments (Sijill 12: 78).

The *sijills* record the rental of a number of stables, which appear more frequently in the record of the rental or sale of houses, for animals were the sole means of transport in the Ottoman period; providing a sound place for them was a necessity. The lease of stables that are recorded individually was rare. One exception to this rule was a stable in the Magharibi Quarter which was rented for three years for 300 *halabi* pieces (Sijill 13: 397). Another stable located at the bottom of al-Maulawiyya steps was rented for two years for 90 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 1: 259).

b. Ribats

Al-rubut (singular *ribat*, EI² VIII: 493) denotes the places where *sufi* ascetics stayed, similar to a *khanqah* and *zawiya*. Most of the documents in the *sijills* concerned with *rubut* are connected with the Ribat al-Mansuri.²⁷ In order to lodge there the ascetics required the agreement of the *qadi* (Burgoyne 1987: 119). If there are frequent documents in the *sijills* about a specific place, it means that not only was it prosperous and endowed with numerous *waqfs*, but that, as a consequence, there were constant conflicts over its tenancies and its *waqfs*. There is no doubt that the *waqfs* of this *ribat* were both numerous and widely distributed throughout various sites in Palestine—in Gaza, Akko (Acre), Jerusalem, and a third of the revenue of seven villages. The *ribat* was leased by Sinan Çelebi ibn 'Ilyas al-Balik Basha for 20,000 *'uthmanis* for the year 941/1534 (Sijill 4: 627, 634) from the commissioner of the *waqf*, the Imam of the Aqsa Mosque, Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Jama'a al-Kanani al-Shafi'i, and the supervisor of the *waqf*, the Qadi Sa'd al-Din ibn Sharaf al-Maliki. The names of two tax collectors of the *ribat* are recorded as Qarqamash ibn Qasim and Hajj Muhammad al-Faduli (Sijill 4: 534). As might be expected, from time to time there was a disagreement about the *ribat* between a number of the residents (*mujawir*). In Jumada II 942/December 1535, there were twenty-two residents and each had been assessed to receive 12 *'uthmanis* from the previous month of Jumada I (Sijill 5: 332). The lessee of the *ribat*, Sinan, had disbursed that amount for each resident and, after two years, his brother and representative paid 32 *'uthmanis* to each of the poor men residing in the *ribat* for two months, at a time when fifteen people were living there (Sijill 7: 148). These sums were the equivalent of the expenditure

²⁶ The Qadi Fakhr al-Din Nusaiba al-Khazraji lived in the second half of the 15th century. The only clues about him are recorded in Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali. We know that he took on two-fifths of the teaching position in the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa, and acted as a substitute for the inspector of the Haram when he travelled to Egypt. Fakhr al-Din Nusaiba al-Khazraji also supervised the restoration of the Sultaniyya Madrasa, built by the Sultan Qa'itba'i. His life in Jerusalem was made uneasy by his relations with the ruling Mamluk sultans and he was summoned to Cairo on a number of occasions, the last being in Sha'ban 895/July 1490. On that occasion he was banished from Cairo for two years, but later was forgiven, at which point he returned to Cairo, where he remained. It is possible to date the construction of the *khan* to the end of the 10th/16th century. See al-Hanbali 1973: 242 and following.

²⁷ It is located to the left outside the Bab al-Nazir. Al-Malik al-Mansur Qala'un al-Salihi set it up as a *waqf* in 681/1282. For details, see al-Hanbali 1973: 43, 79, 89; al-'Asali 1981: 317; Burgoyne 1987: 129.

on bread and other basic essentials by the poor living in the *ribat*. The income of the residents in the *ribat* varied according to their number and to the level of income each year that accrued from the *waqfs* endowed for the *ribat*. Sinan, the lessee of the *ribat*, had cancelled the rent in Ramadan 945/February 1539 as a result of the loss of two villages of his rent of the *waqfs* of the *khan* (Sijill 10: 364). Determining what each resident in the *ribat* was to receive was subject to negotiation. The poor occupants of the cells wanted the inspector to pay out of the *waqf* a monthly sum of 12 *'uthmanis* for each cell and, moreover, wanted it to be done in the presence of the *qadi* and the residents (Sijill 10: 133). The *qadi* took no decision without consulting the beneficiaries or the people involved in the dispute. The inspector and the trustee of the *ribat* proposed to the *qadi* that they build a *khaif* (a shady place similar to an harbour) for the poor of the *ribat*. At this point the *qadi* requested the residents of the *ribat* to assemble so that he could consult them as to their wishes; they rejected the proposal. Each said 'the *dirhams* are a benefit for us and better than the *khaif* in many respects, for part of the (money) allows us to buy bread, oil, and salt, and to go to the bath house, and so on' (Sijill 13: 190). The monthly allowance for the poor of the *ribat* was not paid regularly; in consequence the residents (*mujawirs*) of the Ribat al-Mansuri complained to the trustee in 941/1534 that they had not received what was owing to them for two months (Sijill 4: 626). The *waqfs* made over the income of a tenth of the olive groves in Gaza (Sijill 1: 163).

The second *ribat* to be included here which featured in the *sijills* is the Ribat of 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir, which was located across the street from the Ribat al-Mansuri. One of the documents indicates that each of the eleven poor who resided in the assembly room (the hall) received 5 *dirhams* for the month of Jumada I, and that each of the seventeen residents living in the cells, whose names were recorded in the document, received 30 *dirhams*. The rental of the doorman was 35 *dirhams*. The sums which were distributed to those who resided in the *ribat* came from the rent of the Hammam 'Ala' al-Din, which was endowed as *waqf* for the *ribat* (Sijill 10: 246).

We learn from one of the documents that the Ribat al-Jawali, located in the Ghawanima Quarter, was already in a dilapidated state in the early 16th century. At the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 943/10 May 1537, it was given to 'Ali al-Khaluti to turn into a small vegetable garden and to plant trees, after witnesses had reported that the building was in ruins (Sijill 6: 482).

It appears that *zawiyas* did not play a prominent role during the Ottoman period, for there are only limited references to them and they do not seem to have functioned effectively as housing for the indigent in the period under discussion. The documents examined concerning the *zawiyas* show that they were frequently

converted into private houses and were then rented out. The Zawiya al-Mawardiyya (located at the far end of al-Sitt or Takiyya Khassaki Sultan Street) was rented for two years for 1,000 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 5: 301). Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (located opposite al-Mawardiyya) was rented for four years for 720 *'uthmanis* at the end of Ramadan 947/28 January 1541 (Sijill 12: 697). It is not surprising that the *zawiyas* did not continue in their original function, for we learn that the income of the Zawiya Shaikh Ya'qub came to a total of 590 *halabi* silver pieces for nine months (Sijill 3: 143), and that the poor residents of the Zawiya al-Maltaniyya went to the *qadi* to demand a sum of 90 *halabi* silver pieces from the tenant of the *zawiya's* *waqf* (Sijill 5: 288). One document indicates that the Zawiya al-Badriyya, together with the mausoleum of Shaikh al-Qarami opposite it, were let for a period of six years at an annual rent of only 150 *dirhams*, on condition that the rent money was spent on restoring the property (Sijill 13: 567). The revenue of the Zawiya Shaikh 'Abd Allah was 900 *dirhams* for a three-year period that ended in 935/1528; the sum covered the rent for an oven, a *hikr* (a long-term lease of *waqf* property) and soap factory (New Series Sijill 1: 46). It seems that the Zawiya al-Adhamiyya was the only property that retained its primary function of housing the poor, although this is not specified. This may be deduced from a dispute that arose between its trustees and the trustee of the Zawiya al-Shaikh Haidar over an oven and a shop, which each one of them claimed were the property of their own *waqf* (Sijill 12: 138). Another document connected with the Zawiya al-Adhamiyya claimed that included in its *waqf* was part of the income of the Manjakiyya Madrasa at a rate of 460 *'uthmanis* for the year 948/1541 (Sijill 13: 611). The document does not record the total annual income of the *madrasa* and consequently we cannot determine what portion of the *madrasa's* income this sum represented.

Most of the *zawiyas* date back to the Mamluk period. The only foundation that took up its function again in the Ottoman period was the Zawiya al-Yunusiyya, which Bairam Jawish endowed with 150 *qubrusi* gold pieces on the condition that a third was spent on the renovations required by the *zawiya*, and that the remaining 100 *dinars* were used to build rooms for the poor residents. He also set himself up as inspector of the *zawiya* during his lifetime and specified that the *dazdar* of the Citadel should follow him in the position (Sijill 12: 264). Part of the *zawiya* was used for teaching children the Qur'an. Bairam also covenanted that the teacher, Asya ibn Habib, should not take a salary from the children, and set aside for him a daily wage of two *'uthmanis* (Sijill 12: 464).

c. Public baths

One of the aspects of daily life at the beginning of the

Ottoman period in Jerusalem that is clearly noticeable is the presence of public baths. The names of seven baths are recorded in the *sijills*; all of them date back to the Mamluk period and continued in use under the Ottomans. Four of these baths are in the vicinity of the Haram al-Sharif. Their presence here in locations so close to the Haram is related to the Islamic rite of religious ablution. Most of the documents about baths in the *sijills* are connected with the Hammam al-'Ain and the Hammam of 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir. The cost of bathing was moderately high in comparison to the general level of income, which leads us to conclude that the use of the baths was perhaps restricted to a visit once a month by those with a limited income. The following document shows clearly the extent of the cost of the bath and bathing (*istihmam*) for every man and woman. It seems the cost was divided into two parts: one fee to enter the bathhouse and for the services, and another for the actual bathing. The recording of the document took place in the presence of the masters of the baths—"The fee for the bath is fixed at a *dirham* for a man and two *dirhams* (with henna) for a woman, and bathing for her at a *dirham*, and bathing for a man at half a *dirham*. Anyone who takes more than that must pay the ruler of the *sanjaq* eight '*uthmanis* and will receive 100 strokes of the cane' (Sijill 7: 211). Most of the names that recur in reference to the rental of the baths are those of three individuals—'Ali ibn al-Tayyibi al-Hammami is mentioned ten times; while 'Ala' al-Din ibn Abu 'l-Naja and 'Abd Allah al-Nasrani shared more than once in the rental of a bath. The Hammam al-'Ain, referred to occasionally in the documents as the Hammam Tankiz, is located on the southwest side of the Market of the Cotton Merchants. It was established as *waqf* by the Amir Tankiz for the benefit of his Madrasa al-Tankiziyya (Burgoyne 1987: 287). Half of its rental was paid to the Haram al-Sharif in exchange for the provision of water from the Haram for the bath. On 27 Shawwal 943/7 April 1537, a complaint was presented from the *mutawalli* of the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya against the *waqf* of the Haram in connection with the claim by the Haram that it should take a portion of the income from the bath. After the *qadi* had investigated the stipulations of the founder of the *waqf*, he ruled that the bath was endowed for the *madrasa* only (Sijill 7: 471). The bath was leased yearly, but its rent was paid daily. The lessee had a great tussle with the beneficiaries. In one *sijill* there are eleven documents recorded that deal with its rent, which started at 160 *dirhams* a day and went up as high as 195 *dirhams* (Sijill 8: 288). This was the highest daily rent paid for a bath building in the period of our study. It appears that this rise in the rent of the bath was the result of the building's proximity to the Haram al-Sharif and because it was next to the Khan Tankiz. It appears that the most prominent merchants of the city were the main users of Hammam al-'Ain. Most probably there was an interior passageway

between the two establishments to make the bath easily accessible. Dung was used as fuel to heat the water (Sijill 4: 235). As a result of the many improvements that the tenants of the bath undertook, especially work on the copper cauldrons, and because these improvements were deducted from the rent, the *qadi* appointed a tinsmith to patch the remains of the copper cauldrons in the bath at a yearly fee of one gold *qubrusi* (Sijill 12: 76).

The second bath building frequently recorded in the *sijills* is the Hammam 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir, which was on Marziban Street, near the Zawiya al-Qirami. It was *waqf* for the Ribat of 'Ala' al-Din which was adjacent to the bath. Its supervisor was the *imam* of the Dome of the Rock, Shaikh Abu 'l-Fath ibn Fityan and Sharaf al-Din Musa al-Dairi al-Hanafi. It was rented either by them or by the *qadi*, and the business included agreements that were arranged between the supervisor and the employees of the court for the sake of profit. This is clear from two sequential documents. The first records that 'Ali ibn Mahmud, the chief clerk of the Shari'a court, hired the Hammam 'Ala' al-Din on 16 Rajab 938/23 February 1532 for 2,400 '*uthmanis* (Sijill 2: 59). Following this, two days later, the supervisor of the *waqf*, Abu 'l-Fath ibn Fityan, leased it to the Chief Clerk of the Court. From the next document, it appears that Shaikh Abu 'l-Fath ibn Fityan, the *imam* of the Dome of the Rock, in turn leased it to 'Ali ibn Mahmud al-Rumi, chief clerk of the court of Jerusalem '... and that is all of the endowed bath by 'Ala al-Din al-Basir ... for the period starting on that same date and ending at the end of the same year for a rent for the entire period of 2,220 '*uthmanis*, the rent to be paid at the end of each day ... 18 Rajab 938/25 February 1532' (Sijill 2: 60). The highest annual rent paid for the bath was 15,500 *dirhams*, rented by Kamal al-Fityani and 'Abd Allah al-Suriani al-Nasrani (the Syriac Christian) (Sijill 10: 257). The bath was leased without water for a sum of 7,200 *dirhams* annually (Sijill 8: 137). The income of the bath for the eight months in 941/1534-5 was 7,125 *dirhams*. Part of the sum, 4,540 *dirhams*, was spent by the trustee on the indigent residents of the *ribat*; the price of bread for those staying in the *ribat* at the time was 850 *dirhams*, oil 150 *dirhams*, rope and water jugs 35 *dirhams*, renovation of the bath 300 *dirhams*, and *qusurmil* for the renovations 600 *dirhams* (Sijill 5: 88).

One document is connected with the Hammam al-Shifa' (Burgoyne 1987: 282), which is also called the 'Hammam of Ablution'. It was rented for a period of thirteen months and twenty-two days for a daily rent of 16 *dirhams*. The rent for the eleven months was paid to the endowment, and the remainder was specified to pay for the filling, cleaning and servicing of the ablution pool and water jugs for those ritually cleansing themselves (Sijill 2: 141). The bath is located on the south side at the beginning of the Market of the Cotton Merchants. On 6 Ramadan

1136/28 May 1724, the bath of the Gate of the Cotton Merchants (the Hammam al-Shifa'), a *waqf* of the Dome of the Rock, was rented for one year for 11 *ghirsh* for the entire period. The lessor was the *mutawalli* of the *waqfs* of the Dome of the Rock and the head of the Ashraf, Muhibb al-Din Efendi. The daily rate was 11 *misriyya*, five of which were for water jugs for the ritual purification, while the remaining six were for the *waqf* (New Series Sijill 4: 141).

A bath is recorded by the name of Hammam Daraj al-'Ain (Sijill 10: 91, 127, 130; 12: 217), but the boundaries of the bath are not mentioned. The first time it is recorded in the *sijills* is on 21 Jumada II 945/14 November 1538, when it was rented for three *dirhams* a day. The highest daily rent paid for it was 15 *dirhams*, which was low compared to the other baths. To judge from the name of the bath, it seems that it must have been located next to the Khan of the Steps of the Spring mentioned earlier. The lessor of the bath mentioned in all of the relevant documents was Khudawardi, deputising for the group of Shaikh 'Ali al-Khaluti.

In the eastern part of the city, next to the Bab al-Asbat (St Stephen's or Lion's Gate), inside the city walls, was the Hammam al-Asbat, also known by the name of the Bath of Our Lady Mary. It was a *waqf* for the Salahiyya *madrassa*, located to the west of the bath. The first time it is recorded was on 23 Rabi' I 945/19 August 1538, when it was leased for 10 *dirhams* daily without water (Sijill 8: 398). Over three years later it was rented for 40 '*uthmanis*' (100 *dirhams*) daily (Sijill 13: 559).

Five documents are related to the rental of the Bath of the Patriarchs, located in the Christian Quarter. It was one of the *waqfs* of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya, and its rent ranged between 38 and 70 *dirhams* daily. Around 10-20 percent of the rent was paid to the *sufis* (Sijills 6: 179; 10: 259).

The last bath mentioned in the *sijills* of our period is the bath of Bab al-'Amud. One document records its lease, then at a daily rent of 20 *dirhams* with the provision of water. Two *dirhams* were *tashrif* (discounted) and the rest was for the *waqf* (Sijill 4: 549). Another two baths were mentioned adjacent to houses—the bath of the Jewish quarter (Sijill 8: 88) and the Bath of the Syrians in Bab al-'Amud (Sijill 2: 8).

d. Tanneries, dye-works and other establishments

The term *madbagha* ('tannery') is applied to the place where hides are tanned, while the term *masbagha* ('dye-works') denotes the place where cloth is dyed. The documents of the *sijills* do not however differentiate between the two terms. The term *madbagha* is also used for dye-works, and both terms are used indiscriminantly to refer to the same place. Three dye-works are mentioned in Jerusalem. One, located near Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate), was originally an oven that was later turned into a

masbagha. It was rented for a period of ten years for 3,500 *halabi* silver coins on 18 Rabi' II 937/8 December 1530 (Sijill 1: 159). A disagreement arose over the ownership of the *masbagha* between the trustee of the *waqf* of the Karimiyya Madrasa, who claimed that the *masbagha* was part of the *waqfs* of the *madrassa*, and Muzaffar Ibrahim ibn Arghun, who claimed that it formed part of his *waqfs*. After investigating the *waqf* documents of each side, the *qadi* ruled that the *masbagha* was indeed a *waqf* for Muzaffar (Sijill 5: 63). But in the next document it is recorded as a *madbagha* endowed to the Karimiyya (Sijill 5: 99).

The second *masbagha* was in the Jewish Quarter and it was a family (*dhurri*) *waqf*, of which Amina, the daughter of the deceased 'Ali al-Karimi, sold six *qirats* for 852 '*uthmanis*' (Sijill 6: 361). By a simple calculation we thus learn that the whole price of the *masbagha* was 3,408 '*uthmanis*' (8,520 *halabi* silver coins).

The third building was perhaps a *madbagha*, rather than a *masbagha*, and was a *waqf* for the Salahiyya Bimaristan. The documents that refer to this *madbagha* do not specify its location. The highest annual rent paid for it on 4 Muharram 945/2 June 1538, after numerous increases, was 2,100 *dirhams*, paid monthly. Its tenant or lessee was Shihab al-Din ibn Suraisir, who is described as a trader of goods (Sijill 8: 153). Two years later a document records the demand by the inspector of the *waqf* that the same tenant pay a rent for the premises in excess of 1,200 *dirhams*. The tenant Ibn Suraisir had taken a partner for a third of the *madbagha* for 425 *dirhams* (Sijill 12: 171). The lowest annual rent paid for it was 750 *dirhams* (Sijill 7: 41). It seems that this tenant was not concerned with the disposal of rubbish, and for that reason a document was issued obliging Ibn Suraisir to remove detritus from the works (Sijill 12: 177).

It is noticeable that the location of the *masbaghas* was on the outskirts of the city because of the obnoxious odour and garbage that they created, just as their small number can perhaps be seen as due to the limited amount of water in Jerusalem, the difficulty of the work and its low economic return. The number of people who worked in the industry was eleven, two of them being identified as *usta* or expert (Sijill 13: 265).

A single pottery workshop is recorded, located in the Street of the Cotton Merchants, which was a *waqf* for 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir. Its rent was a nominal 20 *dirhams* a year (Sijill 2: 279). The price of a piece of pottery rose over a short period of time, which would indicate the widespread use of pottery instead of ceramic in mosques for ritual ablution before prayer (*wudu*'), and for everyday domestic use. In addition, it might point to a shortage in the number of pottery factories. In Jumada I 1128/May 1716, the *qadi* instructed the potters to sell five water jugs for a single piece, and a large cup for a piece. He also required them to make the cups large enough to allow each to hold a *ratl* of yoghurt to be sold for half a piece. The cups

were to be made wide enough to contain half a *ratl* of milk, with four cupfuls sold for a piece (New Series Sijill 3: 269). Three years later the price of pottery had risen by 50 percent. A large jug now sold for 1.5 pieces, the medium size for a piece, and the small size for 3 new coins; three water jars were a piece. There were five potters and their *shaikh* was named as Salah al-Ramlawi (New Series Sijill 4: 173).

A single *marabba*²⁸ is mentioned, located in the Bani Murra Quarter near the *zawiyya* of Shaykh 'Ali ibn Abi al-Wafa'. Half of it and a quarter of the house next door were sold for 1,200 *dirhams* (Sijill 1: 422).

e. Mills and ovens

Twelve mills are mentioned in the *sijills* of this period. Most of them were *waqfs* endowed for the *madrasas* or for the *dhimmis*. It is noteworthy that half of the mills that are mentioned were rented from Muhammad and his brother Abu 'l-Naja, the sons of the master 'Ali ibn Shuqruf the miller. The mills were located in different parts of the city. Two mills were at the Bab al-'Amud, while two others were in the Christian Quarter, one a *waqf* for the Georgians, and the other a *waqf* for the Khanqah Salahiyya. Three were in the Jewish Quarter; one was a *waqf* for the Jewish Karaites, rented for 40 '*uthmanis* a month (Sijill 5: 16). The mills were rented at a daily, monthly, or yearly rate. The rents were low, the lowest paid for a mill being the *waqf* of the North Africans (Magharibis) located in their quarter, which was leased for 90 *dirhams* a month (Sijill 1: 134) at a time when the highest rent was paid for a mill in the Bab al-'Amud district, which reached 250 *dirhams* a month (Sijill 4: 237). Half of a mill and its equipment was sold for 1,200 *dirhams* (Sijill 1: 25). The prices of flour were low in comparison with other food commodities. This was due to the fact that the government did not levy tax on flour (Cohen 1989: 98). Most of the twelve ovens recorded in our period were *waqfs* for the Muslims and *dhimmis*, and for the *madrasas* and *zawiyyas*. Their rental was lower than for the mills. The rental of the oven in the North African quarter and that of the Tashtimuriyya Madrasa was at a rate of one *dirham* per day for each. The highest rental was 5 *dirhams* paid daily for the Adhamiyya oven (Sijill 5: 181). The oven of the Tawashiyya *waqf*, which was in need of renovation, was rented for a period of twenty years for 400 '*uthmanis*: 'the tenant is allowed to sublease in order to spend from that income what is necessary to renovate the oven of the tenant' (Sijill 4: 241). The ovens were rented by a variety of people. An Egyptian lessee is mentioned, as is another from

Salt in Transjordan. There is no record of the rental of a number of ovens by a single individual—probably because of the limited economic return from the ovens.

Various types of bread were offered for sale in the markets²⁹—among them *kimaj*, *ta'bun* bread, *simid*, *marwi* bread, 'good' bread, and *kashkar*. *Sammuni* bread was made for the Citadel and a *ratl* sold for 4½ *dirhams* (Sijill 6: 9). The price of a *ratl* of bread varied between 3-7 *dirhams* (Cohen 1989b Appendix 3: 146). The oven operators were required to bake 430 *ratls* of flour each day to produce the various types of bread (Sijill 1: 469). In one of the documents, the names of the oven operators in Jerusalem are recorded, and at the end it is stated 'and the *sammuni* bread is cancelled' (Sijill 10: 530)—that is, bread prepared for the Citadel was prohibited. The weight of ten loaves was a *ratl* and 1.5 *uqiya* (Sijill 1: 194).

The last food item to be mentioned here is rice. A *farda* of rice weighing 55 *ratls* was sold for 660 *qit'as halabiyya* (Sijill 7: 20)—that is, the price of a *ratl* was 12 *dirhams*. In a later period 77 *ratls* of rice according to the Jerusalem measure were sold for 720 *dirhams* (Sijill 8: 28)—in other words, the price of a *ratl* was less than 9.5 *dirhams*. The price of a *ratl* of rice from the market varied between 8-13 *dirhams*, and once reached as high as 18 *dirhams* (Sijill 5: 267). We learn from one of the documents that this commodity was subject to hoarding, just like other goods. At the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 945/20 April 1539, a document records 'Attending the law court of Jerusalem were the merchants ... [the names of nine merchants are listed]. They and their fellow merchants in Jerusalem were charged that each of them had rice and did not bring it out to sell to the Muslims at a price of God, and they were fined 1,000 '*uthmanis* each for the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem according to what was testified against them, and after the announcement of this news to those who hear it—and if he does not sell—he will have no-one to blame but himself ...' (Sijill 10: 543).

f. Shops

In Jerusalem in the second half of the 17th century there were a total of 2,045 shops, as recorded by Evliya Çelebi (al-'Asali 1992: 250). 'Arif al-'Arif (1961: 348) included the information that the number of shops in Jerusalem in 1876 was 1,320, which represented a sixth of the 6,606 shops in Damascus in 1871 (Raymond 1985: 173). The shops consisted of rectangular spaces bordering one another, bounded by the street on two sides with their doors opening on to it. One characteristic of the 16th century was the presence of a bench in front of each shop. This was raised between 3-4 feet above the level of the

²⁸ A *marabba* acts as a fruit-press where the fruit is cooked, with sugar added to preserve it. The juice is called *rubb* (compôt). It was made from grapes, sesame or dates. A *ratl* of *rubb* sold for five *dirhams*, a *rubb* of sesame for four *dirhams*, and the price for pure, sweet, peeled *rubb* was 7.5 *dirhams*.

²⁹ For detailed information on flour and bread in 16th-century Jerusalem, including a table of prices, see Cohen 1989c: 476-77.

street, and extended from the floor of the shop to outside its door to form a seat for the shop owner and his customers (Raymond 1985: 179). Such benches are referred to in some documents because they were part of the rented property, as in the following case: 'Our lord the Maliki Shaikh Safi' al-Din Muhammad ibn Khalifa legally leased what is currently part of his entitlement and under his control to our lord Taqi al-Din Abu Bakr, son of the late Hajj Muhammad al-'Abanusi, who leased it from him with his own money for himself alone without anyone else, consisting of all the shop located in Jerusalem in the Market of the Cooks on the south side and all of the bench situated at the door of the house on the east side' (Sijill 4: 176). In 1863 the local authorities in Jerusalem prohibited the erection of new benches in front of the shops and ordered the removal of the old ones (al-'Arif 1961: 347).

I examined 120 documents dealing with shops, most of which were the property of the Islamic Auqaf. 78 shops were endowed to the Haram al-Sharif; 2 other shops were endowed to the Haram al-Ibrahimi in Hebron, and 15 were private endowments, which gives some indication of the proportion of shops controlled by the Auqaf. If we add the other property that they owned as endowments for *madrasas*, houses and land etc., we begin to realise that part of the history of Jerusalem is the history of its endowments. Because most of these shops were endowed, their transfer between merchants took place by lease rather than by purchase. Most of the time, if they were leased, the boundaries of the shops that specified the neighbouring properties were not recorded. This is in contrast to the shops that were sold, for usually here the boundaries are recorded in detail. In the sample that I examined, three shops were sold, one with its contents, the boundaries of which were not recorded: 'Hajj Zain al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Izz al-Din ibn Khalil al-'Anabusi bought from Muhammad ibn Abi al-Khair ibn Shawar what was currently in his possession and it was transferred to him by legal sale ... namely all the shop in Jerusalem near the arch of the Hammam al-'Ala' al-Din ... the location of which is so well-known that it is unnecessary to describe and delineate it, and its contents of rice, butter, onions, cheese, glass jars, copper cups, mixing bowls, covers, and carpets hung above the shelves and on hooks, and beads ... for a sum of 5,750 silver *halabis*' (Sijill 1: 37). A shop in the Zara'ina quarter was sold for 2,200 silver *halabis*; the document specified that the shop was vaulted with stone and mortar. That means that there must have been some others that did not have stone roofs, although I did not find any indication of such shops in the documents that I examined. A cistern belonged to this shop, and was included in the sale (Sijill 3: 240). The third shop was sold for 800 silver *halabis*, which was paid in daily instalments of two 'uthmanis (5 silver *halabis*) (Sijill 10: 458). The goods of one shop in the large market were sold for 20 gold *qubrusis* (Sijill 8: 299).

The highest rent paid was 900 silver *halabis* per month for a shop in the large market endowed to the Masjid al-Aqsa (Sijill 13: 399). The level of rents in the Market of the Cooks followed in second place; one shop was leased for a year for 1,800 silver *halabis* (Sijill 8: 304). Another shop in the same market was leased for 1,080 silver *halabis* a year (Sijill 12: 404). The third level of rent was for the shops of the Market of the Cotton Merchants, where a shop endowed to 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir was leased for one year for 70 silver *halabis* (Sijill 4: 496). The average annual rent for the shops in the area of Bab al-Qattanin was 520 silver *halabis*. The shops with the lowest rent were in the area of Jaffa Gate and David Street. The lowest rent paid for a shop on David Street inside the Haush al-'Azam, endowed to the Tashtimuriyya Madrasa, was one 'uthmani a month (2½ *halabis*) (Sijill 4: 185). A shop in the same street was leased for 600 silver *halabis* for a period of thirty years (Sijill 12: 261). The majority of leased shops were located in the area of the Bab al-Qattanin, which does not include the thirty-two shops of the Market of the Cotton Merchants. Next in number are the shops of the Jewish quarter. The documents connected with the shops include the names of the lessor and lessee, the location of the shop and the period of the lease, its cost, the dates of the start and end of the lease, and whether the shop was endowed or not. In general the location of the shop determined the cost of the lease. But, even in the large markets, the shops were leased for low prices. It was common for the lessee to sub-lease the shop rented to him to a third party. In the documents that I inspected, a significant number of shops were used as domestic houses (Sijill 4: 141).

g. Houses

In the *sijills* that I studied 36 *haras* (quarters or neighbourhoods) are mentioned. Some of them are named after the city gates, while others are related to ethnicity, such as the Bani Haritha and Bani 'Ayyash. Others are named after the village or city that the inhabitants came from, such as the al-Tur quarter, derived from Jabal al-Tur, south of Jerusalem. Occasionally a quarter is known by more than one name, such as the Jewish quarter which was also known as the Quarter of the Readers, the Zion Quarter, or the Slaughterhouse Quarter. Perhaps these last three names were for smaller parts of the larger Jewish quarter. In the documents the old name of a neighbourhood is recorded for additional clarity, such as 'the Bani Murra Quarter, which was known as the Zara'ina Quarter' (Sijill 12: 59). Other housing groups are mentioned; their names are based on place or geographical location, which apparently refer to smaller numbers of inhabitants than the quarters themselves, such as Qanatir Khudair, 'Aqabat al-Sitt, and Daraj al-Battikh. Both the Jews and Christians had quarters bearing their names, although the inhabitants did not belong exclusively to these two religious groups.

It appears that the number of quarters in Jerusalem did not change over a period of 400 years. There were thirty-nine quarters in Jerusalem in the 13th and 14th centuries (Little 1984), and the names of fourteen of them continued into the early Ottoman period. The number of quarters did not change in the 15th century (al-Hanbali 1973), and twenty-one quarters continued to carry the same names. Twelve of them, indeed, continued with the same name over a period of 300 years.

The names of the quarters mentioned are: Aulad al-'Alam, Bab Hutta, Bab al-Khalil, Bab al-'Amud, Bab al-Ghawanima, Bab al-Qattanin, Bab al-Nazir, Bani Haritha, Bani Zaid, Bani Sa'd, Bani 'Ayyash, Bani Murra, al-Tabana, al-Jilariya, Hammam 'Ala' al-Din, al-Hayadira, al-Khawalida, al-Rahba, al-Risha, al-Sharaf, al-Saltiyin, Sihyun, al-Turiyya, al-Duwiyya, al-Qara'in, al-Ghawanima, 'Aqabat al-Sudan, 'Aqabat al-Zahiriyya, Qanatir Khudair, al-Qawasima, al-Maradiwa, al-Maslakh, al-Mashariqa, al-Maghariba, and finally, al-Yahud.

Various lanes (*zuqaqs*) and streets (*khatts*) were distributed throughout these quarters. The names of nine streets are recorded from the west of Jaffa Gate descending to the east. We do not know where they intersected David Street, which continued to the east as far as Bab al-Silsila (one of the western gates to the Haram al-Sharif). Two of the western Haram gates carried the names of streets: Bab al-Nazir Street and Bab al-Qattanin Street. Marziban Street begins across from the last street on the west, ascending westwards and, from the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa, turns at the corner located to the north where it continues until beyond the Maqam of Shaikh Muhammad al-Qirami. Bab al-'Amud Street runs from the north, dividing into two below the plaza south of the gate, from which it takes its name. The western divide meets the Khan al-Zait which continued perhaps to the intersection of the west and east streets already mentioned. The east street that branches off Bab al-'Amud Street was known as Wad al-Tawahin Street. Marah al-Sayyida Street is mentioned once, located to the north of the Haram al-Sharif, beginning from Bab al-Asbat. I was unable to determine the end of that street, although one can assume that it continued until it met Wad al-Tawahin Street (at the third station of the Via Dolorosa). Once Zuqaq al-Fustuqa is described as a street. Numerous side streets branch off these main thoroughfares, which are called *zuqaq* or *darb*. The names of eighteen *zuqaqs* are recorded in the *sijills* that I examined. A *zuqaq* was normally named after a famous person who was resident there, such as Zuqaq al-'Ajluni (Sijill 7: 46) or Zuqaq Ibn al-Tarubi (Sijill 10: 574). As a consequence the names of the *zuqaqs* would change with time. They could also be named for the commodity that was sold there, such as Zuqaq al-Labn (Sijill 12: 218), or for a famous landmark, such as Zuqaq Bir al-Sultan (Sijill 8: 245). A *zuqaq* could be either a thoroughfare or a dead end. An alley smaller

than a *zuqaq* seems to have been identified as a *majaz mustatraq* ('a much-frequented passage').

The documents connected with houses give us much useful information. From them we learn the names of the buyer and seller, how its owner came to get possession, whether by purchase or by inheritance, whether it was a family or charitable *waqf*, the location of the house, the name of the street or alley, the names of the neighbours, on at least three sides, and the owners of those houses, the size of the house in terms of number of rooms, floors and facilities, as well as the names of the witnesses and the judge. As a result of all the detailed information that these documents provide, and the scattered information in other documents, a complete and in-depth study would enable us to determine the prevalent type of architecture in the city, and to know approximately the number of houses in a quarter, street, or alley.

I examined 228 documents concerning houses; 120 were connected with leases, while 108 related to sales, including courtyards and single rooms. A cistern for collecting rainwater is mentioned for 84 houses. A well for storage of olive oil is mentioned once, while 32 houses contained a stable and 42 had an open-air courtyard. About half of the houses had an upper floor, meaning that the inhabitants depended upon vertical expansion to provide for additional space. Some houses are described as including an upper level, a lower level and a storey. It would appear clear from the documents that the mention of a 'storey' (*tabaq*) meant one or more rooms on the roof, i.e., a third floor. 23 houses have such a third storey, and if they are added to the houses with two storeys, the number of multi-storeyed houses exceeds 60 percent of the housing units. For example, 'The master so-and-so bought all of the house in Jerusalem in the al-Sharaf quarter ... containing an upper and lower level and a storey on top ('ulu' wa sufl wa tabaq bi-l-'ulu'), residences and facilities' (Sijill 4: 51). The proportion of derelict houses was high and references to them appear in 16 percent of all the documents. The houses could be derelict either wholly or in part. Usually they would be purchased by a builder in order to re-use the stone in construction or renovation of other buildings. Two builders, Ahmad ibn Salim al-Khuraishi and Husain ibn Nafi' al-Halabi, bought 16 *qirats* of a mostly derelict house near Herod's Gate for 120 'uthmanis (Sijill 5: 381). A derelict house could be leased long-term on condition that its rent be spent on renovating it. The rent could be nominal, as in the following example: 'Shihab al-Din, son of the late Nasir al-Din Muhammad Sabt al-Dairi, leased ... for Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah al-Rumi all of the ruined and derelict house, any income from which has stopped, in Jerusalem located at the high point of the 'Aqabat al-Sitt, including rooms, an open-air courtyard, a cistern and legal rights in itself and its entirety ... for a period of 30 years ... for a rent each year of 28 'uthmanis. The lessor permits the

lessee to spend all of the previously mentioned rent on what the leased house needs for renovation (identified) by legal witnesses' (Sijill 4: 69).

There are fifty houses identified as family or charitable *waqfs*. In general their rent was less than the rental of private houses. All of the known houses in the *waqf* of the Salahiyya Khanqah and hospital were leased to *rumis* (Turks). 75 units were joint property, which meant that they were inherited and divided among the heirs. 22 houses had latrines (baths). The documents mention 17 houses that had kitchens, and 25 that had an *iwan* (a square or elongated room with walls on three sides (Amin 1990: 17).

The term *ghurfa* for 'room' is not attested in the documents; rather the term '*bait*' is used. A house could contain more than one room, just as a storey could contain more than a single room, as in the following example, 'So-and-so bought all of the house in Jerusalem located in the Bab Hitta quarter, including a lower level—which contained an open-air courtyard, two rooms (*bait*s), and a stable—and an upper level, which contained an open-air courtyard and three rooms, and a cistern, and the legal rights' (Sijill 4: 195). The sale or lease of portions of a house could occur. In general, various factors played a part in determining the price of purchase or lease, among which location was perhaps the most important, such as the distance from the Haram al-Sharif, the city centre or the markets. The size of the house and the facilities it contained, such as a stable, a cistern to collect the winter rain, latrine, or kitchen, and the architectural condition of the house, were other factors affecting the purchase or lease cost. Nonetheless, a highly-priced house can be found next to one with a lower price. The highest purchase price paid was for a house located in the Bab al-Nazir, sold by Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Jauhari for 7000 '*uthmanis*. It consisted of a lower level with a stable, a storage area for straw, an *iwan*, *rakb khana* (a place for keeping the horses' equipment, located near the stable or below the seat or sitting place) (Amin 1990: 56), and a small sitting place, while the upper level contained a large hall with three *iwans* and a cistern. It was purchased by Muhammad Çelebi al-Zaini Mustafa al-Yaziji, the deputy of the ruler of the district of Jerusalem, Gaza, Karak, Hebron and Ramla, Uwais Beg (Sijill 2: 235). 6 *qirats* of a house located in the Bab al-'Amud neighbourhood, consisting of an upper and lower floor, residences, and a cistern, were sold for 650 *halabis*. The lower floor contained an open-air courtyard paved with dark tiles, space for the storage of straw, a cistern and latrine, while the upper floor contained an open-air courtyard, three rooms, one of which was derelict, and a latrine (Sijill 5: 327). At the Jaffa Gate the wife of the head of the Fodder Market bought 12 *qirats* of a house containing a number of rooms, one large room, kitchen, cistern, latrine, and stable, all for 750 *halabis*. The prices of houses located in quarters in outlying

areas of the city were lower than their equivalents inside the city, such as Zion Gate, Jaffa Gate, and Herod's Gate. The lessee had the right to sublease the house he leased, expressed in the contract, 'for the lessee to benefit from that as tenant and sub-lessor' (Sijill 7: 88, 461). Houses changed hands by sale or lease between the two sexes without distinction, as between the adherents of the three religions, regardless of whether the house was a charitable or personal *waqf* or private property. In spite of the presence of a quarter for the Jews and another for the Christians, the Muslims bought and rented houses in these quarters and lived side by side with their non-Muslim neighbours. An expansion of residence by Christians or Jews outside their own quarters has not been observed.

The city contained a significant number of vegetable gardens, sometimes called *marja* or *hauta*. 36 gardens are mentioned in the documents that I examined. A variety of trees is mentioned as well, either in the gardens or around the houses, among them fig, bitter orange, mulberry, pomegranate, and apple.

Ten *haushs* are recorded. The term *haush* (courtyard) is used for an open space surrounded by rooms, whose doors open onto it. The number of rooms varies from *haush* to *haush*. The *haush* could contain a water cistern, a stable, or store-room and could consist of one or two storeys. Usually members of one family or relatives lived in it. The largest *haush* mentioned in the *sijills* that I examined was located in the Jewish quarter, bordering the slaughterhouse. It was a *waqf* for the Mansuri Ribat. The deputy of the *waqf*, the Maliki *imam* in the Haram al-Sharif, leased it to the head of the Jewish community, Ya'qub ibn Hakim, for a period of thirty years. The *haush* consisted of an upper storey supported by a vault, an open-air courtyard, a lower level containing eight rooms, some of which were derelict, two store-rooms, and a cistern. The rent for the period was 1,000 '*uthmanis* and was spent on renovating the property (Sijill 13: 397). The prices of the *haush* varied; the highest was the Haush al-Khanaqa located in the Wad al-Tawahin street near the little market of Bab al-Qattanin, endowed for the Zawiya al-Adhamiyya. The trustee of the *waqf* obtained a document from the *qadi* to sell it and buy another property to endow in its place. Bairam Jawish bought it for 40.5 gold *qubrusis* (Sijill 13: 522). The lowest price paid was for a *haush* located on Marah al-Sayyida street and consisted of a lower level of rooms, the number of which is not specified, a cistern, facilities, and half a cave; it was sold for 380 *halabis* (Sijill 1: 128). It can be clearly seen that most of the *haushs* were derelict. This would seem to indicate that they were neglected by the residents, who preferred to live in independent houses, rather than in compounds, and for that reason they did not take care of the property. The prices of *haushes* were low in comparison with other houses. It seems that in our period their role as housing compounds had diminished.

h. Restoration

The Mamluk buildings that had been constructed in Jerusalem continued in use in the Ottoman period, but their architectural state called for extensive repair and rebuilding. This work is recorded at remarkable length and detail in the documents of the *sijills* of the Shari'a court. The restorations included all of the Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem without exception—the *madrasas*, *khans*, *hammams*, *bait*s, etc. Part of the income of the *waqfs* was set aside for renovations. The documents distinguish between the various terms. *'Amara* (restoration/rebuilding/new building), means the renewal of a wall or its rebuilding. This is the more general and larger term. The other term *tarmim* (repair/maintenance), which is a part of restoration, meant repair to the mortar, both inside and out, and the repair of doors, among other things, as in the following example: 'Legal recognition of what the Khwaja Badr al-Din ibn Ghars al-Din Khalil, one of the leading merchants in Jerusalem, who leased the shops and soap factory in Jewish Quarter street in the legal manner from the one who had the authority to do so from before the date permitted to him in expenditure before the lease from the period starting in 939 and ending in 941/1532-34. That is what he spent on repairing (*tarmim*) the doors of the shops and what he also spent on restoring the soap factory and shops and repairing the interior and exterior of the soap factory in the period mentioned above' (Sijill 6: 94-5).

In the Mamluk period in Cairo there was an office called the Diwan al-'Ama'ir with responsibility for building affairs (Hanna 1984: 2). There is no indication in the Shari'a court documents of such an office in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period. It seems clear that the office was replaced by the *diwan* of the *qadi* who granted permission for restoration, after a request had been presented by the trustee (if the property was a *waqf*), or from the lessee or owner of the property (if it was a joint property—*milk sha'i*). Restoration of a leased building required the agreement of the owner of the property, but the owner did not need permission to undertake his own restoration work. For that reason we do not find any reference to the restoration of private houses in the *sijills*. The permission of the court was needed in order to receive reimbursement for payments on rebuilding or repairs. The property of Jews and Christians was an exception, for they needed permission from the *qadi*, whether the property was private or an endowment. That was in order to assure the return of the property to the state in which it had been before the repairs took place. Yuwasif ibn Manuli the monk went to the *qadi* of the court—and reported that his house, located in the Bani Murra quarter near the Khanqah Salahiyya—was in need of repairs. He asked for an inspection and a permit to restore it. After the inquiry (*kashf*), the witnesses reported to the *qadi* that the house was indeed in need of repair and the *qadi* therefore permitted him to restore and

repair it to its former state, without any addition or diminution (Sijill 3: 207). The *qadi* himself sometimes headed the committee of enquiry into a property, accompanied by master builders (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyyas*) from Jerusalem and other witnesses. The *qadi* could delegate the enquiry to another person. The inclusion of a builder in the enquiry was essential to determine the extent of damage and the sums needed for the restoration. In addition the committee usually included people described as 'experienced' (*ahl al-khibra*) to help the builder in his evaluation.

The names of forty-six builders (*mi'maris*) occur in the period of our study. Husain, the son of the late master 'Ali ibn Nammar, was the master builder in Jerusalem for a long time. He is described sometimes as the 'Master of the Sultan'. He inherited his position from his father, as is clear from his father's name. Three *mi'maris* from the same family are recorded. Eleven *mi'maris* were connected with the city of Aleppo, in addition to three others originally from outside Jerusalem, from Damascus, Antioch, and Syria. Eight of the Aleppo *mi'maris* were in Jerusalem between April 1529 and July 1530. We do not know the date of their arrival in Jerusalem or the length of time they resided in the city, or the projects on which they worked. Only one is mentioned after that period, which leads us to conclude either that their contract to undertake or to supervise architectural projects in Jerusalem came to an end, or that they came to Jerusalem specifically because of the many employment opportunities there. The names of thirty out of a total of thirty-eight *mi'maris* (79 percent) recorded after the departure of those from Aleppo show that they were locals. No Egyptian *mi'mari* is recorded in the period of this study, although a document (Sijill 12: 360) dated 18 Rabi' I 942/15 September 1535 records that Bairam Jawish went to Egypt to bring back master builders (see the list of names of builders below).

Nothing in the *sijills* that I examined indicates the level of wage received by a *mi'mari* who undertook an official enquiry. The documents related to restoration that were presented to the *qadi* were witnessed by one or more builders who supervised the work. The term 'builder' (*mi'mari*) was applied to a master of a particular building skill, such as the man who applied the mortar (*qassir*), or pointing (*kahil*), or the 'constructor' (*banna'*) of walls. The salary of *mi'maris* ranged between 25 and 30 silver *halabis* a day. 10 *'uthmanis* were paid as a daily wage for a master renovator and likewise to a master of mortaring and pointing (Sijill 1: 399). The salary of the master Mahmud, the son of the Qadi of Salt, was 210 silver *halabis* for eight days of work, which was also the salary of the master Ghanim ibn Nammar for spreading *qusurmil*, gap-filling and sealing (*sirara wa taghliqa*) (Sijill 10: 130). The sum of 60 silver *halabis* was the daily wage for the master stone mason (*nahat*) in the soap factory of Ibn Abi Sharif in the

Jewish quarter, at a time when 1,000 silver *halabis* were paid to the master of copper casting in the same soap factory (Sijill 13: 268). The wage of an artisan (*sani'*) was half the wage of the *mi'mari*, while the wage of a labourer ranged between 8-10 *halabis* (Sijill 4: 35). It was one of the conditions of employment that the employer provide food (*ma'una*) for all the workers in addition to their wage. Thus we find, in all of the documents concerning restoration work, the price of *ma'una* quoted. There follow recorded examples of the prices of construction supplies and the salaries of workers in silver *halabis*.

Materials	Price in <i>dirham halabi</i>
Door for a storeroom	35
Door hinges (<i>mufassala</i>)	5
For each 100 stones of hard <i>qashim</i>	30
For each 100 stones of soft <i>nari</i> stone, dressed	60
For each 100 stones of <i>nari</i> paving for ceiling	15
Lock (<i>zarfi</i>)	11
Lock for a door (<i>sukkara</i>)	10
Iron door for mausoleum	150
Load of <i>nari</i> stone	6

Worker	Wages in <i>dirham halabi</i>
Carpenter	20-30
Artisan (<i>sani'</i>)	12.5
Hoeman (<i>mujarifi</i>)	10
<i>Jabbal</i> (work with <i>turiyya</i> , hoe)	10
<i>Jabish</i> (work with rubble stone)	10
<i>Mu'allim sirara</i> (skilled in use of small stones between courses)	25
Sievelman (<i>gharapi'li</i>)	8-10
Plasterer (<i>saqqal</i>)	5
Water-carrier	7-12
Unskilled workman (<i>fa'il</i>)	5-8

Mortar (*shid*)

Two materials in particular were used in construction work: mortar (*shid*) and *qusurmil*, while sand was also used, but to a lesser extent. In one of the documents, it is recorded that a basket (*zanbil*) of slaked lime (which was also known as *shid*) as well as high quality lime was submitted to the court by the supervisor of the restoration of the Haram al-Sharif, for the purpose of setting the price, at a time when the cost of it was estimated by a specialist at a rate of 8 *uthmanis* per *qintar* (Sijill 1: 399). The mortar was brought from the villages surrounding Jerusalem; the names of Bait Hanina, Bait Jala, Lifta, Bait Fajjar, and Burqa are all recorded. The mortar was sold both by the *qintar* and by the load. It seems from the price recorded that a donkey load (*al-himl*) was about half of a *qintar*. The

place where mortar was worked was called a *latun*. The price of a *qintar* collected from the *latun* of the village of Burqa was 25 *halabis*, while its price in Jerusalem once reached as high as 55 *halabis* (Sijill 13: 58), presumably because of the cost of transportation. The prices of this commodity were not stable. At the beginning of our period a *qintar* sold for 40 *halabis* (New Series Sijill 1a: 43), while in a later period a *qintar* sold for 72 *halabis* (Sijill 10: 65). The lowest price recorded for a load was 10 *halabis* (New Series Sijill 1a: 87), but later it reached 15 *halabis* (Sijill 7: 139). On 2 Rabi' II 947/6 August 1540 a document records an agreement between the representative supervising the restoration of the walls, Muhammad al-Naqqash and six people from Bait Hanina, Bait Fajjar and Jerusalem, to transport mortar for the walls of Jerusalem on forty camels. They pledged to do this for five months and that the price of a camel-load would be 20 silver *halabis*, on condition that all the camels would be available for work (Sijill 12: 400). The mortar was used as a binding material in the construction of walls (for restoration) and was as strong as the cement used today.

Qusurmil

The basic source of *qusurmil* was from baths. It was an ashy by-product (*ramad*) from burning the wood used to heat the water, and it was sold by the load. The lessee of the Hammam Tankiz sold 408 loads of *qusurmil* for the renovation of the Khan Tankiz for 4,100 silver *halabis* and in addition paid the transport costs of one *halabi* for each load (Sijill 6: 354). In a later period, 200 loads of *qusurmil* from the same bath were sold for 1,500 *halabis* (Sijill 12: 829). The lowest price recorded in the period for a load of *qusurmil* was 4 *halabis* (Sijill 10: 81). *Qusurmil* was used for mortaring walls; the operation was termed 'to apply (*darab*) the *qusurmil*'. The material was first sifted and then kneaded (*jabala*), giving the name of the artisan—*jabbal*. Other materials had to be added to the *qusurmil* to render it serviceable. After preparation, the master craftsman first applied the substance to the walls and later smoothed it over (Sijill 4: 35). *Qusurmil* was also used to seal roofs of rooms. It seems that it was applied with some sort of tool. The master who undertook this task was called 'the pounder (*daqqaq*) of the *qusurmil*'. The daily wage of the 'master' and the 'pounder' of *qusurmil* ranged between 25-30 silver *halabis*. Wells too were lined with *qusurmil* in order to render them water-proof. That task was termed *samal* (Sijill 3: 323).

Sand was purchased from a pottery workshop. Of the three types of building material, it was the one mentioned most infrequently and was the least expensive. Six loads of pottery sand were sold for 18 silver *halabis* (Sijill 2: 238). All three materials were sold at higher prices to soap factories. Other materials were used in

construction, but less often, such as red earth (*turab ahmar*), chalk (*huwar*), and brick dust (*humra*) (see the appendix of the document of the inspection of the Khan of Charcoal and the *wakala*, and the assessment of the costs of repairs).

The names of the builders in Jerusalem between April 1529 and September 1542

(The names followed by an asterisk* are those of builders mentioned in the first Sijill of the New Series):

Ibrahim ibn al-Qara'i
 Ibrahim ibn Ma'tuq al-Halabi (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*)*
 Ibrahim ibn Hajj Yusuf al-Halabi *
 Abu Bakr al-Mashtub, the builder of walls
 Abu 'l-Jaud ibn Da'na al-Khalili *
 Ahmad ibn Khalil al-Shukhais
 Ahmad al-Hamidi
 Ahmad ibn Salim al-Khuraishi
 Ahmad ibn Sharaf al-Din Musa, the son of the *qadi* of Salt
 Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Sa'di al-Jarkasi (from Circassia)
 Ahmad ibn al-Najjar
 Hajj Isma'il
 Jirjis ibn Yuhanna al-Nasrani
 Hasan ibn Ibrahim al-Dimashqi, the builder of the walls of Jerusalem
 Hasan al-Khalili
 Husain, the son of the late master 'Ali ibn Nammar (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*)
 Husain ibn Mahmud al-Rumi
 Husain ibn Nafi' al-Halabi *
 Khatab
 Al-Hakim ibn al-Hasan
 Darwish, the master builder in Aleppo and of the walls of Jerusalem
 Rajab ibn Yahya al-Antaki
 'Abd al-Rahman al-Tawil
 'Abd Allah ibn Nammar
 'Ala' al-Din ibn Abi 'l-Naja al-Husari
 'Ali ibn Ramadan al-Halabi *
 'Ali ibn Nafi' al-Halabi *
 'Ali ibn Wishah
 Ghanim ibn Ahmad ibn Nammar *
 Ghanim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Jibrain
 Fath al-Din al-Sani'
 Majd al-Din ibn al-Bajali
 Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Abi Fak'ash
 Muhammad ibn Akhi Khatab
 Muhammad ibn al-Hamawi al-Shami
 Muhammad ibn Shaikh al-Bahr

Muhammad ibn Hajj Muhammad ibn 'Uwais al-Ramli *
 Hajj Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Halabi *
 Muhammad ibn Nafi' al-Halabi *
 Mahmud ibn Sharaf al-Din Musa, the son of the Qadi of Salt
 Mahmud ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Halabi *
 Hajj Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Halabi
 Musallih al-Din ibn 'Abd Allah al-Rumi al-Qanawati, the builder of the walls
 Musa ibn al-Sayyid Abi 'l-Khair
 Nammar, son of the master Ahmad ibn Nammar
 Yahya ibn Salim al-Ramli

VI. Social aspects

a. Inheritance

Documents of inheritance and the apportionment of legacies are scattered throughout the *sijills* in Jerusalem, like the other documents. I found only one *sijill* in the Department of Islamic Heritage devoted to this type of document, in addition to 73 pages in Sijill 11. It seems that an attempt by the court to keep special *sijills* for matters connected with inheritance did not continue.

Under the heading of inheritance we will discuss two types of documents. First, those known as 'wills' (*wasaya*), i.e., when the individual recorded what he possessed while still alive, whether near to death or with a terminal illness, in the presence of certain witnesses, relatives and a scribe from the court. I found 70 wills, of which 41 are by women and the rest by men. The documents start as in the following example: 'On the date of 3 Shawwal 947/31 January 1541, Amina, the daughter of Hajj Muhammad al-Dimashqi, living in the Zawiya of our Lord Shaikh Muhammad al-Qirami, testified in sound mind and possession of her faculties, although unwell in body, that what she possessed on the above date were a blue shirt, a blue kerchief ...' (Sijill 11: 71). The registration included everything without exception, even small details. The document informs us about the work of the testator/testatrix and the place of residence, the type of work, whether they were from Jerusalem or elsewhere, whether rich or poor, married or divorced, and with how many wives (if a man) or children they had. It appears that the wills were registered because of pressure from the heirs to ensure against loss of any part of the possessions after death, or else due to the fear of the person making the will that disputes that might occur among the heirs, especially if the person were wealthy. The motivation for registering the wills of women or men who were resident in public institutions or had neighbours of good conscience was a fear that either the institution or the neighbour—or indeed anyone—would be accused of taking possessions from the

estate, and to make sure that the inheritance reached the beneficiaries, whether the heirs or the public treasury. In this last case the person responsible for the public treasury prepared the recording of the will. In one will it is recorded that a person from Nablus, who was a resident in the Jewish quarter, ‘did not have a claim on any person either of the Muslims or of the Jewish sect, and that in the presence of Hajj Ahmad ibn Firi, the spokesman for the public treasury in Jerusalem ...’ (Sijill 13: 205). The will sometimes records the manner of dividing the portion of the bequest that a Muslim was permitted to distribute according to Islamic law.

The second type of document connected with inheritance concerns those produced after the death of the individual, when all of the movable or unmovable property owned by the deceased, as well as their debts, were recorded. Most often such a document begins as in the following examples: ‘Settlement of the estate of Fatima bint Muhyi al-Din’ (Sijill 1: 258); or ‘The estate of the late Salim’ (Sijill 6: 369), or ‘Settlement of the sales of the estate of Fatima al-Rumi’ (Sijill 11: 6). The funerary rites began immediately after death; these are referred to as ‘the exit’ (*kharija*) in the *sijills*, a term that refers to the preparations and actions that must take place before the deceased can be taken from their residence. The preparations include the purchase of a shroud, if the deceased had not bought one during their lifetime, cotton and thread, the purchase of the items required for washing the body, payment for digging the grave and for the pall bearers. Washing the body of the deceased required written permission (a permit—*waraqa*) from the Shari’a court and from the *subashi*, whether it took place in the house in which the person had died or in the designated place next to the east door of al-Aqsa Mosque (Sijill 2: 74). On 12 Safar 940/2 September 1533 a document records a warning to the washers ‘that they should not perform the washing of deceased Muslims without a paper from the Shari’a court and a paper from the *subashi* in the city, and when they perform the washing of deceased Muslims in the countryside or in the city without a paper, they are required to pay 100 ‘*uthmanis* to the ruler of the city of Jerusalem’ (Sijill 3: 232). On 10 Muharram 944/19 June 1537, Shaikh Ahmad al-Nasiri became the *shaikh* and spokesman for those who performed the washing of the dead. At that time he again requested them not to wash the dead without his knowledge and a paper from the Shari’a court (Sijill 6: 537).

The cost of the ‘exit’ is the first charge on the testated inheritance of the deceased, if there was a will. If the deceased was intestate, the ‘exit’ charge was borne by the estate. The first legal right connected with the deceased after death was the preparation for burial. That took precedence over payment of any debt, which included the balance of the dowry of a wife (al-‘Abadi 1975, 2: 181). A Muslim is entitled according to Islamic law to bequeath

only a third of his property away from his heirs, while the remainder must be divided among them. The determination and recording of the estate took place in the presence of the heirs and a scribe from the court. Then the estate was sold at auction or passed down by inheritance. For example, the value of the estate of Mustafa al-Shawish was 951 ‘*uthmanis*, of which 128 ‘*uthmanis* were spent on the ‘exit’. Alms, ‘merit’ (*thawab*) and the fees for witnesses and for the division of the estate came to 90 ‘*uthmanis*—that is, the total expenses were 218 ‘*uthmanis*, which represented 23 percent of the total estate. The remainder was placed as a security with the spokesman for absentee property and the public treasury until such time as Mustafa’s wife and two daughters, who were then in Damascus, arrived (Sijill 4: 123). From the will, sums of money were disbursed according to the specifications of the deceased. One text records ‘Fee for fulfilling the prayer’ (*isqat*) (Sijill 11: 28). That means that the deceased had missed some of the obligatory prayers during his life and that he set aside part of his estate to fulfil these missing obligations. Occasionally the fulfilment of prayer and fasting were repeated, as in a document connected with the estate of Mustafa al-Rumi, who left the sum of 400 ‘*uthmanis* for that specific purpose (Sijill 1: 305). Most of the documents that mention the fulfilment of prayer and fasting concern Turks. The inheritance was recorded in court. The fee paid for this was always 25 *halabis* (Sijill 1: 34). The fee for division of the property varied from one estate to the next, and in one document reached 3 percent of the whole estate (Sijill 2: 8). The total estate of Asil al-Misriyya was 4,471 *dirhams*, from which the following sums were spent for her ‘exit’ (Sijill 2: 229):

Funerary costs	Fee in <i>dirhams</i>
Digging the grave	20
Washing	15
Rental of the <i>dakka</i> (the long table on which the deceased was washed)	5
Shroud	230
Merit (<i>thawab</i>)	20
Cotton	15
Water	5
Fee for the register of the Court	25
Fulfilment of prayer (<i>isqat</i>)	100
Semolina, with the fee for bread (for preparing food)	90
Syrup and sesame oil (for preparing food)	45
Tray of meatballs (for preparing food)	65
Bread (<i>ruqaqs</i>) (for preparing food)	8
Extras (unspecified expenses)	5
Fee for woman servant during life of deceased	50
Fee for the <i>efendi</i> (<i>qadi</i>) (Sijill 2: 232)	100
Total	<i>dirhams</i> 798

The *qadi qassam* performed the division among the debtors of the civilian estates. In the case of the estate of military personnel, the task was undertaken by a *qassam 'askari*. The public treasury benefitted from those individuals who did not have heirs, in which case the *subashi* sold the estate and deposited the value of the items after the deduction of expenses (Sijill 1: 319). A dispute arose between the *subashi* and the Magharibis, represented by their *shaikh*, Ahmad al-Masmudi, about the estates of deceased North Africans who had no heirs. The Magharibi *shaikh* presented to the ruler of the *sanjaq* old decrees indicating that the colony of the Magharibis were entitled to inherit the estates of those of their community who died without heirs, and this was duly confirmed by the ruler (Sijill 7: 41).

Some documents record wills and inheritance connected with Christians in Jerusalem. They all concern poor members of the communities; 'Murad ibn Turus the Christian, a monk resident in the Armenian Monastery on the outskirts of the city, testified that all he possessed was the shabby clothes on his back and that he was one of the destitute Christians who possessed no money' (Sijill 7: 17). Another inheritance document records 'Settlement of the estate of the deceased 'Abd al-Masih the Ethiopian, whose legal heir is the public treasury and whose estate consists of a robe and blue mantle' (Sijill 4: 229).

Among the general documents of inheritance concerning men, 24 documents are connected with Muslims who were not residents of Jerusalem. They were of various nationalities including Indian, North African, Egyptian, Syrian, Yemeni and Turkish, these last forming the largest group. 12 people in the sample are referred to as being *hajji*, which means that their original presence in Jerusalem was to fulfil a religious obligation, and for one reason or another they had stayed there. At the same time the title *hajji* is used to describe only one resident of Jerusalem in the rest of the 33 inheritance documents. 29 documents concern women who were not from Jerusalem, three of whom are identified as *hajja*. One was a Turk from Asia Minor and two were from Aleppo. The largest group of women, fourteen in all, was Turkish.

The inheritance documents give us valuable information about the types of clothes worn by both sexes, as well as the type or origins of household equipment. As an example, one poor widow possessed 'the Egyptian clothes on her back consisting of an old shirt, an old large white outer garment and a skullcap on her head' (Sijill 7: 137). Various types of furniture were found in the houses, such as a Rumi carpet, a carpet of noble manufacture, a blue Yemeni blanket, a yellow Indian blanket, an Aleppo blanket covering, a silk seat, a yellow seat-cloth, a pair of chairs, a wooden bed, a red bed, a Hurmuzi pillow, a pair of cotton side cushions, a blue and pink Hurmuzi mosquito net, a black bath robe. This type of document also provides

us with the names of utensils used by different professions, such as are recorded in the estate of Nasir al-Din ibn al-Jamus al-Zaradkash (who manufactured iron chain-mail). Among his tools are listed files, hammers, pincers, and steel awls (Heritage Sijill 52). The types of tools used in book binding are also recorded; these include a file, chart compass, knife blades, iron burnisher, pliers, seven iron engraving hammers, and a binding tool (Heritage Sijill 35). Inheritance documents for a manufacturer of bows and arrows, a farrier, a tailor and others have also been located.

b. Marriage

The documents concerning marriage inform us about the organisation of social life in Ottoman Jerusalem and give us a clear picture of family life, the level of dowries and the rights of women during our period, in addition to the role of women generally in society and the proportion of non-Jerusalemites resident in the city.

I examined 155 marriage documents; of these, 13 concerned minors, 30 virgins of legal marriageable age (who were occasionally termed 'adolescent virgins', *bikr murahaqa*), 55 divorcees or widows (*thayyib*). 36 relate to divorces and 21 concern cases of divorce at the instance of the wife (*mukhala'a*) (meaning that it was the woman who sought the divorce before renouncing her rights). The study of this sample shows that in the 16th century the Jerusalem family was not overly cohesive. The rate of divorce was as high as 23 percent, but if we include the cases of divorce at the instance of the wife, the level increases to 36 percent. However, it should be kept in mind that a portion of divorces (*mukhala'a*) at the request of the wife ended with the wife returning to her husband. The marriage contracts were recorded in the Shari'a court in order to protect the rights of the wife with regard to both the advanced dowry (*mu'ajjal*) and the delayed dowry (*mu'ajjal*) and are the most important confirmation in the case of marriage. The court charged a fee for marriage contracts. I did not find anything that indicated the level of the fee, although one document records that the amount of income from an unspecified number of marriage fees for a period of ten months was 627 'uthmanis (Sijill 13: 127).

Dowries are divided into two types. The advanced dowry is paid to the legal guardian of a girl in order to prepare her for marriage and ordinarily is half of the full dowry. The second part is delayed, and is paid to her upon the death of her husband or on divorce. In addition to the dowry, the cost of a yearly set of clothes (*kiswa*) was often paid to the wife. The highest price for a set of clothes recorded in a contract which was paid to a virgin who was a minor was 750 *dirhams* (Sijill 8: 9).

The guardian (*wali*) of a girl who was a minor (whether her father, brother, or uncle) had the right to arrange her marriage after obtaining her approval, if he

considered it to be in her best interests. As a result this type of marriage was frequently based on the interests and monetary benefit of the minor girl's guardian rather than on her own. The average dowry of a minor was 4,500 *dirhams*, while the lowest amount paid was 1,250 *dirhams* for a minor who was an Indian, and the highest amount was the 10,000 *dirhams* that Farhat al-Sibahi paid (Sijill 13: 114). He, as we know from an earlier document, married a daughter of Sinan al-Sibahi, a virgin, for a dowry of 5,800 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 7: 169). The document in this case identifies the girl's guardian: 'and her father married her to him for that (dowry) by his authority of guardianship' (Sijill 7: 223). Occasionally the marriage of a minor was handled fraudulently for financial gain. One document (Sijill 12: 430) records a marriage in which Khalil al-Jafali married his minor son as though he were of legal age to the woman Sitt al-Hana, who had been divorced by Hajj 'Umar al-Halabi, for a dowry of 100 *'uthmanis*. In a record on the same document, the wife requests the husband's father to divorce her from his son and he agreed. The *qadi* ruled that no waiting period (*'idda*) applied because the husband had not reached puberty. The wife returned to her divorced husband immediately with a proper contract and a new dowry.

The dowry of a virgin was higher than the dowry of a minor. The highest dowry of 60,000 *'uthmanis* (150,000 *dirhams*) paid for a virgin of legal age was exceptional. Half was paid and from the remaining 30,000 *'uthmanis* her guardian (her father, who was the previous inspector of the Two Harams), deducted 20,000 *'uthmanis* for Muhammad Subashi ibn Hamza, the bridegroom. The remaining 10,000 *'uthmanis* remained as a delayed dowry for the bride (Sijill 2: 79). One of the conditions for the validity of the marriage contract was the agreement and wishes of the girl herself. It was customary for two witnesses to witness that the girl agreed to the marriage and that she delegated her father or guardian to arrange it so that the contract could be concluded. The smallest dowry paid to a virgin of legal age was 4,000 *dirhams* (Sijill 3: 61). The average dowry for this type of marriage was 7,000 *dirhams*, excluding the exceptionally high dowry mentioned earlier.

A variety of documents record the marriage of foreign Muslim men and women, both Arabs and non-Arabs—Egyptians, North Africans, Indians, and Rumis (Turks). The largest group of marriage contracts recorded was for people from the city of Karak in southern Jordan. We notice that most of the marriages of these non-local Muslims were either to a divorced woman or a freed slave, with three exceptional cases in which people from North Africa, Malta and Karak married minors. The lowest amount for a freed slave was a delayed dowry of 200 *dirhams* paid by Hasan al-Khaluti (Sijill 1: 173). Mahmud al-Malti married a divorced woman for an advanced dowry of 150 *dirhams* and a delayed dowry of 100 *dirhams* (Sijill

1: 406). Murad al-Rumi married a divorced Egyptian woman for an advanced dowry of 100 *dirhams* (Sijill 2: 175). Naturally the social and economic position of the husband and wife determined the size of the dowry. The *qadi* 'Izz al-Din Muhammad al-Thayyib married Fatima al-Khazraji for a dowry of 10,000 *dirhams*, 6,000 in advance and the remainder delayed (Sijill 5: 54) and the Amir Bayazid al-Dhikri married a widow for a dowry of 9,500 *dirhams*, 4,500 of them in advance (Sijill 13: 59). It seems that many of the professions of the strangers were of a low status, such as doorman, press operator, maker of donkey saddles, seller of pickled vegetables, or porter. Once the occupation of an Egyptian woman was recorded as a lady's maid from al-Jiza (Sijill 10: 21).

Occasionally the woman came to the court to present her complaints herself or through her representative. One woman complained of her husband that although he had married her fourteen months earlier, she was still a virgin, and so she sought a divorce. The husband requested a delay of three more months before he would be able to live with her (Sijill 10: 109). The woman had the freedom to impose some conditions in the marriage contract. One woman of Damascene origin made a return to her husband conditional on the promise that he no longer beat her without reason, or marry another wife, or prevent her from travelling to visit her family (Sijill 10: 53). One wife imposed the condition in the contract that her husband would divorce her if he did either of two things: (1) marry another wife, either personally or through his agent, or cheat her by having an affair with a slave girl in the city of the contract (i.e., Jerusalem), or by having an affair during his travels and bringing the girl back with him to Jerusalem or its vicinity, in which case it was imposed upon him legally that she would be divorced; and (2) if he took her from the house in which they were to reside, located near the house of her father in the Sharaf quarter (Sijill 7: 96). The repetition in the conditions of marriage that the husband should not marry another woman indicates that the practice of polygamy was common in Jerusalem.

In the case of divorce, the husband was required to support the wife (*nafaqa*) until her waiting period (*'idda*) was over. The amount of support was higher if the wife had children by the husband. The level of support paid by Hasan the Janissary in the Citadel of Hebron was 2.5 *dirhams* per day (Sijill 7: 18). In one case, the *qadi* ordered 3 *'uthmanis* (7.5 *dirhams*) per day to be provided as support for two children and their pregnant mother (Sijill 7: 152). Taj al-Din ibn Ahmad al-Sukari brought a case to the court because of an excessive increase in the level of daily support to 5 *'uthmanis* and an excessive yearly clothing allowance of 600 *'uthmanis*. It seems that the amount was imposed on Taj al-Din in the marriage contract for his wife, the daughter of the chief *qadi*, 'Izz al-Din 'Abd al-'Aziz

Muhammad ibn al-Dairi. The *qadi* decided upon a rate of 3 'uthmanis per day for both support and clothing (Sijill 7: 259). Some documents record the amount of support that a family needed each month, and it seems that this was the result of the failure of the husband to fulfil his responsibilities to support his family, which led to the wife or her family being forced to raise the case in court, demanding that the husband be required to support his family. The husband, Ahmad ibn Hujij, was required to provide his wife and two children with the wherewithal for the following items every month: 3 *mudds* of milled flour, 2 *ratls* of oil, 3 *ratls* of lentils, syrup, chick peas, 1 *mudd* of beans, 5 cakes of soap, 2 *ratls* of rice and 5 *uqiyas* of clarified butter; every two months he was to supply 10 *dirhams* for bathing, every 10 days and 1 *ratl* of meat (Sijill 7: 252). In another document the husband laid upon himself to provide his wife each month with 1 *mudd* of sifted flour, 3 *uqiyas* of oil, 3 *uqiyas* of sesame oil, 1 *ratl* of syrup, 0.5 *ratl* of cheese and each week 5 *dirhams* with which to buy meat (Sijill 12: 51).

Male and female slaves were an integral part of Jerusalem society, even if they were limited to the upper classes. The colour, price and religion of slave girls are recorded and a distinguishing mark, if any, for a male slave. If a slave-girl or a male slave was set free, they were identified in the official contracts according to whoever had freed them, as for example: 'The husband Mubarak ibn 'Abd Allah, the freed slave of Yusuf Sinan known as the "Egyptian" and the wife Najiya of legal age (*bint 'Abd Allah*), the freed slave girl of Jabir ibn Jabr one of the *shaikhs* of the trade' (Sijill 10: 190). The trade in slaves was a characteristic of the age. A black Muslim slave girl called Hilwa was sold for 2,600 *dirhams* (Sijill 2: 24). Taj al-Din ibn Ahmad al-Sukari bought a white Muslim slave girl named Mahrana for his wife Sitt al-Qudat for 5,000 'uthmanis. She exchanged part of the price for a 'red' slave girl for 1,600 'uthmanis and a black male slave for 2,000 'uthmanis (Sijill 7: 7). In a later period Sitt al-Qudat sold the same slave girl, Mahrana, for 50 *afluri* gold pieces (4,000 'uthmanis) (Sijill 7: 268). An adolescent black Ethiopian slave called Yaqut was brought to court and among his distinguishing marks was a tribal mark (*wasm*) between his eyes (*mashhut*), while the top of his right ear was cleft. He was sold for 4,500 *dirhams* (Sijill 8: 391).

c. Professions

The concept of professional employment as understood today did not apply in the Ottoman period. The documents in the *sijills* of the Shari'a court do not distinguish between work in a trade or guild (such as butchery, which we would today term 'non-professional'), and a profession with a fixed salary, such as that of a teacher or a doorman. All of

the posts are equally termed 'professions' in the *sijills*. The professions that are mentioned in the documents can in general be divided into two types: (1) private professions, and (2) professions in the Haram al-Sharif and the *madrasas*.

i. Private posts

These were supervised by the *subashi* and his assistants, while other professions were the concern of the *kikhiya* (deputy ruler of a *liwa*), including those of patrol ('*asas*) and guard (*ghafar*), prison staff, court ushers (*mudhir*), care of absentee properties (*mal al-ghiyab*), lost property (*mal mafqud*) and appointment of the *shaikhs* of the quarters. Because most of the fees for these professions went to the ruler of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem, a single person often filled more than one post. These fees are known in the *sijills* under the term 'fees of the province' ('*awwa'id al-wilaya*), i.e., the province of Jerusalem. Muhammad ibn Mahmud, known as Abu Shanaq, leased (*tadaman*) the posts of supervisor of patrol (*al-'asasiya*), absentee property (*mal al-ghiyab*), the treasury (*bait al-mal*), lost property (*mal mafqud*) and tax (*aywa*), all for a yearly sum of 10,000 'uthmanis (Sijill 5: 187). Once the post of patrol was leased separately for a monthly fee of 450 'uthmanis (Sijill 3: 56). Four years later the price of the patrol increased to 1,100 'uthmanis (Sijill 6: 363). It seems that this particular profession was not popular with the people. We infer this from one document in which one of the members of a patrol testified on his own behalf that he would not work in the patrol and would not enter the house of the *subashi* from that day on (Sijill 7: 231). There was more than one prison in Jerusalem. The highest amount (*tadmin*) paid for the Prison of the Deputy (*niyaba*) reached 400 'uthmanis monthly (Sijill 8: 359). It is possible that prisoners paid a fine instead of being incarcerated in the prison; so far no firm evidence has been found in the *sijills*. Another prison of unspecified location but part of the endowments of the Salahiyya Bimaristan had a monthly rent of 100 *dirhams* (Sijill 12: 294). A document of renovation records in passing that the Jaliqiyya Madrasa was used as a prison for anyone who had legal charges proven against him (Sijill 5: 137). Likewise there is a reference to the Prison of the Subashi. We do not know if there were more than these four prisons in Jerusalem.

The post (*wazifa*) of guarding and accompanying (*ghafar*) the travellers and the goods which were coming to Jerusalem amounted to 13,386 'uthmanis for a period of twenty months (Sijill 13: 122). The post did not include responsibility for loads of wheat, barley, cotton, or raisins nor for guarding or accompanying Jewish and Christian travellers. This probably means that they were under the protection of a different person. One document lists six people who undertook the profession of court usher

(*mudhir*), their representative being Hajj Mas'ud (Sijill 3: 112). This profession, like the others, could be sub-let. The *kikhiya* in the Citadel leased from Hajj Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah his profession of court usher for a period of two years in exchange for 4,300 'uthmanis (Sijill 10: 146). The *kikhiya* then in turn sub-let the post for a year at a daily rate of 10 'uthmanis (Sijill 10: 238). This means that the *kikhiya* made a profit over the period of two years of 3,000 'uthmanis, if we assume that the rent remained without any increase at a level of 10 'uthmanis per day.

Included as part of the post of *kikhiya* was the appointment of the *shaikhs* of the various quarters of Jerusalem. Yahya al-Sharif appointed a *shaikh* for the neighbourhood of Bab Hutta in the place of the two previous *shaikhs*, 'Ali ibn Hashish and Shuman (Sijill 4: 606). In the subsequent period, Husain ibn al-Hajar was appointed in his place (Sijill 7: 241). A group of the residents of the Bab al-'Amud quarter requested that Khalil al-Salti be appointed *shaikh* of their quarter (Sijill 10: 587). The tasks of the *shaikh* of a quarter included keeping the area secure, keeping in touch with its residents and solving any problem that might arise. The *shaikh* represented governmental authority within the quarter, and there is no indication that he either claimed or was entitled to receive a fee for any action he undertook on behalf of the residents of his quarter.

Among the market professions was that of the broker (*al-dalal*), who brokered or sold goods. Most of the duties of a broker formed part of those of the *muhtasib* and were rented along with that post. Occasionally the profession was called 'calling the goods' (*al-tasaih 'ala al-bata'*); the term was applied to the broker of the slave market, and the market of the merchants, the property market, and the donkey and cattle markets (Sijill 6: 684). Other brokerage posts that are mentioned are the broker of cloth in the wickerwork (*al-qashashin*) market, which means that cloth must have also been sold there (Sijill 12: 72), and broker of the thread market (Sijill 12: 470).

ii. Posts in the Haram al-Sharif and *madrasas*

The professions involved in the *madrasas* and the Haram al-Sharif—the ones most frequently recorded in the *sijills*—include the posts of administrator, *shaikh* of a *madrasa*, trustee, teacher, tax collector, doorman, lighter, janitor, water carrier, and reader of parts of the Qur'an in the *madrasas* and the Haram. The *madrasas* are referred to in the *sijills* when the documents relating to the posts are recorded or when the buildings underwent reconstruction, or rental of their endowments. The *sijills* provide us with detailed information about the *madrasas*, and in particular about the posts which provided an important source of income for a large portion of the reciters and scribes in the Ottoman period with which we are concerned. Reciting the

Qur'an in the Fanariyya Madrasa was restricted to Turks, to the exclusion of Arabs, and an edict from the *qadi 'askar* was issued to that effect (Sijill 6: 386). All of the Mamluk *madrasas* continued to be active in the Ottoman period and had students, teachers, and other employees. Each *madrasa* formed its own economic unit with its own endowments and staff. The income of the *madrasa* was provided by its endowments and as a consequence the income varied according to the property with which each had been endowed. We will limit ourself to a few examples. In 943/1536 the income from the endowments of the Arghuniyya Madrasa was 10,000 'uthmanis. Of that sum, 600 'uthmanis were paid out for the *shaikh* and for tuition. The *madrasa* had twelve Qur'an reciters, each of whom received 32 'uthmanis a month (Sijill 6: 379). The highest salaries in the *madrasas* were received by the trustee, the administrator, the *shaikh* of the *madrasa* and the tax collector. The salaries of the main employees varied. The *qadi* Burhan al-Din ibn Nusaiba al Khazraji, the administrator of the Arghuniyya Madrasa, received the fixed sum of 2,500 'uthmanis for the year 941/1534, and the *qadi* Abu 'l-Ma'ali Muhammad ibn al-Dair, the *madrasa's* trustee, received 2,900 'uthmanis for the same year. The tax collector received 700 'uthmanis, while the beneficiaries received 1,600 'uthmanis and the fee for court registration was 100 'uthmanis (Sijill 6: 403). In the following period, Ahmad ibn Abi 'l-Lutf presented a licence (*bara'a*) testifying that he was the administrator of the Arghuniyya Madrasa at a daily wage of 8 'uthmanis. He received 1,800 'uthmanis during his first period of work (Sijill 1: 73). The former trustee and *shaikh* of the Taziyya Madrasa and his brother, the former administrator of the *madrasa*, brought a claim to the new administrator, demanding from him their agreed salary for each of their positions for 947/1540 at a rate of 3,600 'uthmanis for the first and 2,160 'uthmanis for the second. A dispute arose among the beneficiaries of the Tankiziyya Madrasa over their salaries, and the *qadi* duly ruled that renovating the *madrasa* took priority over payment of their salaries (Sijill 12: 529).

Renting the *madrasas* for residential use started at the beginning of the Ottoman period. The *qadi* granted permission to Muqaddim ibn Mustafa al-Taimari to live in the Yusufiyya Madrasa in exchange for renovation of the mosque, furnishing and lighting it, holding prayers there, and instruction of the children (Sijill 12: 132). Likewise the Mawardiyya Madrasa was inhabited. Its tenant, Sinan al-Sughnaji, undertook its renovation for a sum of 2,000 'uthmanis (Sijill 5: 309) and Bairam Jawish spent 1,600 'uthmanis on the renovation of its dome, according to the testimony of the architect of the walls, Musallih al-Din ibn 'Abd Allah (Sijill 7: 435).

The posts were inherited just like private property, and their sale, in exchange for a sum of money, the amount

of which was sometimes specified, was recognised. Hajj Ibrahim was appointed to recite a part of the Qur'an from the copy endowed by Sultan Sulaiman each day after morning prayer in the Dome of the Rock for the benefit of the sultan's deceased father, Sultan Selim. The *qadi* appointed Hajj Ibrahim and allowed him to find a substitute whenever it was necessary (Sijill 12: 293). Two brothers gave up the post of 'reciters in any place', for which a house in the Wadi al-Tawahin had been endowed, in exchange for 8 *sultani* gold pieces (Sijill 12: 155). Another individual left a similar position in exchange for 1,300 *'uthmanis* (Sijill 7: 108). Sometimes the amount was not specified and it seems that the agreement was reached privately, although the transaction was registered in court to protect the rights of the buyer. Even the profession of janissary was rented. 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah resigned the post of janissary in the Citadel, the daily salary of which was 6 *'uthmanis*, in favour of Yusuf ibn 'Abd Allah al-Rumi. The sum that he received in exchange for demitting the position is not recorded (Sijill 12: 350).

Many documents are connected with reciters (*qari's*) of parts of the Qur'an in the Haram al-Sharif. A portion of these documents are connected with disputes over licences giving the right to recite. Most of the copies of the Qur'an were endowed to the Dome of the Rock—those endowed to al-Aqsa Mosque do not make up even a tenth of the total. That is rather strange, but it seems that in the opinion of the endowers the sanctity of the Rock exceeded that of al-Aqsa Mosque. All of the endowed copies of the Qur'an had many readers, sometimes as many as thirty-three individuals. The time and place of reciting a part was specified, together with the amount that each reciter was to receive. The *rab'a* of the Qur'an donated by Sultan Sulaiman was to be recited in the Dome of the Rock each day after the morning prayer. The reciter had the right to arrange for a substitute if necessary, as recorded in one document (Sijill 5: 242). There were thirty readers of parts of the Qur'an endowed by the *ustadar* of Syria in 872/1467, to be read in the Dome of the Rock after the morning prayer, at a cost of 500 *dirhams*, while 450 *dirhams* were spent for those who recited the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari in the Haram al-Sharif in the months of Rajab, Sha'ban and Ramadan each year (Sijill 12: 704). A number of documents are connected with the *rab'a* donated by Ibn Qirman, which dated back to the Mamluk period and which was recited in the Dome of the Rock. The annual amount that each reciter received from that copy was 120 pieces (600 *dirhams*) (Sijill 1: 754). As an example of the disputes over the licences to recite, one case was presented before the *qadi* over the right to recite from the *rab'a* of Sultan Sulaiman. On this occasion, the *qadi* ruled in favour of the man who held the licence with the older date (Sijill 7: 327). Occasionally the *qadi* appointed a new reciter in place of one who had died.

Posts in the *madrasas* and the Haram al-Sharif included those of lighter (*shi'ala*) (the man who lit the oil lamps), carpet spreader (*firasha*) (the man who laid out the mats and carpets), sweeper (*kinasa*—cleaner), caller to prayer (*al-mu'adhdhin*) and—the most important one of all—the inspector. Next in importance was the *imam* and the preacher of the Haram al-Sharif. These last were all positions of high social and professional status. One document records that the income received up to 934/1527 by a preacher in al-Aqsa mosque, the Shaikh Burhan al-Din ibn Jama'a, was 900 old *dirhams*, which at the time of the *sijill* entry had a value of 48 *sultanis* a year (Sijill 13: 84).

On many occasions an individual, especially if he was a *qadi*, took on more than one position and in more than one *madrasa*, irrespective of the type of post. If there was no doorman or sweeper, he arranged for someone else to be a substitute or appointed one of his sons to undertake the work involved in the position. We will mention as an example the posts held by the *qadi* Sa'd al-Din ibn al-Muhandis. He worked in at least five *madrasas* and was one of the beneficiaries of the endowment of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (Sijill 6: 353). He also had a licence to act as a *shaikh* and water carrier in the Salahiyya Madrasa and, in a later period, he became its inspector (Sijill 10: 142, 279). He and two of his sons are also recorded among the beneficiaries of the endowments of the Fanariyya Madrasa, and they duly received their grant of 27 *sultani* gold dinars (Sijill 6: 335). Sa'd al-Din was also a *shaikh* of the Jauhariyya Khanqah for a yearly salary of 1,800 *dirhams* (Sijill 12, 579). His position in the Ghadiriyya Madrasa was as *imam*, doorkeeper and reciter. A dispute arose between the *qadi* and the tax collector of the Ghadiriyya Madrasa over financial matters. The tax collector (*jabi*) was arrested because of the revenue of the *madrasa*. He said that Qadi Sa'd al-Din ibn al-Muhandis had taken 10,200 *'uthmanis* from the revenue of the *madrasa* and the court asked the *qadi* to return that amount to the tax collector. Qadi Sa'd al-Din had only to present a memo from 'Ali Beg, the *daftardar*, about taking the money from the tax collector and place the money in the citadel until a decree was issued about what should be done with the amount later (Sijill 4: 181, 347). From a later document we know that the struggle for the positions in the Ghadiriyya Madrasa did not stop there. A document was recorded in the presence of the inspector of the *madrasa* in which ten holders of positions in the Haram al-Sharif and elsewhere testified that Qadi Sa'd al-Din ibn al-Muhandis and his sons had held their positions from a period before the Ottoman conquest (Sijill 4: 512).

Conclusion

I have attempted in this chapter to focus on a number of *sijills* of the Islamic law court from the Ottoman period. In

addition to the 415 *sijills* already known to researchers, I have referred to 151 previously unknown documents. No one can attest that the 566 Ottoman *sijills* now known is the final total, because new examples may be found in the future. But this statistical aspect is only a small part of the chapter. The rest concentrates on presenting a general idea about some of the contents of these documents over a limited period of time: 1528-40. For example, I have examined information from the *sijills* relating to buildings—such as soap factories, olive presses, and ovens—and public buildings like baths and *khans*, as well as shops and houses. The chapter also touches upon social aspects, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance.

The study reveals that in general during the Ottoman period Jerusalem, with its buildings, customs, religious endowments and economic system, was a continuation of the Mamluk city—at least in the first half of the 16th century, even if its administration had begun to proceed according to Ottoman law. The religious legal school of the state became Hanafi in place of Shafi'i, as it had been under the Mamluks. There is little doubt that new endowments in the Ottoman period were characterised by their small size, which was a result of the smallness of their economic bases. The exceptions are institutions like the *takiyya* and the baths of the Khassaki Sultan on the Via Dolorosa, which were converted into an Armenian church in the late Ottoman period. The focus of Ottoman attention was the Haram al-Sharif. This is demonstrated by the amount of their building operations, the number of their employees and the gifts of Qur'anic manuscripts, lamps and other items. In spite of this attention, not a small part of the income of the Haram came from endowments which dated back to the Mamluk period. It is clear that the establishment of large endowments in Jerusalem ended with the Ottoman conquest.

One difficult feature of the *sijills* of the Shari'a court is that the information they provide often requires recourse to more than one document. In other words, in many cases it is necessary to study the *sijills* as a group rather than as individual documents. For example, we find information about building operations in documents unconnected with building. The documents complement each other. To clarify the point, the following example is offered.

On 19 Muharram 946/6 June 1539 a document was recorded which was connected with the discovery of a pottery vessel containing money unearthed during the excavation of the foundations for the city wall near the slaughterhouse in the Jewish Quarter. The *qadi* had sent the master builder Husain ibn Nammar to investigate. The vessel had been broken open in his presence and before other witnesses. Old coins had been found inside, and the vessel had been resealed and placed in the Citadel (Sijill 12: 92). About two years later, on 26 Dhu'l-Hijja 947/23

April 1541, workmen found four other bronze coins while digging the foundations of the city wall near the Citadel, and the matter was again brought before the court (Sijill 13: 114). Those two documents are important because they indicate that the construction of the city wall, from the area of David's Gate (Zion Gate) up to the south end of the Citadel covering a distance of some 600m, took twenty-two months to complete—that is, half the time that it took for the construction of the city wall as a whole. This takes into consideration the fact that documents were often not registered in the *sijills* immediately after an event, and could take some time. It is also clear that the construction of the city wall from the foundations up was restricted to certain sections only, whereas in other parts the wall was only repaired with the addition of some courses of stonework to the older surviving construction.

In this chapter it has not been possible, because of shortage of space, to cover all the topics recorded in the *sijills*; but some of the *lacunae* will be itemised in this paragraph. There is a good deal of information recorded in the documents about charitable and inherited endowments—how they were exchanged for other property, or rented, what had been endowed during the Mamluk or Ottoman period, especially with regard to the *waqfs* of the Haram al-Sharif, and the gifts sent from various parts of the Islamic world. Information about the *madrasas* and their endowments is also missing, as is data on their employees, beneficiaries, and residents—whether students, *sufis* or the impecunious. The *sijills* also contain a good deal of information on Jews and Christians—their lives, institutions, economic and social relationships with Muslims, pilgrims and the places they visited, and the taxes they paid. We find information about the libraries of Jerusalem, both private and public, and about endowed copies of the Qur'an, as well as data on the city's water supply, its channels, employees and expenses. We also find indirect information on the number of inhabitants of the city, for example from an order issued by the Sanjak Beg of Jerusalem (Cohen 1978: 39), which reads as follows:

The important people of the quarters are to be brought to the Court, and the places are to be investigated in the presence of the Subashi of Jerusalem. The Subashi came to the Court, then they summoned the inhabitants of the Bab Hutta neighbourhood and ten people were then recorded, for whom Hajj Ibrahim ibn Jabr stood surety, and they were ... (Sijill 15: 536)

One person stood surety for every ten people from a quarter, and the *shaikh* of a quarter stood surety for all the inhabitants of that quarter. That arrangement seems to have developed for the sake of public security in the city;

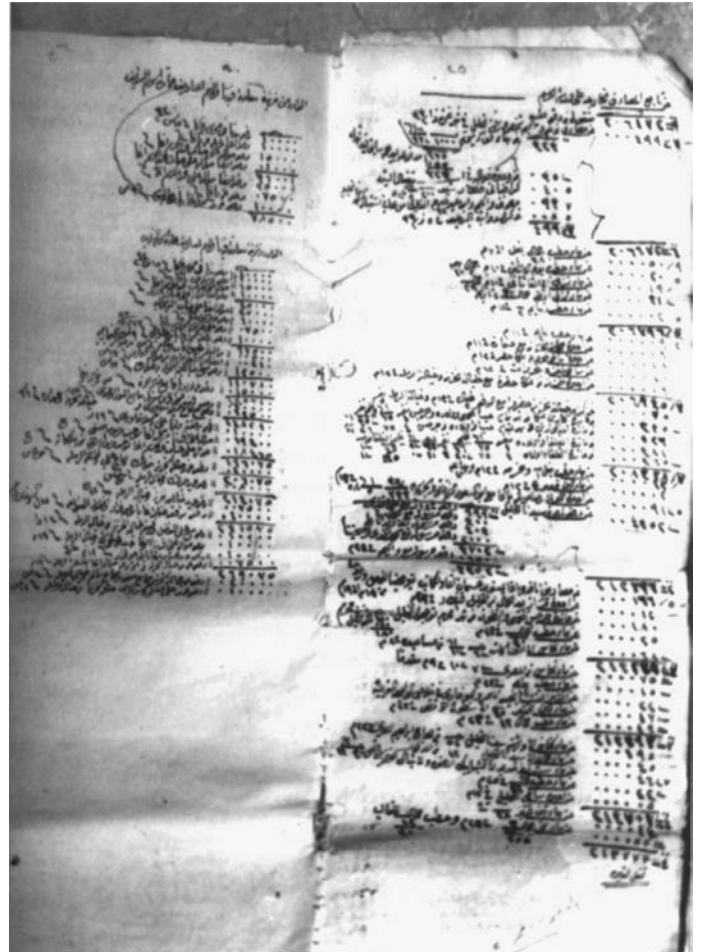
this way it was possible to know who was resident in each quarter, who had moved into it recently and who had left, as a means of protecting the morals and safety of all the residents. The documents usually started as follows: 'the names of the inhabitants of the Bab al-Qattanin, *shaikh* of the Quarter 'Abd al-Mun'am, House of ibn Su'd, [House of] Khalili Muhammad al-Mahruq, [House of] Kamal al-Hammami ...' (Sijill 10: 216). It is recorded at the end of this document that if it was discovered that one of the guarantors was a criminal, a prisoner or an adulterous woman, the wife of the person standing surety (i.e., the *shaikh* of the quarter's spouse) would be divorced and the *shaikh* would pay 10,000 'uthmanis to the *amir* of Jerusalem (Sijill 12: 441-59).

These documents allow a decision to be taken on the approximate number of inhabitants of Jerusalem at the time the document is recorded, if the number of households is multiplied by a factor of six. Based on the census that took place in December 1538 (Sijill 10: 170), the population of Jerusalem was 4,344, of whom 400 were Jews and 335 were Christians. From another document dated 1553, it is learned that the number of Jewish households paying taxes was 89; this gives a figure of 534 inhabitants. At that time there were a greater number of Christians—97 households or 582 people (Sijill 27: 54). By 1572 the number of Jews had increased to 110 households, or 690 people (Sijill 55: 207). Even though these statistics do not provide precise numbers, they do give an approximate idea about the size of the overall population of the city at a specific time.

The *sijills* also contain a good deal of information about the life stories of a large section of the population—their trades and work, the various stages of their lives, how some families prospered while others declined. Perhaps surprisingly, the documents also provide information on homosexuals (Sijill 10: 596). Among other diverse topics recorded in the *sijills* there is information on a rubbish dump located near the Khawalida neighbourhood (which had been an endowment since the Mamluk period—Sijill 10: 270), on cemeteries, on a furnace for producing glass

(Sijill 10: 266), and on the exchange of property through sale and purchase.

In conclusion, I hope that a project can be undertaken to index these *sijills* in a scholarly manner so that more information is available in a properly documented way about this region that is of such concern to so many peoples of the world.



Pl. 10.1 Document relating to the restorations (1232-1234/1816-1818) on Haram al-Sharif by order of Sultan Mahmud II (Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa document no. 926/927: 25-26)

APPENDIX 10.1

See pl. 10.5.

A document of restorations connected with the Khan al-Wakala, the Khan of Charcoal, and the ablution fountain of the Haram al-Sharif taken from Sijill 13: 194

In the presence of our lord and master, the Chief Qadi Salih ibn al-Qudwa al-Zaini, the master of Jerusalem and Hebron, there attended the master Muhammad son of the master Khalil ibn 'Alayan, the lessee of the Khan al-Wakala, and Hajj Ibrahim known as al-Fashkha al-Shuwaiki, the lessee of the Khan of Charcoal in Jerusalem, both part of the endowment of the al-Aqsa Mosque, and who complained about the two *khan*s mentioned above because they were derelict, and that any income from them had ceased because of the ruins. At that our lord brought Muhammad Çelebi ibn al-Dazdar, the inspector of the two noble sanctuaries, and mentioned to the *qadi* referred to above what the two lessees had reported, and they agreed to go to the two places mentioned above to see what restorations were necessary. At that the *qadi* went in the company of the deputy inspector of the Haram al-Sharif, Hamza Çelebi Yaziji of the noble endowment; Chief Qadi Sa'di Muhammad son of al-Muhandis al-Hanafi; Shaikh Abu 'l-Diya' Musa al-Dairi al-Hanafi, the Imam of the Dome of the Rock, Qadi Shams al-Din ibn al-Masri, the Director of the Noble Waqf; the trader Sa'd al-Din ibn Rabi'; the *shaikh* of the masters of the merchants in Jerusalem; Qasim the son of the assistant inspector of the Haram of Jerusalem, and other Muslims; and the Master Badr al-Din Husain ibn Nammar, the master architect in Jerusalem, in order to assess what the two places mentioned above needed by way of necessary restoration. The master Husain the architect assessed in the presence of our masters mentioned above the cost of what the Khan al-Wakala needed, especially the price of mortar and stones, the wages of the masters and workmen, the price of *qusurmil*, panels for the storerooms, nails and food, etc. at 9,500 *'uthmanis*.

In detail:

The lower supporting part of the arches in the northern arcade—160.

The construction of the north wall from the side of the derelict mosque—500.

The assessment of the vaults of the two derelict cells above the *khan* on the west side—400.

The construction of the wall close to the two houses of al-'Amidi—80.

The repairs of the north large arcade—300.

The repairs of the latrines in the *khan*—300.

The transportation of the plaster for the repair of the east wall—1,400, including the price of the stone and the restoration of the south wall above the *khan*.

The repair of the derelict mosque and the storerooms—500.

The price of 70 *qintars* of mortar at the rate of repairing the side mentioned above—1,500.

The price of 500 loads of *qusurmil* and the wages of the plasterer of the *qusurmil*, the gap-filler and the sealer—1,250 *'uthmanis*.

Assessment of the doors at the rate of the storerooms for the *khan* with 40 doors—1,060 *'uthmanis*.

The repair of the two cisterns in the *khan* and removal of the rubbish—250 [*'uthmanis*].

The assessment for the *khan* of Charcoal mentioned above totalled 3,750 *'uthmanis* according to the specifications:

The rate of restoration of the upper and lower storerooms—800.

The assessment of the repair of the latrines—300.

The price of *qusurmil*—750.

The wages of the plasterer of the *qusurmil*—500.

The cost of 20 *qintars* of mortar—500.

The cost of ten doors according to the rate of the storerooms—400.

The assessment of the wall shared by the *khan* and Qadi Sa'd al-Din al-'Alam—500.

After the completion of that, the *qadi* and our lords mentioned above and the master Husain the architect mentioned above went to the ablution fountain of the noble Aqsa Mosque and inspected the circular column and the repairs that it needed—the cost of the plaster of the *qusurmil* and construction of the rooms of the latrine—and the master Husain assessed the cost of these repairs at 7,000 *'uthmanis* according to the specifications:

For repairs to the columns and roofing of the two vaults and latrines—3,000.

The plaster of the *qusurmil*, gap-filling and sealing for all the roofs and surfaces of the reservoir.

The construction of the windows for the latrines and removing the rubbish, etc.—1,000 *'uthmanis*.

The grand total of what was assessed on the site specified above for the assessment of the master mentioned above was 20,250 *'uthmanis*.

At that the Qadi mentioned above permitted the Inspector of the two Harams mentioned above to authorise the expenditure of the amount specified above for the repair of the sites mentioned above from the funds of the above-mentioned endowment. And that after that the beneficiaries of the noble endowment came before him and witnessed that the repairs were necessary and that the repair was good and to the benefit of the endowment and of the beneficiaries of the endowment. Legal permission was granted by the inspector of the Two Harams and legal acceptance by the legal means took place in Muharram 948/27 April 1541. The witnesses at the time of its writing: Our lord, the most learned Shaikh Sharaf al-Din al-Dairi, Shaikh Shams al-Din al-Rumi, Shaikh Fakhr al-Din al-Ghanimi, Shaikh Ahmad ibn al-Junaidi, Rajab, the interpreter, 'Ali the trustee and other Muslims.



Pl. 10.2 Tiles, some dated 1233/1817, manufactured in Jerusalem from the restorations of Sultan Mahmud II (Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa collection)



Pl. 10.3 An example of the poor script encountered in the Jerusalem *sijills* (Sijill 1A: 299-300).



Pl. 10.4 The section on coinage from Islamic Heritage Sijill 21.



Pl. 10.5 Appendix 1 document, Sijill 13.194.

Chapter 11

THE *WAQFS* OF THE TRADITIONAL FAMILIES OF JERUSALEM DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Mohammad 'Ali 'Alami

The history of the traditional Muslim families of Jerusalem after the Crusades appears to be inseparable from the history of the Sunni religious establishment. This intimate association can be discerned in the numerous works of bibliographers and historians of the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras. The Shari'a Court documents of Jerusalem and the private family papers of the Ottoman period confirm this relationship and illustrate how, throughout, members of the traditional families formed the backbone of the local Sunni institutions. This phenomenon was not unique to Jerusalem; it occurred elsewhere in Palestine, in Hebron and Ramla for example, as well as in towns as diverse as Damascus, San'a' and Fez. Indeed, the association appears to have been prevalent throughout the geographical and historical domain of Sunni Islam.

The prerequisite of continuity for these families was a sufficient degree of stability in the home town and to some extent in the region as a whole. In this respect, Muslim urban society in Palestine enjoyed a varied history on either side of the historical divide marked by the Crusades. With the advent of the Crusades, however, the entire Muslim urban society was dismantled by a combination of mass slaughter, expulsion and migration. The only scanty Muslim presence permitted appears to have been confined to beneficial elements such as passing traders, who were subjected to taxation, and to officials enlisted to serve the Crusader kingdoms—tax collectors, plantation overseers in neighbouring villages, low-ranking administrators and menial workers. These were employed out of necessity to alleviate the almost perennial manpower shortages of these kingdoms. The Muslim society they formed must have been that of a subservient minority

largely preoccupied with survival in a hostile environment.¹ Family mythology apart, the researcher into the history of the traditional families of later eras can hardly find any viable historical evidence that links these families to ancestors who inhabited Crusader towns. The traditional families of Jerusalem and other Palestinian towns seem to have been entirely recreated in the post-Crusader period.

The available records, however, indicate a different attitude among the Crusader rulers towards the rural population. Entire Muslim villages survived in the Jabal Nablus and Galilee regions. Little is known of the fate of other villages in the south. The Crusader kingdoms appear to have relied to a considerable extent on the Muslim villages for food production to supply their walled towns

¹ Studies appear to indicate that, faced with severe shortages of manpower, the Crusaders concentrated their human resources within walled towns such as Jerusalem, Acre and Tyre. It is extremely unlikely that they would have permitted Muslims who were of no benefit to them to dwell within these strongholds. Even those few Muslims in Tyre who had been allowed to return after the initial conquest, as recorded by Ibn al-Qalanisi and quoted subsequently by Ibn Taghri Birdi in his account of the year AH 496, must have been small in number. The eyewitness accounts of Ibn Jubair (n.d.) and his astute observations of life in rural Muslim villages are widely quoted. Prawer (1963; Ben-Ami 1969: 153) estimates that there were some 1,200 agricultural villages in the Holy Land, whose population amounted to some 250,000, the overwhelming majority of them being Muslim. The entire Frankish population concentrated in the cities has been estimated at 100,000-120,000, with the numbers in Jerusalem at 20,000. For further reading see Ibn Taghri Birdi 1963, Ibn Jubair n.d., Runciman 1951, Aharon 1969, Prawer 1963, Mayer 1984.

and armies. Villages were apparently required to pay taxation in the form of specified amounts of agricultural produce, regardless of the decline in the rural population as a result of desertion or migration. Nevertheless, the Muslim village community was otherwise largely left to its own devices with some measure of religious freedom. This is evidenced by the way that the Sunni Hanbali school flourished during the Crusader period in the Jabal Nablus area.² It is noteworthy that the ancestors of several town families resident in Ayyubid and later eras, including those of Damascus, Jerusalem and Nablus, can be traced to villages within this area that came under Crusader rule. These included the Shafi'i Banu Ghanim family, which originated from the village of Burin near Nablus (Mujir al-Din 1973, 2: 146); and the Hanbali Ja'fari family (better known by the names 'Hanbali' and 'Hashim' in contemporary Nablus), which originated from the neighbouring village of Jama'il (contemporary Jama'in). This village also produced the Banu Qudama and Aulad ibn Abi 'Umar, who fled Crusader rule to settle in al-Dair at the foot of the Qasyun mountain in Damascus. These families were instrumental in the revival of the Hanbali *madhhab* in Damascus. The Hanafi Aulad al-Dairi family of Mamluk Jerusalem (the contemporary Khalidi family) probably originated from neighbouring Dair Istiya, south of Nablus.³

With the advent of the Ayyubids, Sunni Islam was vigorously and intensively re-established by Salah al-Din as the state creed with the prime objective of eradicating Fatimid Shi'ite institutions. The *sunna* was also an effective medium used by the Ayyubids and early Mamluks to concentrate opinion and strengthen morale in order to combat the Christian Crusades. The Ayyubids favoured the Shafi'i creed and elevated it to the position of the senior school of the *sunna*. The Bahri Sultan Baibars, the effective founder of the Mamluk state, went further when he formally institutionalised the four Sunni creeds and assigned an official order of seniority: Shafi'i, Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali respectively. This institutionalisation

was first applied to Egypt and was later extended elsewhere, including Jerusalem. This had the effect of a proliferation of religious posts that were paid, as each creed was assigned its own *qadi*, *mufti*, *imam*, scholars and so forth.⁴ The championship of the *sunna* was viewed by all Mamluk sultans as highly beneficial in offsetting the awareness that they had been born non-Muslim and only later converted to the faith. As distinct from the Shi'ite Safavid state to the east and the predominantly Shafi'i Mamluks to the south, the Ottomans of Asia Minor strongly upheld the Hanafi creed. It needs to be emphasised, however, that the Ottoman attitude towards the three other Sunni creeds was generally tolerant—at worst it was indifferent, but never oppressive. The Ottomans maintained this attitude during their rule of Greater Syria and Egypt after they brought about the fall of the Mamluks at Marj Dabiq in 922/1516.

The form in which the *sunna* was re-established and consolidated by the Ayyubids and Mamluks and later maintained by the Ottomans was such that it remained dependent on the state. It certainly was neither centralised nor profoundly hierarchic, as was the Christian church in medieval Europe. In essence, it was composed of institutions identifiable by function: the Shari'a courts, control and administration of *waqfs*, servicing of mosques, religious schools, sufi *zawiyas*, and so forth, with provision for some educational and health services. These involved not only spiritual functions but also financial and administrative management of these institutions and their related *waqfs*. All major appointments were made by the state and as such were used to extend control and influence. It is thus hardly surprising that the Sunni Muslim state rarely witnessed a coherent challenge of substance to its authority by the nascent Sunni establishment. On the contrary, whenever the Muslim state was strong and stable, the Sunni establishment and its institutions were in turn vibrant and effective.

² Some insight into the life of the three Hanbali families of Banu Qudama, Ja'fari and Aulad ibn Abi 'Umar in the village of Jama'il during the period of Crusader rule is given by Ibn Tulun (1980: 67-76) who described their flight to Damascus. Further information may be obtained from relevant biographies of Hanbali scholars, e.g. Ibn Rajab (1953), who begins his Book 2 with an account of al-Hafiz 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari, who died in 600 AH. Al-Ja'fari was a renowned *hadith* scholar, who was born in Jama'il during the Crusader period. The book gives an account of the numerous descendants of the three families cited.

³ Mujir al-Din (1973, 2: 221), in his account of Qadi al-Qudat Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muslih al-Dairi al-Khalidi, states that al-Khalidi was born in al-Dair near Nablus in about 750 A.H. It is likely that Mujir al-Din meant Dair Istiya.

⁴ Ibn Taghri Birdi (1963 Book 7, account of year AH 658) states that this tradition was adopted in AH 663 and evolved out of protest against the presiding *qadi*, Qadi al-Qudat al-Shafi'i, who was overworked. Ibn Taghri Birdi also noted that Hanafi *qadis* were common in Egypt during the period of Fatimid rule. Al-Maqrizi, however, in his account of the year AH 663 states that the chief *qadis* (*qadi al-qudat*) for each of the Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali *madhhabs* were appointed three years earlier, in AH 660. Mujir al-Din (1973: 87) states that this tradition was extended to Syria in AH 664. He adds that the first Hanafi and Hanbali *qadis* were appointed to Jerusalem in AH 784, followed by the appointment of a Maliki judge in AH 802. He notes that all *qadis* were appointed to Jerusalem from Damascus until the year AH 800. Thereafter the appointments were made from Cairo. Mujir al-Din (1973: 32) explains that the four *madhhabs* each had their own *imam* to conduct prayers and in addition each was traditionally allocated a different location in the main mosques of Jerusalem and Hebron.

The financial base for maintaining Sunni institutions, particularly in Jerusalem and Hebron, was largely laid early in the post-Crusader era. By 690/1291 (the final fall of Acre) all Palestine had been recaptured. Scores of villages, plantations, groves and valuable urban property passed into the hands of the conquering sultans. The majority of these were made into *waqfs* to finance the various mosques, schools, *zawiyas* and so forth. The three main mosques in Jerusalem and Hebron were privileged with huge *waqfs* which included revenues from nearly a score of villages. Major institutions such as the Ayyubid Salahiyya Shafi'i *madrasa*, the Sufi Khanqah al-Salahiyya, the Salahiyya *maristan* (hospital), and the Nabi Musa shrine (near Jericho) were particularly well endowed. The Bahri and Burji Mamluk periods also witnessed the foundation of a multitude of *waqfs*, mainly for the benefit of newly-founded religious schools. However, despite the long reign of the Ottomans, the major public *waqfs* of their era were relatively few in number and included those of the Khassaki Sultan (also known as the 'Imarat al-Amira), Nabi Da'ud on Mount Zion, and the As'adiyya Zawiya on the Mount of Olives.

The fact that Sunni institutions were financed by revenues from specific *waqfs* contributed significantly to their long-term stability and continuity. Generally, the Ottomans, Mamluks and Ayyubids exercised genuine respect for the integrity and survival of their own Sunni *waqfs* in Jerusalem, as well as those of their Sunni predecessors. This is in sharp contrast to the deliberately detrimental treatment meted out by the Ayyubids towards the Shi'ite Fatimid *waqfs* in Egypt. Furthermore, throughout the period of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks and most of the time under Ottoman rule, the majority of *waqfs* did not suffer from any deliberate attempt to lay hands on wealthy endowments by means of the misuse of *shari'a* rules governing the transfer of *waqf* property and assets. The *fiqh* of *waqf* allows, under certain strictly defined circumstances, for the exchange of *waqf* property with non-*waqf* assets, for example by way of the rules governing *badal* and/or *istibdal*. Elsewhere, however, numerous cases of misuse of these rules were recorded. In Mamluk Egypt, for example, the widespread collusion of the official Ustadar Jamal al-Din (752/812) with hastily appointed *qadis* helped to sanction the exchange of huge and rich *waqf* assets for the personal benefit of the then-reigning Sultan al-Nasir Faraj.⁵ A few centuries later, in order to be able to implement his land reforms, the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad 'Ali Pasha also resorted to unprecedented methods to bring vast *waqf* lands under his own control.

In effect, each Sunni institution and its related *waqfs* was a single administrative and financial entity, initially managed in many (if not the majority of) cases by a renowned scholar or illustrious religious personality. This management was usually—but not exclusively—granted to descendants of the original administrator by way of a sultan's decree emanating from the seat of political authority (Cairo or Istanbul), following a petition by the individual(s) concerned and occasionally backed by the local Sunni leaders of the town. The decree was given the seal of approval, as a mere formality, by the local *qadi*, who authorised its registry in the Shari'a Court Register. The manner in which the management was passed on to descendants was in most, if not all, cases such that the male offspring of a deceased official would acquire all the responsibilities and privileges of the vacant office. This procedure had over the years tended to empower the family concerned and to associate it with a particular Sunni institution. The association was very beneficial to these families; in addition to the prestige, the related religious and administrative posts provided paid and secure jobs and in most cases free (or very cheap) secure accommodation. As will be elaborated below, the long-term control of these *waqfs* by the traditional families enabled many of them to acquire benefits such as long-term leases of valuable *waqf* assets. In time some of these leases were transformed into private assets or brought under the control of private *waqfs*. It is worth noting that during most of the Ottoman rule, particular major public *waqfs* came directly under the close supervision of state officials. These included those of the Aqsa and Hebron mosques as well as of the Khassaki Sultan. Other less significant public *waqfs* were usually left to the supervision of local religious officials. Family and private *waqfs* were rarely interfered with and their supervision was left to descendants and beneficiaries in accordance with the *waqf* conditions and the discretion of the *qadi*.

The Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods saw the establishment of some five dozen religious schools in Jerusalem. Mujir al-Din (1973, 2: 33-49) gives a good account of those founded during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras. His record indicates that at least a dozen religious schools were established by the Ayyubids, some three dozen by the Bahri Mamluks, and about another dozen schools by the Burji Mamluks. Admittedly these schools and their related *waqfs* varied in size, prestige and wealth, but nevertheless their number clearly indicates the tremendous interest that the Bahri Mamluks had in Jerusalem and demonstrates their financial support for these Sunni institutions. It is thus hardly surprising that many of the city's illustrious traditional families rose to eminence during the Mamluk era. These include the Shafi'i Kinani Banu Jama'a, who originated from Hama in Syria (the contemporary Khatib and Afifi families), the Hanafi

⁵ Al-Maqrizi gives many examples of the expropriation of *waqf* assets during the Mamluk period; see for example his account of certain quarters and houses in Cairo (1973, 2: 49-55).

Aulad al-Dairi (the Khalidi family), the Shafi'i Aulad Abi'l-Lutf al-Haskafi, who originated from Hisn Kaifa in modern Kurdistan (the contemporary Jaralla family), the Hanafi (later Maliki) Aulad al-'Alam who probably came from Hisn Akkar near Tripoli (today's al-'Alami family who, contrary to widely-held views, do not appear to have Moroccan origins), Aulad Nusaibeh al-Khazraji (now known simply as the Nusaibeh family), the Shafi'i Aulad Qadi al-Salt (today's Imam al-Hussaini), Aulad Abi'l-Wafa (the Hussaini family), Aulad Abi Rabi' (the 'Asali family), Ibn Abi Sharif (the Kamal family), Nashashibi, Banu Ghudaia (the contemporary families of Yunis Hussaini, Judih, Bazbazat), al-Sa'di al-Maliki (the Hijazi, Muna and so forth), Aulad al-Hamidi (probably today's Ansari) and Ibn Fityan (the Fityani). An explanatory note relating to the development of some family names is given in the footnote.⁶ With the exception of the 'Alamis, all available records indicate that the founding ancestor of each of the families named above was either a renowned scholar, a *qadi*

or a recognised religious personality or official. Atypically, the ancestor of the 'Alamis, the Hanafi Amir Musa ibn Sulaiman ibn al-'Alam, was governor of Jerusalem from 793-95/1391-93 (Mujir al-Din 1973: 164-5). But his descendant Nasr al-Din, who died in 877/1474, abandoned his administrative posts to join the religious establishment as a Hanafi deputy *qadi*.⁷

The opening few decades of Ottoman rule brought more families into eminence. It needs to be emphasised that many of these probably lived in, or were associated with, Jerusalem prior to the Ottoman conquest. The most notable of these are the Dajanis (descendants of the regionally famous *sufi*, Ahmad Dajani, of Nabi Da'ud fame, who died in 969/1562⁸), Ja'uni, and Aulad Nammar (who specialised as architects and surveyors to *waqf* institutions⁹). Soon afterwards other families became well established: Aulad al-Ma'arri (the Uwaida), Daqaq, Qutub (descendants of the prolific *sufi* author al-Qutub al-

⁶ *Family names.* The name forms of the traditional families, and the way that they developed, follow an identifiable pattern. During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, the form Aulad was used predominantly, for instance Aulad al-'Alam, Aulad al-Dairi, Aulad Abi'l-Lutf and so on. A few families took the older form of Banu, which was used by older families, for example Banu Ghanim, Banu Jama'a, Banu Qudama and so on. The Sunni *madhhab* of each family was invariably added, and this was noted to be the case even prior to the decision by Sultan Baibars to assign its own officials to each *madhhab*. During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, two titles were always added to the first name. The first was 'father of' (*abu*) and each was identified with a specific first name—for example every Muhammad was entitled Abu 'Abd Allah, Ibrahim was always Abu Ishaq, Sulaiman was always Abu Rabi' and 'Ali was always Abu'l-Hasan. The second title took the form of the attribute al-Din (the faith), which was again specific to each first name. Thus each Muhammad would be entitled Kamal al-Din (or Shams al-Din, or Nasr al-Din), each Ibrahim Burhan al-Din, each Sulaiman 'Alam al-Din, each 'Ali 'Ala' al-Din, and each Yusuf either Jamal al-Din or Salah al-Din. Ibn Taghri Birdi (in his account of the year AH 416) noted that the origin of these titles dated back to the early decades of the 5th century Hijri. It is most probable that the custom proliferated with the influx of large numbers of non-Arabs bearing Turcoman names, which occurred during the Saljuq migration eastwards at that time. It seems likely that this habit, with its emphasis on first names, provided a convenient Islamic cover for non-Arab second names. The habit was adopted rapidly by the indigenous population. It is almost certain that family names, such as al-'Alami, Shihabi and Kamal find their origins in the title forms by which their ancestors were addressed—for example, 'Alam al-Din Sulaiman, Shihab al-Din Ahmad, and Kamal al-Din Muhammad respectively.

At the beginning of the Ottoman rule, several developments in the form of names of the traditional families took place. The first was the gradual abandonment of the title relating to the Sunni *madhhab* of each family, including those of the Hanafi *madhhab*. By the end of the 11th century Hijri, all but a few families had abandoned this centuries-old tradition. The exceptions were some non-Hanafi families such as the Shafi'i Imam and Jaralla. Another development in the

form of names was the addition of the final letter *ya'*. Each name was thereby simplified by reducing it to a single word—thus Aulad al-Dairi al-Khalidi al-Hanafi became simply al-Dairi, and, subsequently, al-Khalidi; Aulad al-'Alam al-Maliki became al-'Alami. The fact that the official (and predominant) language of the seat of power (Istanbul) was non-Arab may explain the significant simplification of the family names which had previously been in use for some five centuries.

Early in the 12th century Hijri, and in an effort to confirm their link to or association with the Ashraf, some families changed their names completely. Thus, no less than three unrelated families adopted the name al-Hussaini—the Aulad Abi'l-Wafa became 'Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini; a branch of the Ghudaya's became Yunus al-Hussaini, and, later, the Aulad Qadi al-Salt became al-Imam al-Hussaini. Aulad al-Dairi abandoned their traditional name altogether, to become al-Khalidi in order to emphasise their claim to an association with the Sahabi Khalid ibn al-Walid. During the same period, the 'Alamis—without a change to their name—began to associate themselves with the 'Alamis of Fez, a well-established member of the Ashraf in Morocco who claimed descent from al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib through their ancestor, the *sufi* ibn Mashish who had been killed in 622 AH (al-Zarakli 1980 IV: 9). An example of this 'Alami line of descent can be found in al-Mihibi (n.d I: 218). However, al-Murtada al-Zubaidi made a clear distinction between the 'Alamis of Morocco and those of Jerusalem (Murtada al-Zubaidi 1966 VIII: 408).

⁷ Mujir al-Din (1973: 231), in his section on the Hanafi *qadis* of Jerusalem, states that Nasr al-Din ibn al-'Alam was the nephew of Qadi al-Qudat Sa'd al-Din al-Dairi. He hinted that the uncle encouraged Nasr al-Din to make the change, and to join the religious establishment.

⁸ Najm al-Din al-Ghazi (1979, 3: 120) provides the earliest account of Ahmad Dajani. It suggests that, together with Ibn Maimun and Ibn Araq, they were the most illustrious *sufis* of the region in the 10th century Hijri. It is probable that the name Dajani is a reference to the village Janiya, close to Ramalla, north of Jerusalem, which later evolved into Dajaniya.

⁹ The Shari'a Court Records (Ab 935 AH: 196, 329 amongst others) have references to a certain Hasan ibn Nammar as an architect/builder in Jerusalem.

Khalili), Qadamani, Aulad Zuhaiman/‘Abd al-Latif, Turjuman, Qutaina, Tirhi, Wahbah, Hujaij, and so forth. The Shihabis and Abu Su‘d, descendants of renowned Syrian families, established themselves as part of the Jerusalem upper religious society early in the 3rd century of Ottoman rule. Ibn Hubaish, who probably came from Acre late in the 12th century Hijri (the contemporary Budairi), joined the establishment soon afterwards. The smaller families of Darwish, Murad and Hallaq (all of Ottoman origin) settled in Jerusalem during the same period.

This list is not intended to be a complete account of the traditional families of Jerusalem. Although extensive, nevertheless it does not account for families belonging to the Maghribi community, nor the descendants of very active Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman families—for example, the Banu Ghanim (Ayyubid), Denkiz, Arghun (who may be the contemporary Rajabi), Tunbugha (perhaps the contemporary al-Saifi), all of whom were Mamluk families.

In their capacity as scholars, officials and administrators, the Muslim traditional families of post-Crusader Jerusalem represented a good example of consistent beneficiaries of public *waqfs*. Use of public and private *waqfs*, however, predates these families and can be traced back to the 1st century Hijri. Essentially, *waqf* has been an instrument for directing the benefits of an estate (property, plantation, books, etc.) to serve the purposes specified by the institutor, that is the *waqif*, who was the previous owner of the estate.¹⁰ In accordance with the Hanafi *madhhab* as practised in Ottoman Jerusalem, the *waqf* process irrevocably removed the right of ownership of *waqf* items from the institutor. Once *waqf* is ruled by the *qadi* as being valid and irrevocable (*sahih wa lazim*—the two rulings according to the practice of the Hanafi *madhhab* are inseparable), its stated purposes and

conditions as specified by the *waqif* carry the authority and protection of the *shari‘a* from the moment of inception and, more significantly, extend after the death of the *waqif*. This has proved to be one of the very limited means available to Muslims to control the benefits (but not ownership) of their wealth after death. Muslims are, however, permitted to assign up to a third of their estate to specific beneficiaries after their death by way of a declaration or will (*wasiya*) drawn up during their lifetime. In the absence of a *wasiya* or *waqf*, the estate is subjected to strict and well-defined laws of inheritance as stated in the Holy Qur‘an, elaborated by the Tradition of the Prophet, and explained in depth by what scholars have termed the ‘science of *fara‘id*’.

The Holy Qur‘an has no direct or specific ruling on *waqf* and the reported *hadith* (Tradition) of the Prophet Muhammad, claiming that he instituted a *waqf* of his own, lacks reliability and has never been substantiated. One such claim was made by al-Waqidi with respect to seven gardens in Madina (Gill and Kramers 1974: 624-28 and Abu Zahra 1391/1971: 4). However, though famous as a historian, al-Waqidi cannot be regarded as an *imam* of *hadith*. Moreover, his claim is not included in the collections of the Grand Imams of Tradition, such as al-Bukhari and Muslim. As with many major issues of *al-shari‘a*, the *waqf* rulings were formalised around the 3rd Hijri century when the opinions of the great men of *ijtihad*, including the founders of the four main Sunni creeds, were formulated. Generally, there has been a good measure of agreement amongst Shi‘ite and Sunni scholars regarding the function, general purposes and many of the major rules of *waqf*. Significant differences did, however, occur on some specific issues. These differences, which were not so much between Sunni and Shi‘ite scholars but within the *sunna* itself, reflect the subtle yet profound methods and approaches to *ijtihad* adopted by each of the four Grand Imams.¹¹ Major differences

¹⁰ The origins and rulings of *waqf* have been the subject of study by numerous authors and scholars. The concise treatment in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Heffening 1974: 624-28) provides a good introduction for non-Arabic readers. Specialised books, which have since become classics, on the subject appeared as early as the 3rd century Hijri—for example, Ahmad ibn ‘Umar al-Khassaf, who died in 261/875, *Ahkam al-Auqaf*, and Ibrahim ibn Musa (853-933/1449-1516), *al-Tarabils*, which has been extensively used by followers of the Hanafi *madhhab*. Modern books on the history of *waqf* in Jerusalem include Shaikh Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam al-Hussaini (who was for a long time until he retired *qadi* of the Shari‘a Court in Jerusalem), *Al manhal al-safi fi‘l waqf wa ahkamah* 1402/1982. One of the best modern treatments of *waqf*, its *fiqh* and arguments for and against reform rules in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon is al-Imam ibn Ahmad Abu Zahra, *Muhadarat fi‘l-waqf*, 1391/1971. This last book has been relied upon extensively to highlight the various differences in *waqf* rulings amongst the four main *Sunna madhhabs*.

¹¹ The Grand Imams of *ijtihad* in Sunni Islam were numerous and spanned many centuries. Although the *imams* of the four main *madhhabs* of the *sunna* are the ones most frequently quoted, others, who were no less original or outstanding in their thoughts, had a significant impact on the development of *sunna*. Examples of these are ‘Ali ibn Isma‘il al-Ash‘ari, founder of the Ash‘ari *madhhab* (260-324/874-936), ‘Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Sa‘d ibn Hazm, one of the great *imams* of the Dhahiriyya *madhhab* (384-456/994-728), Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Halim ibn Taimiyya (661-728/1263-1328), who, although he followed the Hanbali *madhhab*, was nevertheless a most influential and original *imam* of *ijtihad*. The four Grand Imams, generally regarded as the cornerstones of Sunni Islam, are: (a) Abu Hanifa (al-Nu‘man ibn Thabit) 80-150/699-767, born and died in Kufa; (b) Malik (Malik ibn Anas ibn Malik) 93-179/712-95, born and died in Madina; (c) al-Shafi‘i (Muhammad ibn Idris ibn al-‘Abbas) 150-204/767-820, born in Gaza and died in Egypt; and (d) Ibn Hanbal (Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hanbal) 164-241/780-855, born and died in Baghdad.

within the same creed also occurred, the most relevant of which were the contradictory opinions held by Abu Hanifa and his two disciples, Abu Yusuf and Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shaibani,¹² on the issue of the *lazim* of the *waqf*—its irrevocable nature. Then again differences occurred between Abu Yusuf and Abu'l-Hasan on the issue of instituting a *waqf* based on shared property, and also the self-assignment of the *waqif* as beneficiary. Yet in practice the final arbiter on opinions relating to *fiqh* of *waqf* was, as a mere formality, the *qadi*. During the Hanafi Ottoman rule (and very likely in previous eras as well), the *waqif* was not much concerned with matters of *fiqh* or the differences of opinion of the various *imams* as long as his prime objectives were achieved. These were that the *waqf* and its conditions as specified by the *waqif* were ruled as valid and irrevocable. Invariably, all investigated *waqfs* were found to be ruled as such by the *qadi*, and approved by the *mufti* and scholars.

Muslim scholars are in agreement that *waqf* is defined as a continuous form of charity directed for the benefit of everlasting and deserving causes, the Arabic definition being *al-waqf sadaqatun jariya 'ala jihat bir la tanqata*. Whereas the Holy Qur'an identifies many recipients worthy of charity (for example Sura 9: 60 'Repentance', *al-Taubah*), the *fiqh* of *waqf* gives full freedom of choice of recipients, provided they are in perpetual and deserving need of charity. To assign oneself exclusively, or a specified person or a descendant, as sole recipient is not considered valid as the requirement of each person would be terminated by death, or by the termination of the family, in the case of descendants. Even to name exclusively a specified mosque or religious school is not sufficient, as the physical existence of these might be discontinued by demolition. On the other hand, naming the poor is considered valid, as it has been assumed that they will always be present until 'God inherits the earth and everything on it.'

The rules of *fiqh* do not specify whether all recipients are simultaneously entitled to the benefits of *waqf*. Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of public and private *waqfs* are assigned a sequential order of entitlement, subject to the conditions laid down by the *waqif*. Again, as the relevant rules are unclear on whether each element of the sequence of beneficiaries ought to constitute in itself (or themselves) an everlasting recipient worthy of charity, the actual practice of *waqf* was designed only to ensure that the final recipient of the sequence be so. This very subtle

difference was astutely exploited by both public and private *waqfs*, resulting in tremendously significant consequences. Thus, in the great majority of *waqfs*, the sequence of beneficiaries consisted of one or more of the following elements: (1) the *waqif* during his lifetime; (2) all, or some, of his descendants or those of relatives or of a specified person; (3) the local mosque, religious school, *zawiya* etc.; (4) the poor. As explained earlier, the fourth element was always included to maintain validity. By mere convention, whenever the second element was included, the *waqf* was said to be 'private', otherwise it was said to be 'public'. It is of paramount importance to emphasise that the *fiqh* of *waqf* does not recognise this distinction and all relevant *shari'a* rules and regulations are equally applicable to both.

All known *waqfs* instituted in Jerusalem during Ottoman rule were registered within the town's Shari'a Court Records. The registration took the form of a transcribed copy of the original document made in the handwriting of the presiding court clerk. The registration in the great majority of cases took place very soon after the ruling by the *qadi* on the validity of the *waqf*. The original document was usually kept by the *waqif*. It carried the signature and stamp of the presiding *qadi* and usually the written and stamped approval of the *mufti* and, occasionally, those of senior religious scholars in the city. An example of an original *waqf* document (these are now scarce) is shown in pl. 11.1. Pl. 11.2 shows the corresponding court record of the same al-'Alami *waqf* dated 1136/1724.¹³ A copy of an earlier court record showing a much earlier *waqf*¹⁴ is shown in pl. 11.3. The court records also include the registration of a few *waqfs* of previous periods (less than fifty in number), and an equally low number of *waqfs* instituted in other towns during the Ottoman era.¹⁵

To date, there is no complete and reliable index to the Ottoman court procedures of the Jerusalem records. The earliest record (no. 1) dates to 936/1530. The author has examined and copied parts of a bound record entitled *Ab* with 350 pages, which dates to the previous year, 935/1529. Although some *waqfs* were identified there on pages 49, 72 and 189, record *Ab* was not investigated because of the difficulty in deciphering the script. The author has also examined and copied three other bound records, which carry no number. These include entries which date to the period 1126-28AH, 1128-31AH and

¹² The two Hanafi *imams*, Abu Yusuf and Abu'l-Hasan, are usually referred to as al-Sahiban. The former was Ya'qub ibn Ibrahim ibn Habib al-Ansari, born in Kufa and died in Baghdad, 113-182/731-798; the latter was Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Farqad, 131-189/748-804, who was born in the vicinity of Damascus and died in Rayy.

¹³ Jerusalem Shari'a Court (hereafter JSC) Record 218: 346, dated 1136/1724. *Waqif* Amina Ibnat Yahya, wife of Mustafa ibn Abi 'l-Wafa 'Alami.

¹⁴ JSC Record 16: 276, dated 951/1545. *Waqif* Sutaia Ibnat Ibrahim ibn al-'Alam.

¹⁵ For example, JSC Record 105: 757, dated 987/1579. *Waqif* Fakhr al-Din ibn 'Uthman ibn Sa'd al-Din ibn al-'Alam. This *waqf* was instituted in Damascus and re-registered in Jerusalem.

1135-38AH. None of these unnumbered records were found to contain transcriptions of *waqf* deeds. There are four hundred and fifteen numbered Ottoman records, which fill some 125,000 pages, with an average of four entries per page. Nevertheless, an index of Ottoman *waqfs* does exist in the form of a hand-written notebook compiled probably around AD 1919 by a court clerk, probably to be identified as Shaikh Ya'qub Afifi. This very valuable index lists the names of the institutors of *waqfs* and the relevant record and page numbers together with the date for each record and the name of the *qadi* who was presiding, presumably at the beginning of the period covered by the record. A copy of a page of this index is presented in pl. 11.4. The index covers all the Ottoman records which are numbered, with the last entry made by the *shaikh* in record 416 dated 1338/1919. The index has proved to be highly accurate, for it is still in current use in the Shari'a Court of East Jerusalem. Its reliability was ascertained by the author when more than 300 traditional family *waqfs* were investigated and copies retrieved from the court. The index has the added use of identifying a few multiple re-registrations of the same *waqf*, as well as incomplete copies of a few others. It also distinguishes between *waqfs* instituted by the *waqif* during his lifetime from those very few which were confirmed by the *qadi* and registered after death. Although this index was relied upon to identify *waqf* record and page numbers, the data relating to this study is based on a collection of some 300 *waqf* deeds retrieved in copy form, classified and entered on a computer.

Table 11.1 lists all known *waqfs* registered in Jerusalem during the Ottoman era. The data were extracted from the index described earlier. These *waqfs* have been classified to account for those instituted by each of the following social groups—traditional families, other Muslims, Christians, and Jews. *Waqfs* of non-Muslims were instituted in accordance with Sunni *shari'a* law in a manner identical to that employed for all other Muslim *waqfs*. The data presented in Table 11.1 unmistakably indicates that the instrument of *waqf* was extensively and consistently used by the traditional families, other Muslims, and Christians throughout the Ottoman period. The table also indicates that, prior to 1290/1873, there were few Jewish *waqfs*. This may partly be explained by the fact that the Jewish community in Jerusalem was small. However, and commensurate with the resurgence of modern Zionism, *waqf* as an instrument for confirming property rights, outright ownership or right of use, was much utilised by the migrating Jews who settled in Palestine after AD 1870. This use of *waqf* suddenly ceased with the start of the British Mandate in Palestine, which would suggest that other, more convenient, avenues for securing Jewish property rights were then made available by the new secular authority. The frequency of *waqfs* made by the Christian community, on the other hand, remained fairly consistent

throughout Ottoman rule, with a noticeable increase observed after 1250/1834. Again, as with the Jewish community, Christian *waqfs* ceased after the end of Ottoman rule in Palestine.

Table 11.1 indicates that the traditional families were persistent users of the instrument of *waqf* throughout the Ottoman period. It is noticeable that this usage declined significantly between 1280AH and 1320AH, which is in sharp contrast to the high frequency observed for the preceding century. A breakdown of *waqfs* of the traditional families is presented in Table 11.2, which is based on data relating to 306 *waqf* deeds involving some thirty-one traditional families established in Jerusalem for two or more centuries under Ottoman rule.

The above table lists both public and private *waqfs* for each family. It is clear that the instrument of *waqf* was not equally utilised by all thirty-one families. One family alone accounts for some 17 percent of the total, while the top six families account for 49 percent of the listed *waqfs*, and the top twelve families account for nearly 75 percent. It is significant that of the top six families, at least four were well established during the preceding Mamluk era. But this should be viewed with caution; although some 55 percent of the 306 *waqfs* belong to such pre-Ottoman families, some (for example the Khatib/Afifi, Ghudaia, Nashashibi and Nusaibeh families) have relatively few instituted during this period. It is therefore prudent not to assume that older families necessarily have more *waqfs*.

The act of instituting a *waqf* implies the *a priori* ownership of property. It follows that families and those members with a large number of *waqfs* must have been relatively wealthy. In an effort to study the source of this wealth, six families with large numbers of *waqfs* were investigated and the results are presented in tabular form. Table 11.3 indicates that of 142 *waqfs*, 124 were instituted by males, of which 33 were made by six individuals. All six were recorded as having held notable religious posts: *qadi*, *mufti*, chief court clerk, etc. Most male *waqifs* held religious posts or *tauliya* of a known and well-endowed public *waqf*. The 'Alamis held the *tauliya* of the *sufi* Khanqah, the Salahiyya *maristan*, the Hamra *madrasa* (located half-way down the Christian Quarter Road and mentioned by Mujir al-Din), and the Zawiya As'adiyya. The 'Alamis were also much associated with posts of *qadi* (or deputy) of the Shari'a Court, particularly in the first century of Ottoman rule. The Jaralla family were associated with the *tauliya* of the Salahiyya *madrasa* from the 8th century Hijri, as well as the important post of *mufti*. The Salahiyya *madrasa* was the Church of St Anne during the Crusader period, and was then transformed into the famous Shafi'i *madrasa* by Salah al-Din who endowed it with much revenue from different *waqfs*. In the 13th century Hijri, the school once more returned to being a church. The Hussainis associated themselves with the Afdaliyya School, the presidency of al-

Table 11.1
Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem
Waqf registrations at the Shari'a Court

Court records	1-15				15-73				74-128				129-191				191-209					
Period H	1.1.920-29.12.949				1.1.950-29.12.999				1.1.1000-30.12.1049				1.1.1050-29.12.1099				1.1.1100-29.12.1129					
AD	25.2.1514-4.4.1543				5.4.1543-17.10.1591				18.10.1591-21.4.1640				22.4.1640-24.10.1688				25.10.1688-3.12.1717					
DECADE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Trad. families				1	7	7	1	5	6	3	8	15	12	2	4	18	8	3	9	5	5	5
Other Muslim		10	33	47	50	56	38	31	55	45	58	53	37	28	29	27	32	31	18	23	22	
Christian				1	1	3	4	7	3	4	4	3	3	1	3	7	7	9	9	6	3	1
Jewish		1	2	1	1	1							1									
Total	0	11	37	56	61	62	50	40	62	57	76	69	40	35	54	42	44	49	29	31	28	
Court records	212-227				228-265				266-317				318-369				370-416					
Period H	1.1.1130-29.12.1149				1.1.1150-30.12.1199				3.11.1200-29.12.1249				1.1.1250-29.12.1299				1.1.1300-16.2.1338					
AD	4.12.1717-29.4.1737				30.4.1737-2.11.1785				3.11.1785-8.5.1834				9.5.1834-10.11.1882				11.11.1882-9.11.1919					
DECADE	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	
Trad. families	19	3	10	7	14	17	5	15	15	12	13	16	13	9	9	6	1	1	1	11	7	
Other Muslim	28	42	35	43	49	43	22	16	21	19	29	17	25	28	16	9	5	6	14	30	3	
Christian	1	4	6	2	2	2	4	2	3		3	4	13	13	6	11	6	27	9	3	4	
Jewish	1	1					1						2				13	85	110	104	49	
Total	49	50	51	52	65	62	32	33	39	31	45	37	53	50	31	26	25	119	134	148	63	
GRAND TOTAL	Traditional Families				Other Muslims				Christian				Jewish									
2128	328				1223				204				373									

Table 11.2
Ottoman Era in Jerusalem
Data Relating to waqfs of Six Traditional Families

	No.of waqfs instituted	Type of waqfs		Waqfs made by		Max. no. of waqfs made by one person	Earliest-latest	Total no. of property items shared and wholly owned	Waqfs involving books
		public	private	Males	Females				
‘Alami	53	15	38	47	6	8	951-1333/1545-1915	270	1
Khalidi	24	5	19	21	3	10	952-1321/1545-1903	99	2
Hussaini	22	4	18	21	1	6	985-1283/1577-1866	55	1
Jaralla	16	5	11	16	0	4	995-1134/1587-1722	20	4
Nammari	15	0	15	12	3	2	1060-1329/1650-1911	137	0
Imam	12	1	11	7	5	3	1007-1331/1599-1913	43	1
Total	142	30	112	124	18	33		624	9

	Plantations			Jerusalem town houses			Jerusalem town shops			Stables courtyards, ovens etc.
	Whole	Shared	Total	Whole	Shared	Total	Whole	Shared	Total	
‘Alami	15	15	30	16	46	62	16	127	143	35
Khalidi	4	3	7	19	22	41	10	16	26	25
Hussaini	5	9	14	17	4	21	4	7	11	9
Jaralla	5	5	10	4	3	7	1	0	1	2
Nammari	5	19	24	5	69	74	0	29	29	10
Imam	1	17	18	2	8	10	2	12	14	1
Total	35	68	103	63	152	215	33	191	224	82

Table 11.3 Frequency of Waqfs instituted by each of the traditional families of Jerusalem during the Ottoman era

'Alami*	Khalidi*	Hussaini*	Dajani	Jaralla*
53	24	22	21	16
Da'udi	Nammari	Ja'uni	'Asali*	Imam*
16	15	15	15	12
Qutub	Qutaina	Khatib/Afifi*	Owaida	Ansari
12	9	8	8	7
Al-Sa'di*	Hujaij	Nashashibi*	Ghudayya*	Shihabi
7	6	6	5	4
Budairi	Nusaibeh*	Others (9)		
4	2	19		

* Denotes the family as having been already well established in pre-Ottoman Jerusalem

Ashraf and, following the demise of the Jarallas (probably through the loss of many of their male members through illness),¹⁶ the post of *mufti*. The Khalidis were very closely associated with the posts of *qadi* (or deputy) and chief court clerk of the Shari'a Court. The Imams, as their name implies, were associated with the imamate of al-Aqsa Mosque, and also held the *tauliya* of the Aminiyya School and were closely associated with the Tashtimuriyya *zawiya*. The Nammari, on the other hand, were the official architects/surveyors/builders (*mi'mari bashi*) to public *waqfs* for most of the Ottoman period. Very few examples of non-religious professions could be deduced from the study of the *waqf* deeds of the families mentioned above. The most notable were the Haduta and Su'di branches of the 'Alami family who were involved in making soap, milling flour and plantation management. Some 'Asali *waqfs* were described as traders.

The above appears to suggest that, apart from a few exceptions (which would include the Khatib/Afifi and Ghudayya), those families with the closest continuous ties to important religious institutions and/or prominent posts tended over the long period of Ottoman rule to be the most frequent institutors of family *waqfs*. Apparently, the continuous benefits to these families that arose out of this relationship enabled many members to accrue a significant measure of wealth which they subsequently transformed into *waqf*. It is also significant that for some families a good proportion of the *waqf* elements (in this case property) was located in the vicinity of the institution that was being looked after by the relevant family. The best example of this is the 'Alami *waqfs* and the fact that many of their elements were concentrated in the Christian Quarter—that is, in the immediate vicinity of the Khanqah Salahiyya and the Hamra *madrassa*. Another example is the location of some Jaralla private *waqfs* near the Salahiyya *madrassa*. A third example is the identification of several items of Imam *waqfs* in the vicinity of the Tashtimuriyya *zawiya*.

An examination of some 300 family *waqf* deeds unmistakably indicates that the majority were based on items declared by the *waqif* to be his own. Nevertheless, a significant number of items, including major proportions of certain categories (for example plantations) were not so categorised. In many cases these were explicitly declared to belong to earlier *waqfs* and leased to the *waqif*. In the case of plantations, the item of *waqf* was referred to as *al-ghiras*, that is the planted trees, vines and so forth. In the case of property built on land that did not belong to the *waqif*, the instituted *waqf* referred to whatever was built on or added to the leased property.¹⁷ The close association of these families with previously instituted major public and private *waqfs* undoubtedly favoured their members in obtaining such long-term leases. This phenomenon merits closer attention and study as one of the avenues through which the assets of earlier Jerusalem *waqfs* were diverted. It needs to be emphasised that these avenues, which include long-term leases which had expired but were still maintained by their lessee, were used by Christians, Muslims and Jews alike.

The position of *fiqh* regarding the issue described above was not ambivalent. Early *imams* ruled that outright ownership of a property was deemed essential for the validation of a *waqf*. The Shafi'is, Hanbalis and Hanafis argued elegantly that as the process of *waqf* of an item implicitly removes the right of ownership of a property from the *waqif*, he or she cannot legally transform into *waqf* items which they do not own in the first place. Even in cases of shared ownership, those *imams* who sanctioned the process insisted that the *waqif* own the share to be made into *waqf*. Nevertheless, *waqfs* of the traditional families included numerous examples of non-owned items transformed by the *waqif* into *waqf*. The extreme case is two

¹⁶ Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini 1985, a biographical account of Muhammad Zain al-Arab al-Lutfi, shows on p.214 how in a short span of a few weeks no less than twelve male members of the family died through illness.

¹⁷ JSC Record 403: 283, dated 1098/1687. *Waqif* Abu'l-Wafa ibn 'Abd al-Samad al-'Alami, who leased parts of the Hamra' *madrassa* and made buildings added to the school into *waqf*.

¹⁸ JSC Record 280: 87. *Waqif* Musa ibn Muhammad al-Khalidi.

¹⁹ JSC Record 322: 235. *Waqif* Mustafa ibn Khalil al-Khalidi.

Khalidi *waqfs* (dated 1213/1799¹⁸ and 1255/1839¹⁹) in which the two *waqifs* explicitly described all the items of their *waqfs* as not being owned by them but leased to them long-term. Similarly, an earlier Khalidi *waqf* (952/1545²⁰) described most of its items—plantations in the vicinity of Jerusalem—as being long-term leases and, remarkably, stated that the original owners were the subjects of much earlier Ayyubid and Mamluk *waqfs*. Yet other examples (for example Khalidi 1255/1839, see note 19, and Hussaini 1249/1834²¹) show the *waqif* transforming into *waqf* leases of items previously made into *waqf* by ancestors of the same family. Many additional examples of non-owned items were noted in *waqfs* of other families. Some are listed below:

Plantations:	Nammari 1109/1697 ²²
	Imam 1230/1815 ²³
	Hussaini 1214/1799 ²⁴
Town Houses:	Nammari 1138/1726 ²⁵
	Nammari 1221/1806 ²⁶
	Imam 1228/1813 ²⁷
	Khalidi 1134/1722 ²⁸
Town Shops:	‘Alami 1098/1687 ²⁹
	Imam 1326/1908 ³⁰
	‘Alami 1318/1900 ³¹
Town Mills:	Hussaini 1035/1626 ³²
	Hussaini 1201/1787 ³³
Town Ovens:	Hussaini 1210/1796 ³⁴

The very fact that the traditional families

succeeded in the process described above reflects a significant measure of their power in their city. Other groups (Christians and Jews) followed suit during their period of increased influence, as was the case in the last century of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem. The process also gives credence to the general observation that considerations of some matters of *fiqh* were not always paramount to the *waqif*, the presiding *qadi* or indeed what was then the central seat of Sunni power, Istanbul. Yet it is also true, as will be discussed below, that the Hanafi Ottomans were very strict on some matters of form with respect to the process of rendering a *waqf* valid and irrevocable.

An unexpected finding of this study has been the very considerable role of partially owned property in *waqfs* instituted by the traditional families of Jerusalem. Of the total number of plantations (103), town houses (215) and shops (224) made into *waqfs* by the 6 families listed above, some 66 percent, 71 percent and 85 percent respectively were only partially owned by the *waqif* prior to the *waqf*. This indicates a considerable degree of fragmentation of property ownership in Ottoman Jerusalem. The *waqf* process could not but aggravate this fragmentation, as it was technically difficult for any outsider to buy *waqf* shares in the hope of consolidating the whole. Extreme, yet not uncommon, cases were encountered: two ‘Alami *waqfs* (1132/1908³⁵ and 1333/1915³⁶), in which less than a handful of the one thousand shares of total ownership of several Jerusalem shops were made into *waqf*. Again, the early *imams* of *fiqh* were not unanimous on this issue of shared ownership. The Malikis argued against it and, more significantly, the Grand Hanafi Imam Abu’l-Hasan Shaibani, whose opinions were much respected by the Hanafi Ottomans, was not in favour of this form of *waqf*. Nevertheless, the Hanafi *qadis* of Ottoman Jerusalem accepted the process and ruled it as valid.

The popularity of *waqf* amongst members of the traditional families must have been related to the success of this instrument in achieving certain purposes of the *waqif*. One advantage was outlined earlier—the confirmation of rights of use of property obtained through long-term leases and passing these rights to future beneficiaries named by the *waqif*. Another major purpose was the considerable freedom practiced by the *waqif* in guiding—and even defining—the benefits of his or her estate after death, without loss of control during their lifetime. An examination of 112 private *waqf* deeds of the 6 families indicates that in a hundred cases the *waqif* assigned himself during his lifetime as the sole beneficiary as well as the sole

²⁰ JSC Record 17: 66. *Waqif* Musa ibn al-Dairi (al-Khalidi).

²¹ JSC Record 318: 121. *Waqif* ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Salam al-Hussaini.

²² JSC Record 198: 85. *Waqif* Hibatallah ibn ‘Umar ibn Hasan ibn Nammari.

²³ JSC Record 298: 208. *Waqif* Muhammad Salih ibn ‘Abd al-Ghani ibn Qadi al-Salt (al-Imam al-Hussaini).

²⁴ JSC Record 281: 12. *Waqif* Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini.

²⁵ JSC Record 221: 301. *Waqif* Ibrahim ibn Hibatallah al-Nammari.

²⁶ JSC Record 288: 89. *Waqif* Musa ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Nammari.

²⁷ JSC Record 295: 232. *Waqif* Muhammad Salih ibn Muhammad ‘Abd al-Ghani ibn Qadi al-Salt (al-Imam al-Hussaini).

²⁸ JSC Record 218: 22. *Waqif* Muhammad San‘allah al-Khalidi.

²⁹ JSC Record 188: 118. *Waqif* Abu’l-Wafa ibn ‘Abd al-Samad al-‘Alami.

³⁰ JSC Record 402: 34. *Waqif* Zuhra ibnat Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam (al-Hussaini).

³¹ JSC Record 395: 52. *Waqif* ‘Abd al-Razzaq ibn Muhammad Yusuf al-‘Alami.

³² JSC Record 111: 157. *Waqif* ‘Abd Allah ibn Mahmud al-Hussaini.

³³ JSC Record 267: 154. *Waqif* Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini.

³⁴ JSC Record 277: 177. *Waqif* ‘Abd al-Latif ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini.

³⁵ JSC Record 402: 166. *Waqif* Khanum ibnat ‘Abd al-Qadr al-‘Alami.

³⁶ JSC Record 412: 224. *Waqif* Fatima ibnat As‘ad al-‘Alami.

controller (*mutawalli*) of the *waqf* in question. This confirms the clear impression that transforming property from private ownership into *waqf* did not necessarily jeopardise the control or influence of the *waqif*. Of the thirty public *waqfs* instituted by the same six families, the *waqif* assigned himself (or herself) as sole beneficiary and controller during his lifetime in only three cases. This reflects an ambivalent attitude towards the two types of *waqf* by these families; it seems as if private *waqfs* were instituted by the *waqif* for his (or her) own private purposes, while public *waqfs* appear to have had the more general charitable purposes originally outlined by *fiqh*. This may be further elaborated by investigating the controller (*mutawalli*) assigned by the *waqif* in each of the private and public *waqfs* of these families. It has been found that in the case of public *waqfs*, the *waqif* included *mutawallis* from outside his (or her) family, or in addition to his (or her) own descendants. In the case of private *waqfs*, the *waqif* usually assigned a member of his or her own family, and in most cases male descendants of male members. This finding confirms the observation made earlier about the distinct attitude towards each type of *waqf*.

Of the 112 private *waqfs* of the 6 traditional families under discussion, seventeen were instituted by females. Of these only five *waqfs* (29 percent) allowed male and female descendants of both males and females to benefit. Twenty-three private *waqfs* instituted by males, out of a total of ninety-five (24 percent), did allow such a distribution of benefits. However, in nearly all the other male- and female-instituted private *waqfs*, benefits were directed solely to the descendants of male descendants: that is, the male and female children of the *waqif* would benefit first, followed by only the descendants of their male descendants, *ad infinitum*. This deprivation of the descendants of females was found to be the case in nearly 75 percent of all private *waqfs* regardless of the gender of the *waqif*. Several extreme cases were noted whereby the male *waqif* of a private *waqf* directed the benefits of his *waqf* to the future male descendants of his own males, even though it was admitted that the *waqif* had no males of his own at the time of the institution of the *waqf*, but God willing, one or more would be forthcoming—for example, Imam 1328/1910,³⁷ Hussaini 1214/1799,³⁸ Khalidi 1216/1802,³⁹ ‘Alami 1069/1658.⁴⁰

Prejudicial attitudes towards the female gender were not, however, confined to the offspring of females of

male descendants. They also encompassed the female spouse. In the great majority of male-instituted private *waqfs*, hardly any benefits were assigned to the wife of the *waqif*. At best the wife (and unmarried daughters of male descendants) were merely granted the benefit of living in *waqf* houses. Even this privilege was conditional and was withdrawn whenever the widow (or unmarried daughters) chose to marry. The *shari‘a* most certainly does not rule against the remarriage of a widow. On the contrary, the *sunna* encouraged them to do so. In contrast a widow (and unmarried daughters) would fare much better if the estate of the *waqif* were not made into *waqf* but distributed in accordance with Muslim laws of inheritance. In normal cases, the widow would be entitled to one-eighth of the estate of her deceased husband.

It must be emphasised that not all male-instituted *waqfs* were biased against females and their descendants. Some, although only a minority, granted them benefits almost identical to those to which they would have been entitled if *shari‘a* rules of inheritance were applied—for example, Budairi 1205/1790,⁴¹ Jaralla 1076/1666,⁴² Khalidi 1245/1829,⁴³ ‘Alami 960/1553.⁴⁴ However, all but two Nammari *waqfs* (1139/1727⁴⁵ and 1329/1911⁴⁶) were heavily biased in favour of descendants of males. It is interesting to note the effect that this attitude had on old family trees kept by the traditional families. The great majority of these did not include female descendants, the names of wives, or the names of male descendants with no male offspring. This observation suggests that family trees were largely maintained for the purposes of distributing *waqf* benefits. In this way, only those entitled to a share would be included in a family tree, with females only included (as in the case of the Budairi tree) where this would be applicable. Unfortunately, wives’ names were found to be absent from all the trees investigated by the author, who studied a score of them relating to Jerusalem families.

This attitude towards females was to some extent a reflection of the male-dominated Muslim society of Ottoman Jerusalem. The relevant rules and opinions of the early Grand Imams were, however, very clear on this issue. Any condition laid down by the *waqif* which had the disguised purpose of circumventing *shari‘a* laws, including

³⁷ JSC Record 403: 132. *Waqif* Muftiya ibnat Yusuf ibn Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam al-Hussaini.

³⁸ JSC Record 281: 12. *Waqif* Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hussaini.

³⁹ JSC Record 283: 118. *Waqif* Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad San‘allah al-Khalidi.

⁴⁰ JSC Record 156: 65. *Waqif* Mustafa ibn ‘Uthman ibn al-‘Alam.

⁴¹ JSC Record 272: 147. *Waqif* Muhammad ibn Budair.

⁴² JSC Record 166: 191. *Waqif* Jamal al-Din Yusuf ibn Radi al-Din ibn Abi‘l-Lutf (Jaralla).

⁴³ JSC Record 313: 119. *Waqif* Khaldiya ibnat Mahmud al-Khalidi.

⁴⁴ JSC Record 27: 441. *Waqif* Sa‘d al-Din ibn Taqi al-Din ibn al-‘Alam.

⁴⁵ JSC Record 221: 410. *Waqif* Isma‘il ibn Hibatallah al-Nammari.

⁴⁶ JSC Record 403: 337. *Waqif* ‘A‘isha ibnat Muhammad Hasan al-Nammari.

those governing inheritance, was not valid. Some *imams* went further and ruled that the entire *waqf* in such cases was null and void. The responsibility for ensuring the observance of *shari'a* laws rested with the presiding *qadi*. In practice, the *waqf* deeds investigated here indicate a very lenient attitude which was compliant with the wishes of the *waqif*. This may be illustrated with respect to one aspect of Hanafi *fiqh*. The Grand Imam Abu Hanifa granted that, as in a *wasiya* (will), the *waqif* was freely allowed to direct benefits of a *waqf* involving up to a third of his wealth. It follows that it was the responsibility of the would-be Hanafi *waqif* to make a declaration as to the extent of his estate to ensure that no more than a third was committed to the *waqf*. The author has ascertained that not a single *waqf* deed has been found to contain such an explicit account of the full extent of the estate of the *waqif*. It has also been noted that no request or command to this effect, explicit or implicit, was made by the presiding *qadi*.

Between 922/1522 and c. 1025/1615, *waqfs* were generally instituted in a form that would be acceptable to the *madhhab* of the presiding *qadi*, in a similar way as those prevailing in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods—for example, Maliki *qadi* on Maliki 'Alami *waqif* 960/1533,⁴⁷ Shafi'i *qadi* on Hanafi Khalidi 954/1547.⁴⁸ After this period all the *qadis* appointed in Jerusalem were Hanafis. More significantly, all *waqfs*, regardless of the *madhhab* of the institutor, took a particular Hanafi form, which may cause confusion to the casual reader unless some explanation is given. It was noticed, for example, that a Jaralla *waqif*, who was *mufti* of the Shafi'is in Jerusalem and who had instituted his *waqf* in the earlier form (1031/1622),⁴⁹ had to reinstitute the same *waqf* again in the new form the following year (1032/1623).⁵⁰

The Imam Abu Hanifa ruled that *waqf* was not irrevocable except in three cases—(i) that of a mosque or well-recognised public utility (for example, a cemetery); (ii) *waqfs* produced in the form of a *wasiya* (will); and (iii) where, following an argument which involved diverse opinions of *fiqh*, the presiding *qadi* ruled irrevocably in favour of the general benefit of Muslims. All *waqfs* dating after 1025/1622 were invariably found to be ruled valid and irrevocable only in line with the third case. The technique for achieving this was noted to be the same in all *waqf* deeds. After instituting his *waqf* in the presence of a *qadi*, the *waqif* would hand over his or her relevant *waqf* deeds to a temporary *mutawalli* (administrator). The *waqif* would then rescind his *waqf* and feign to quarrel with his *mutawalli*

amidst an exchange of diverse arguments of *fiqh*. When both appealed to the presiding *qadi* for a ruling, the judge would intervene and invariably side with those arguments of the *mutawalli* in favour of the validity and irrevocability of the *waqf*. The *qadi* usually then dismissed the *mutawalli* and assigned the *waqif* in his place. It is worth pointing out that in order to declare a *waqf* by the *waqif*, the presence of the *qadi* was unnecessary according to most schools of all the *madhhabs*. The *qadi*'s presence was, however, necessary in the case of a ruling on a dispute, even a feigned one, thus ensuring the subsequent validity and irrevocability of the *waqf*.

In line with their scholarly origins and religious posts, the traditional families of Jerusalem maintained private libraries of varying sizes. The number of *waqfs* instituted by the six families investigated can be quoted in evidence; these involved manuscripts, books, notebooks and even astronomical tools. Nine *waqfs* were identified. Another *waqf* (Khalidi 1322/1904)⁵¹ assigned its benefits solely for the upkeep of the renowned Khalidi Library at the Bab al-Silsila. Undoubtedly the *waqf* of the *mufti*/scholar Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif (Hussaini 1201/1787)⁵² contained the largest number and most varied titles. A part of this *waqf* is shown in pl. 11.5. The Jarallas had four *waqfs* of books, which included religious, linguistic and other titles, instituted within the short span of thirty-two years (995–1028/1587–1619).⁵³ This reflected the scholarly pursuits of the *waqifs* commensurate with the post of *mufti* held by this family until the early 12th century Hijri. Interestingly, an 'Alami *waqf* (1116/1698)⁵⁴ included in addition to books a number of astronomical instruments and equipment to measure time.

This study is largely based on the *waqfs* of six families. A reading of a hundred *waqf* deeds of other Jerusalem families nevertheless indicates that the findings described here are both representative and significant. Generally, members of the traditional families tended to use *waqf* as a tool primarily for private as opposed to public and strictly charitable purposes. It is clear that the control of the *waqf* wealth during their lifetime was not jeopardised by the process. On the contrary, this tool was used to

⁴⁷ JSC Record 27: 441. *Waqif* Sa'd al-Din ibn Taqi al-Din ibn al-'Alami.

⁴⁸ JSC Record 19: 45. *Waqif* Zain al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din 'Abd Allah al-Dairi (al-Khalidi). Note the approval of the practising Shafi'i *qadi* of the verdict of the Hanafi *qadi*.

⁴⁹ JSC Record 105: 500. *Waqif* Ishaq ibn 'Umar ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

⁵⁰ JSC Record 105: 725. *Waqif* Ishaq ibn 'Umar ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

⁵¹ JSC Record 397: 245. *Waqif* Raghib Nu'man Raghib al-Khalidi.

⁵² JSC Record 267: 155. *Waqif* Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini.

⁵³ JSC Record 66: 418, 995/1587. *Waqif* Siraj al-Din 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

JSC Record 86: 306, 1015/1606. *Waqif* Yusuf ibn Mahmud ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

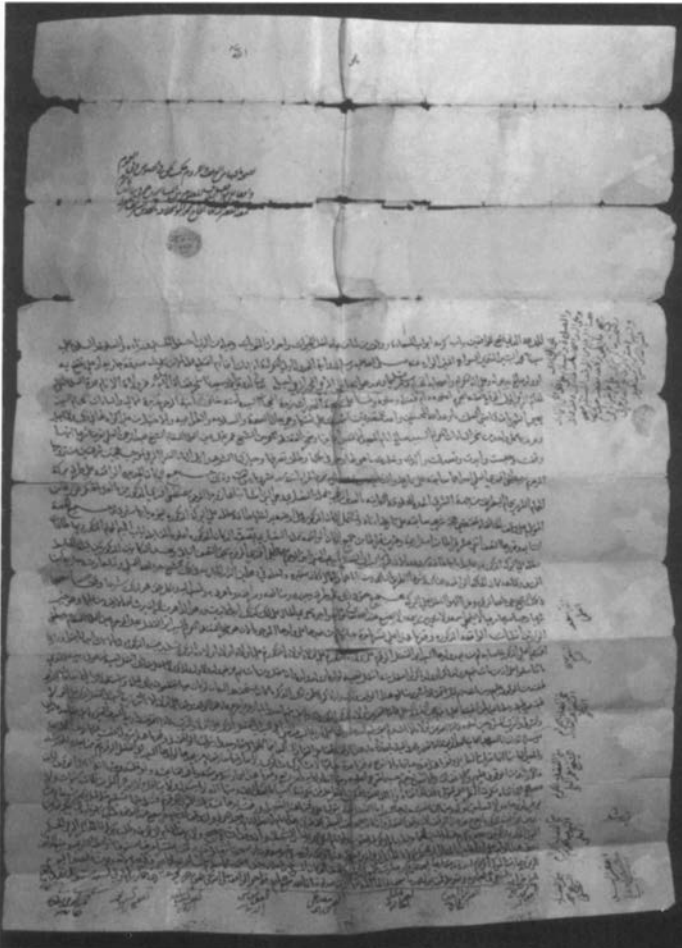
JSC Record 89: 82, 11017/1609. *Waqif* Muhammad Radi al-Din ibn Yusuf ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

JSC Record 102: 126, 1028/1619. *Waqif* Jaralla ibn Abi'l-Lutf.

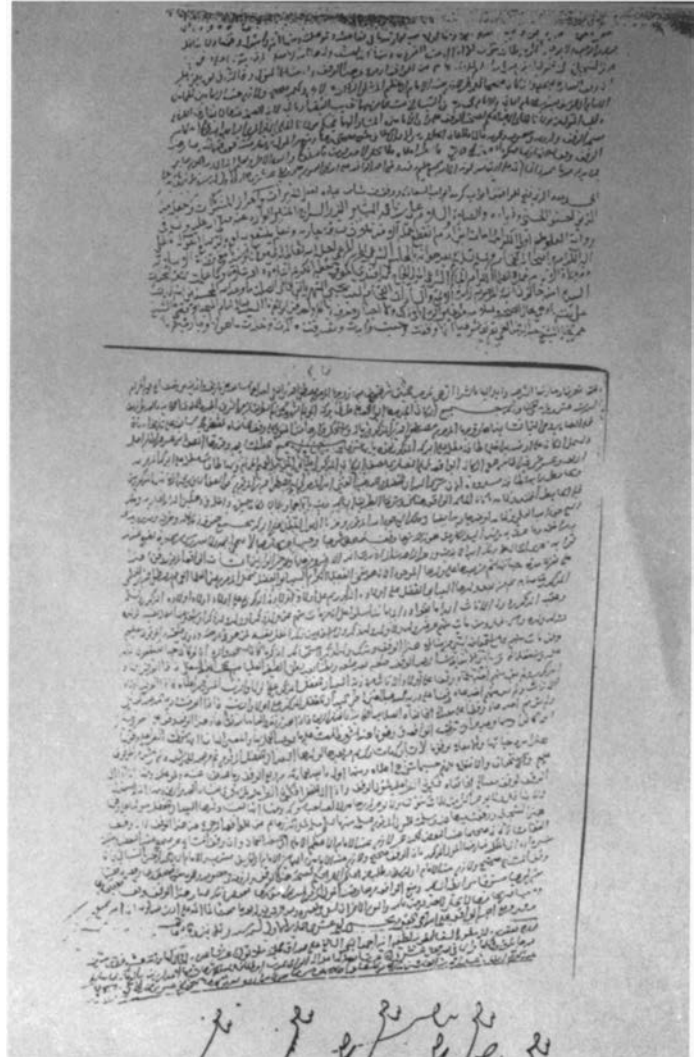
⁵⁴ JSC Record 202: 375. *Waqif* Mustafa ibn Abu 'l-Wafa al-'Alami.

extend control after death and beyond the parameters normally allowed by *shari'a* rules, as for example when diverting benefits away from descendants of females. Significantly, *waqf* was also used to pass on to the beneficiaries' rights of use of property not necessarily owned by the *waqif*. Throughout this investigation

no indication has been found that would suggest that *waqf* was used by the traditional families as a method of protection against state interference or expropriation. On the whole, the families had little reason to fear their main benefactor, the Ottoman state.



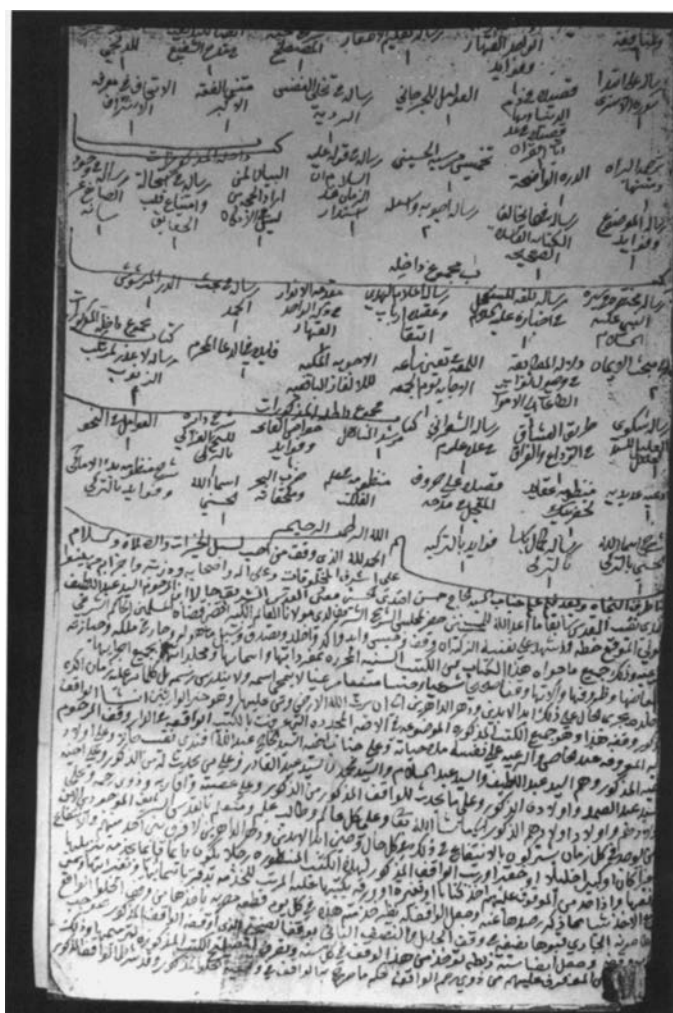
Pl. 11.1 An original *waqf* document dating to 1136/1724 *Waqif*: Amina ibnat Yahya, wife of Mustafa ibn Abi 'l-Wafa al-'Alami.



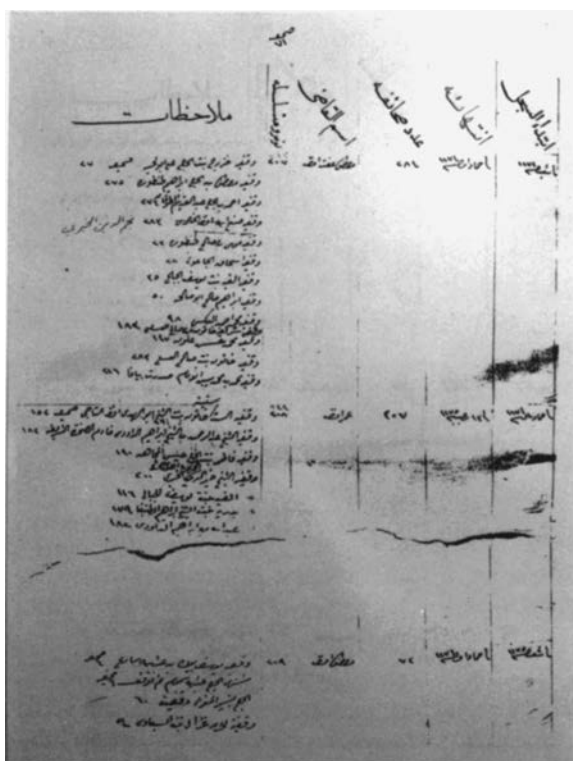
Pl. 11.2 The Jerusalem Shari'a court entry of the corresponding *waqf* as recorded in Record 218: 346.



Pl. 11.3 A very early 'Alami *waqf* as entered in JSC Record 16: 27, dated 951/1545, *waqif*: Sutaita ibnat Ibrahim al-'Alam.



Pl. 11.5 A part of the *waqf* of books by the *mufti* and scholar Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini, dated 1201/1787, as appeared in JSC Record 267: 155.



Pl. 11.4 A representative page of *waqf* index notebook probably compiled by the court clerk, Shaikh Ya'qub Afifi, c. AD 1919.

Chapter 12

ARCHITECTS IN JERUSALEM IN THE 10TH-11TH/16TH-17TH CENTURIES: THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Mahmud Atallah

The powers of the *qadi*, known throughout both the 16th and 17th centuries as a 'legal judge' (*al-hakim al-shar'i*) and 'follower of the noble rule in Jerusalem' (*khalifat al-hukm al-sharif bi'l-Quds*) (Atallah 1988: 15-17; Atallah 1991: 1/5-7), were comprehensive, covering different functions within the city during the period of Ottoman rule. Architects and activities related to the profession also came under his jurisdiction (Gibb 1957 I, II: 121-33; Wensinck 1976: 248-9; Raymond 1985: 216; Kaldy Nagy 1990: 4, 375; Majer 1992: 237-8).

1. Architectural Organisation

Architects in Jerusalem in the 16th and 17th centuries were organised in groups which consisted of *mi'mar bashi*, architects, craftsmen and workers.

Mi'mar bashi

The term is Turkish and consists of two parts. The first, *mi'mar*, is derived from Arabic; the second, *bashi*, is Turkish, meaning head or chief. The term therefore denotes the chief architect (Redhouse 1987: 1914; Steuerwald 1985: 641; see also Rafeq 1976: 151; Rafeq 1981 4/31; Halacoglu 1992: 5/119-20). It is the most prevalent one for this office in documents dealing with architects during the period. Sometimes the term *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* is used (see for example 3/2: 105; 12/3: 502; 13/1: 2; 14/1: 538; 18/1: 253); *ra'is al-mi'mariyya* also

appears (91/2: 79; 94/1: 91; 155/1: 92; 156/1: 4-5; 160/1: 72; 188/2: 67). The term *kabir* (senior) *al-mi'mariyya* was also sometimes used (see for example 96/2: 238; 118/1: 106; 118/1: 342). Occasionally the documents refer to him as *min ru'asa' al-mi'mariyya* (147/1: 380) (of the chief architects) and *ahad ru'asa' al-mi'mariyya* (one of the chief architects) (150/1: 111; 161/2: 391) and *min kibar al-mi'mariyya* or *min kubra' al-mi'mariyya* (of the senior architects) (see for example 98/1: 93; 124/1: 60; 146/1: 542). All these terms and expressions carried the same meaning, and they were used to refer to the official in charge of the architects.

Apparently the appointment of the *mi'mar bashi* would be made in Jerusalem by the *qadi*, as had been the case with other professions (Atallah 1988), and sometimes by the hand of the sultan, in accordance with sultanal decree (*bi mujabi amrin sharifin sultani*). In the latter case, the *qadi* was in charge of implementing the 'noble decrees' (*al-awamir al-sharifa*). On 6 Rabi' I 1112/21 August 1700 *fakhr aqranihi* (of his peers) Muhammad Çelebi al-Nammari, acting on behalf of his son Hibat Allah Çelebi, showed the *qadi* Sharif Efendi a handwritten copy of a noble decree (*suratu khattin sharifin sultani*) dated 4 Sha'ban 1111/25 January 1700, which stated that *al-sadaqat al-sultaniyya wa'l-'awatif al-khaqaniyya* had conferred the office *mi'mar bashiyya* upon his son, to assume authority over *sayyiduna* Khalil al-Rahman's *waqf*, over al-Sakhra and al-Aqsa in Jerusalem, and over all *auqaf* there. Muhammad Çelebi asked the *qadi* to act in accordance with the sultan's decree which he then did (200/1: 64). The document in question, which goes back to 15 Muharram 973/12 August 1565, shows that the post

was shared. Both masters, Muhammad ibn Ramadan and Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar, agreed to share the chairmanship of architects in partnership between them without one of them being privileged over the other. The document also stipulated that each of them would earn a salary (*‘alufa*) according to what he had been assigned in accordance with the *bara’a* (official licence) and *tadkira* (permission). In the case of surveying (inspecting) an estate or other location, they would go together to examine it and submit a report. In the case of one failing to go, the other would assume his position. The *qadi* approved the agreement at the time (48/4: 168; on *bara’a* see Brunschwig 1986 1: 1026-7; on *tadkira* see Carra de Vaux 1934 4: 644).

In this way the *mi‘mar bashi* was in direct touch with the *qadi* and acted as the link between the *qadi* and the architects in matters concerning the architecture of the city.

The authority of the *mi‘mar bashi* following his assignment by the *qadi* was as the leading official in charge of running the different aspects of architectural work, including assessment, renovation, construction, certifying drainage works, contributing to solving any dispute that had arisen between architects and employers, and also any dispute involving architecture that had arisen between members of the public. These aspects of his post are detailed below.

The first reference to the *mi‘mar bashi* found in the Jerusalem Shari‘a Court records and documents is on 15 Dhu‘l-Qa‘da 938/19 June 1532. The chairmanship of architects during the 16th and 17th centuries was virtually the preserve of the Nammar (or al-Nammari) family (see Appendix 12.1); there were only four incumbents of the post who did not belong to the family. This is clear from a survey of the *mi‘mariyya* chiefs identified in the sources over the period. They were:

1. Master Badr al-Din Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn Nammar. Documents describe him as ‘Master *mi‘mariyya*’ (1/4: 143; 2/4: 144; 18/1: 621; 17/4: 58), ‘Sultanal Master’ (17/1: 334), *mi‘mar* (architect) (18/1: 519; 33/4: 415), *mi‘mar bashi* (24/3: 307; 37/3: 646), *ra’is al-mi‘mariyya* (46/1: 78). These references date from Mustaha ‘l-Rabi‘ II 937/22 November 1530 and 23 Jumada II 972/26 January 1565.

2. Al-Sharif Musa ibn al-Sharif Abi ‘l-Khair. His name is cited in a document dating 17 Dhu‘l-Qa‘da 947/15 March 1541. He is termed ‘master of the architects’ (13/1: 51).

3. Master Muhammad ibn Ramadan. Documents cite him as *mi‘mar bashi* (33/1: 30) and ‘*mi‘mar* of the Jerusalem Citadel’ (33/3: 56; 35/1: 102; on Qal‘at al-Quds, see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 55; Najm 1983: 128-9). These date from Awasiit Dhu‘l-Hijja 963/20 October 1556 to Awa’il Safar 977/16 July 1569 (33/1: 20; 52/1: 40).

4. Master Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar. The relevant documents describe him as *mi‘mar bashi*, particularly between 3 Jumada I 964/4 March 1557 and Awakhir Jumada I 1005/19 January 1597 (33/4: 259; 78/1: 544).

5. Al-Ustad Ahmad ibn Yahya. The document is dated 18 Dhu‘l-Qa‘da 985/27 January 1578, and refers to him as *mi‘mar bashi* (58/4: 40).

6. Al-Usta ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar. In the documents he is described as *mi‘mar bashi* (78/2: 136; 83/1: 89; 123/1: 73-4), *ra’is al-mi‘mariyya* (90/1: 191; 101/1: 243), and *kabir al-mi‘mariyya* (90/1: 294; 118/1: 342). He is also given titles of nobility such as *fakhr al-aqran* (94/1: 86), ‘*ain al-amathil*’ (96/3: 120), *fakhr al-mi‘mariyya* (95/1: 71), *fakhr al-aqran wa ‘ain dunya al-zaman* (101/1: 312), *fakhr aqranih ‘ain abna’ al-zaman* (102/2: 426), *fakhr al-a‘yan* (121/1: 139), and *fakhr al-aqran wa ‘ain al-a‘yan* (122/1: 47-8). From titles like these it is possible to see the very real status enjoyed by the chief architect. The titles rendered him equal to the senior notables of Jerusalem at the time, and in particular equal in status to the governor-commissioner of the city (135/1: 262).

‘Abd al-Muhsin held the chairmanship of the *mi‘mariyya* between 20 Jumada II 996/17 May 1588 and 12 Rajab 1045/22 December 1635 (67/2: 210; 125/1: 47). In addition to the chairmanship of the *mi‘mariyya*, he was also given the job of ‘reconstruction and renovation’ of al-Aqsa Mosque. In Awasiit Jumada II 1004/15 February 1596, Master ‘Abd al-Muhsin was granted permission by Qadi Shuja‘ al-Din Efendi to build a *khalwa* (cell) on the esplanade of al-Sakhra to the south to use as a storeroom for tools. He was given permission after the *qadi* had been convinced that it would not harm al-Aqsa (77/2: 243).

7. Master Karim al-Din ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar. In the documents he is called *mi‘mar bashi* (86/5: 137), *ra’is al-mi‘mariyya* (91/2: 79), and *min kibar al-mi‘mariyya* and cited among those who had experience and expertise in buildings and their assessment (98/1: 93). The documents refer to him as *fakhr al-mi‘mariyya* (95/1: 71). He held the chairmanship of the architects between 27 Dhu‘l-Qa‘da 1014/5 April 1606 and 9 Jumada I 1038/4 January 1629 (86/5: 37; 115/1: 179). On 20 Safar 1027/16 February 1618, Qadi ‘Abd Allah Efendi decided to allocate two-thirds of the job of servicing the *qanat al-sabil* (drinking-fountain canal) to Karim al-Din and his brother Hasan (see below). The water of the *qanat* was to flow into Jerusalem from *birak al-Marji‘* (the Pools of Solomon—for *birak al-Marji‘* see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 59; al-‘Arif 1961: 438). Their joint salary amounted to two-thirds of a *ghirara* of wheat (for *ghirara* see Hinz 1970: 37-8; Ashtor 1991: 118)—48

mudd and its equivalent value in Jerusalem (for *mudd* and its equivalent value in Jerusalem, see Hinz 1970: 45-6; Atallah 1988: 56 n. 147; Ashtor 1991: 118). They were to share the salary equally and were appointed in place of Mansur walad Makhluḥ al-Talhami al-Nasrani (100/2: 125).

8. Master Hasan ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar held the chairmanship of the architects between Monday, 3 Ramadan 1015/2 January 1607 and 10 Rabi' I 1057/15 April 1647 (87/2: 73; 139/1: 301). The relevant documents cite him as *mi'mar bashi* (87/2: 73). In the same documents he is called *fakhr al-aqran* (104/2: 228) and *fakhr al-mi'mariyya* (118/1: 284). When on 4 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1055/22 December 1645 there was a difference of opinion over the post of *mi'mar bashiyya* between Hasan and Master Khalil ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar, Hasan showed the *bara'a sultaniyya* which granted him the post in question provided it was associated with the *tauliyya* post over the *qanat al-sabil* endowed by Sultan Sulaiman (reigned 1520-66). Master Khalil retaliated by producing a *bara'a sharifa sultaniyya* dated later than that of al-Ustad Hasan confirming him in the job. Hasan then showed the 'sultanal ordinary' dated 24 Muharram 1055/22 March 1645 addressed to him. The decree also declared that if anyone should present a *bara'a sharifa* with regard to the *qanat*, it would not be valid (138/4: 32-3). On Ghurraṭ Dhu'l-Qa'da 1056/9 December 1646, Hasan took on a part-time post in charge of the *qanat al-sabil waqf* on a daily basis for 5 *qit'a shamiyya* and a *ghirara* of wheat every year and a half in the place of Shaikh 'Ali ibn al-Shaikh Jar Allah ibn Abi 'l-Luṭf—*mufti al-sada al-hanafiyya*—as he had retired (139/4: 86; for *qit'a shamiyya* see Atallah 1988: 41 n. 82; Cohen 1989: 116).

9. Ustad Mustafa ibn al-Mu'allim 'Abd al-Muhsin. He ran the *mi'mariyya* between Ghurraṭ Rajab 1031/12 May 1622 and 20 Rabi' I 1052/18 June 1642 (105/1: 267; 132/1: 381). The relevant documents cite him as *mi'mar bashi* (105/1: 267), *kabir al-mi'mariyya* (118/1: 106), *min kubara' al-mi'mariyya* (124/1: 60) He is also referred to by the titles *fakhr al-aqran* (117/1: 123), and *fakhr al-aqran wa zain al-khillain* (117/1: 298).

According to the *bara'a* dated 2 Jumada II 1040/6 January 1631, Ustad Mustafa on 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 1040/3 July 1631 assumed the post of 'appointing the one in charge of *qanat waqf*, the water from which would flow to Jerusalem, and a *mi'mar bashi* over the *qanat* and pools for a salary of 6 *qit'a misriyya* daily and a *ghirara* of wheat annually (118/2: 116; for *qit'a misriyya* see Atallah 1988: 41 n. 82; Cohen 1989: 116).

10. Master Khalil ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar. He assumed the leadership of the *mi'mariyya* between 6 Ramadan 1047/22

January 1638 and 16 Muharram 1061/9 January 1651 (126/2: 557; 145/1: 91). The documents in question cite him as *mi'mar bashi* (126/2: 557). He also enjoyed the titles of *fakhr al-aqran* (126/1: 561), *fakhr al-mi'mariyya* (127/1: 484), *fakhr al-a'yan* (127/2: 550) and *fakhr al-aqran* (128/1: 62).

11. Ustad Fakhr al-Din ibn Khalil ibn Nammar. He took up the *mi'mariyya* chairmanship between 22 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1052/11 February 1643 and 15 Rabi' I 1078/4 September 1667 (133/1: 276, 168/1: 99). In the documents he is referred to as *mi'mar bashi* (133/1: 277), and *ahad ru'asa' al-mi'mariyya* (150/1: 111). He also had the title *fakhr al-aqran* (134/1: 595).

12. Master 'Umar ibn Hasan ibn Nammar. He was the chief architect between 17 Rabi' I 1055/13 May 1645 and 26 Rabi' I 1093/4 April 1682 (135/1: 144; 185/1: 22-3). Between 5 Ramadan 1090/10 October 1679 and 26 Rabi' I 1093/4 April 1682, 'Umar was deputy *wakil* of his son, Hibat Allah, in the *mi'mariyya* chairmanship. In the documents, he is referred to as *mi'mar bashi* (135/1: 441), *ra'is al-mi'mariyya* (156/1: 4-5), and *mi'mar* of al-Aqsa (181/1: 316). He had the title *fakhr al-mi'mariyya* (160/2: 170). On the basis of a *bara'a* dated 10 Rabi' II 1048/21 August 1638, Qadi Mahmud Efendi appointed him to a part-time post 'to share out water' in the *maqsam* (water exchange) located near the Bab al-Silsila (see Najm 1983: 337) for a salary of two and a half 'uthmani daily (127/1: 486).

13. Master Mahmud ibn al-Hajj Hasan ibn Nammar. He held the *mi'mariyya* chairmanship between 16 Shawwal 1056/25 November 1646 and Rajab 1078/December 1667. In the documents he is referred to as *mi'mar bashi* (139/1: 63), and *ra'is al-mi'mariyya* (156/1: 4-5).

14. Ustad 'Ali ibn al-Hajj Karim al-Din ibn Nammar (or Nammari). He was chief architect between 14 Ramadan 1059/21 September 1649 and 23 Safar 1105/24: October 1693 (142/2: 41; 195/1: 57). He is also referred to as *mi'mar bashi* (142/2: 41), *ra'is al-mi'mariyya* (155/1: 92), *mi'mar* al-Aqsa (183/1: 225-6), and *ra'is al-mi'mariyya bi'l-Sakhra* (188/2: 67). He also had the title of *fakhr al-mi'mariyya* (161/3: 20). On 20 Dhu'l-Hijja 1061/4 December 1651, 'Ali took over the *qanat al-sabil waqf* in partnership with Hajj Mahmud ibn Nammar and Master 'Umar ibn Nammar. The three of them would audit the returns and the expenditure of the *qanat* endowment according to the *qanat's* requirements. They would receive a salary of 10 *qit'a misriyya* and a *ghirara* of wheat to be divided among them (164/1: 64).

15. Ahmad Khalifa *mi'mar bashi*. He held the

chairmanship of *al-mi'mariyya* between Awasit Sha'ban 1080/8 January 1670 and 7 Muharram 1088/12 March 1677 (171/1: 255; 173/1: 230; 174/1: 10; 177/1: 169; 178/1: 7; 179/1: 89).

16. Hibat Allah Çelebi. He held the *mi'mariyya* chairmanship between 15 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1090/18 December 1679 and 23 Safar 1105/24 October 1693 (181/1: 316; 195/1: 57). The documents refer to him as *mi'mar bashi* (181/1: 316) and *ra'is al-mi'mariyya* (188/2: 67). The documents also give him the title *qudwat al-a'yan* (181/1: 316).

17. 'Abd al-Karim Çelebi *mi'mar bashi*. He held the *mi'mariyya* chairmanship between Awakhir Dhu'l-Qa'da 1109/9 June 1698 and Awasit Jumada I 1112/28 October 1700 (198/3: 239-41; 200/1: 140).

From the entries listed above, it can be seen that in addition to the titles already discussed, the chief architect also took the title *mu'allim*, or *usta*, or *ustad* as in other crafts (Atallah 1988), as well as the title of 'noble', as in the case of Sharif Musa ibn Abi 'l-Khair. The principle of a 'professional dynasty' is clear in the Nammar or al-Nammari family, where the title passed from father to son and so on (Gibb 1951 I: 292; see Appendix 1).

Finally I would like to point to another speciality to which the documents refer. This is the licence of the chief architect. The licence, which would be granted after obtaining permission from the *qadi*, would be awarded so that he could run his own business and look after his personal interests. When Master Muhammad ibn al-Hajj Ramadan al-Mi'mar wanted to travel to Hebron on 22 Jumada I 965/22 March 1558 in order to complete *al-'amara al-sultaniyya al-sharifa* there, he requested permission from the *qadi* which was duly granted. His deputy, Isma'il ibn Khadr al-Yeniçeri in the Jerusalem Citadel, took over in his absence the job of collecting the *auqaf* of the *qanat al-sabil* that would supply Jerusalem with water (36/2: 27). The same thing happened with Master 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Nammar, also *mi'mar bashi*. He asked permission from Qadi Mahmud Efendi on 9 Rabi' II 990/3 May 1582 to travel to Egypt to complete some personal business. He was asked to appoint a deputy to run the renovation of Hammam al-Sultan and the water-channel supplying Jerusalem during the period of his absence. Permission was granted (61/4: 173; on the Hammam al-Sultan see Atallah 1988: 224 n. 1840).

Architects

The architects were of *mu'allim* or *ustad* rank. The relevant

documents refer to them as *al-mi'mariyyun* (18/1: 253; 25/1: 204; 1: 205; for the term *mi'mari* see al-Qasimi 1960 I: 51-2; II: 458; for *ustad* or *mu'allim* see Rafeq 1976: 152). They are also called *al-mi'mariyya* (58/4: 40; 165/1: 48), and *muhandisun* (engineers) (18/1: 253; 25/1: 204; 1: 205). These architects contributed to the implementation of various construction works in Jerusalem. The documents refer to them as belonging 'to the construction profession' (*min ahl hirfat al-bina'*) (102/1: 37). Those who had previous experience and knowledge of estates and their assessment are referred to as being '*min ahl al-khibra wa'l-ma'rifa bi'l-'aqarat wa takhminiha*' (104/1: 172; 146/1: 197-8), while those who 'have experience and knowledge of surveys and their evaluation' are referred to as '*min ahl al-khibra wa'l-ma'rifa bi'l-masahat wa taqwimiha*' (105/1: 495). These architects would also resolve disputes and differences that arose among the population of the city, for they had experience in dividing houses and knew the buildings' weaknesses and the damage that they had sustained (138/1: 79; 160/1: 70). I will refer to this again below.

Apparently some architects would work in another job in addition to their profession. Al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn al-Hajj al-Mi'mar is a case in point. He took on the job of collecting the endowments of the *qanat al-sabil* supplying Jerusalem (36/2: 27).

The total number of architects identified from the documents who were active during the 16th and 17th centuries is one hundred and twenty-eight. From the list (see Appendix 12.2), the conclusion is that the Muslim architects played a crucial role. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight, one hundred and five were Muslim while twenty-two were Christians and there was only one Jew. As already shown, the list shows that some families were particularly prominent, like that of the Nammar, eleven of whom were practising architects, and from whose ranks came the majority of the *mi'mar bashi*.

Specialist Architects

The documents of the period cite specialised groups of architects working in the following fields:

(a) Architects at the Maqam (holy place) Sayyiduna Da'ud

On 12 Muharram 991/18 February 1583, this job was assigned to the brothers 'Abd Allah and Da'ud, sons of Shaikh 'Ali Abi Huraira. They shared the job equally, with a salary amounting to 2 *'uthmanis* per day, in place of their late father (61/1: 432).

(b) Architects' and Gravediggers' Guild

Members of this guild specialised in digging and

construction in the following cemeteries: al-Rahma (near the wall to the east of the city), al-Sahira (to the north of the city, also near the wall), Ma'man Allah (to the west of the city—now known as Mamilla) and al-Yusufiyya (to the north of al-Rahma cemetery, near the Bab al-Asbat) (103/5: 17; Atallah 1991 1: 69). Some documents directed at architects contain warnings with regard to the behaviour expected of them. One reminder dated Saturday 25 Rabi' I 1029/1 March 1620 from Qadi Khalil Efendi to the architects warns against the re-use of materials. It makes clear that 'none of the architects may build a grave using old stones or old stone-slabs' (103/5: 17; Atallah 1991: 1/69). When al-Shaikh Majd al-Din al-'Alami lodged a complaint against Abi Bakr ibn Qasim al-Halabi for digging three graves and uncovering the bones of his son (123/3: 545; Atallah 1991 1: 73), al-Qadi Muhammad al-Ja'uni on Friday 11 Shawwal 1044/30 March 1635 ruled that 'he must not dig a grave unless the *shaikh* of the cemetery, Muhammad al-Huwaish, was present' and 'he must not expose the bones of the dead' (123/3: 545; Atallah 1991 1: 73).

The documents cite five guild *masha'ikh* who were appointed between 13 Rabi' I 1019/5 June 1610 and 6 Jumada II 1063/4 May 1653. These *masha'ikh* were as follows:

1. Al-Naqib Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Sulami. He was appointed *shaikh* on 13 Rabi' I 1019/5 June 1610 with authority over gravediggers and stonecutters at Ma'man Allah cemetery after he had made it clear to the *qadi* that some gravediggers and stonecutters were desecrating the graves and their occupants by illegally removing gravestones, re-inscribing them and then selling them (90/9: 438).
2. Badr al-Din ibn Sulaiman. He was appointed *shaikh* on 25 Rabi' I 1029/1 March 1620 over gravediggers and architects at al-Rahma, al-Sahira and al-Yusufiyya cemeteries (103/5: 17; Atallah 1991 1: 69).
3. 'Ali ibn Khalil ibn Nammar. He was appointed *shaikh* on 25 Rabi' I 1029/1 March 1620 to be in charge of both gravediggers and architects at Ma'man Allah cemetery (103/5: 17; Atallah 1991 1: 69).
4. Muhammad al-Huwaish. He was appointed *shaikh* on Friday, 11 Shawwal 1044/30 March 1635, to be in charge of Ma'man Allah cemetery and *nazir* (administrator) over the gravediggers (123/4: 545; Atallah 1991 1: 70).
5. Musa ibn Sa'd al-Din. He was appointed *shaikh* over the gravediggers' guild on Sunday, 6 Jumada II 1063/4 May 1653 (147/4: 329; Atallah 1991 1: 74). In the same document three other masters are identified as practising the same profession—Muhammad ibn Khalil, Muhammad al-Magharibi and Musa ibn al-Khayyat.

The documents also mention a number of Jews

who had obtained legal permission to act as gravediggers for their own dead. Ha'im Walad Hilal al-Yahudi al-Maghribi is a case in point. He obtained a permit from Qadi Hibat Allah Efendi on Monday, 26 Rabi' II 1059/9 May 1649 to dig graves for the Jewish dead in their own cemetery in the village of Silwan (for Silwan see Atallah 1988: 51 n. 121). All others were prevented from digging or interfering in the affairs of the cemetery without his prior knowledge (132/1: 83; Atallah 1991 1: 71). Two spokesmen for the Jewish community—Ha'im Abi Halaqa and Ha'im Qurra—filed a complaint on Sunday, 9 Rabi' II 1063/9 March 1653 complaining that a large number of Jews were digging graves and overcharging the people, especially the poor, widows and orphans. They requested that Qadi Abu 'l-Barakat Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Efendi al-Khalidi prevent the men involved from working in the cemetery. At the same time they demanded that Idir al-Yahudi al-Haffar be allowed to practise his profession of gravedigger for the Jewish dead because he did so without salary. Idir undertook to 'dig the graves of the dead Jews at no charge and free.' The *qadi* responded positively to their request and granted Idir permission to do his job (147/1: 167; Atallah 1991 1: 71-2). But on Akhir Shawwal 1064/12 September 1654, Yasif Walad Binyamin and Ya'qub Walad Danial received an order from the sultan (*amrin sharifin sultani*) according to which they could both pursue their profession of digging Jewish graves. The service was restricted to them and no other gravedigger would be allowed to compete with them following the order. Al-Qadi Muhammad Efendi granted them permission to practise their profession and prevented others from harassing them (150/7: 81; Atallah 1991 1: 73).

The documents also specified the cost of digging an old grave in 1063/1653. The wage was 5 *qit'a misriyya* for the cemeteries of Bab al-Rahmah, al-Yusufiyya and al-Sahira, while at Ma'man Allah the wage was 8 *qit'a misriyya*. The cost of digging a new grave was 1.33 *ghirsh* at Ma'man Allah (Mamilla) cemetery, and 1 *ghirsh* at Bab al-Rahmah, al-Yusufiyya and al-Sahira (147/4: 329; Atallah 1991 1: 74; for *ghirsh* see Atallah 1988: 42 n. 87; Cohen 1989: 115).

(c) Canal employees (*al-qanawatiyya*)

The canal employee (*qanawati*) was in charge of the construction and renovation of, and keeping clear of stones and debris, the *qanat al-sabil* supplying Jerusalem (on *al-qanawati* see al-Qasimi and al-'Azm 1960 2: 364-5). The personnel concerned with the canal consisted of the following:

1. *Mutawalli*: this was the person in charge of canal endowments in terms of securing the necessary funds for its maintenance. Sulaiman Çelebi was one of those in charge of the canal, cited in the documents on 12 Shawwal

981/4 February 1574 (56/1: 732). Because of the importance of the job, which secured the city's water supply, it was associated with the post of chief architect (see above)

2. **Didban:** (a Persian word meaning a 'supervisor', Junker and Alavi 1986: 337). This man was in charge of the water in the pools and canal. On 12 Shawwal 981/4 February 1574, Jum'a ibn Abi 'l-Fakhr and his son were cited as *didban al-ma' wa-'l-birak* (56/1: 732).

3. **Masters:** seven masters were identified by me from the documents—Ibrahim and Jum'a (135/1: 296); Mahmud al-Qanawati (56/1: 732; 84/1: 522; 135/1: 296); Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Qanawati (135/1: 349); Muhammad al-Shami al-Qanawati (135/1: 359); Shihada and Yusuf (135/1: 296).

4. **Pool Servants:** these were in charge of inspection and cleaning work. Dhu'aib ibn Khalil and Shabib ibn 'Umar are among those cited in the documents (56/1: 732).

5. **Ajnad:** guards whose task was to guard the canal. They are cited on 5 Shawwal 1018/1 January 1610 during the reconstruction and renovation of the Middle Marji' Pool. Their wage was 330 *qit'a misriyya* (90/3: 238).

It is worth noting that the reconstruction and renovation work of the canal came under the authority of the architects. One document dated 13 Dhu'l-Qa'da 939/6 June 1533 records the expenditure of 9 *'uthmanis* of canal endowment money by Master Husain, Master of Architects, in return for the work of canal specialists and labourers on restoration of the canal (3/2: 105). *Mafkhar al-amajid* 'Ali Katkhuda spent 75 *sultani* gold coins on the wages of farmers and labourers from neighbouring villages to restore/construct the Middle Marji' Pool with the prior knowledge of al-Mu'allim Mahmud Çelebi ibn Wali and al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Nammar ibn al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi*, who were deputed to reconstruct the pool in question (61/1: 472). The total costs of canal renovation and construction by the date of 5 Shawwal 1018/1 January 1610 amounted to 1,710 *qit'a misriyya*. The sum was distributed as follows (90/3: 283):

labourers' wages	59 <i>qit'a</i>
<i>silal</i>	75 <i>qit'a</i>
<i>ajnad</i> (guards') wages	330 <i>qit'a</i>
donkeys	52 <i>qit'a</i>
donkey drivers	15 <i>qit'a</i> .

Architects from outside Jerusalem would sometimes participate in inspection work. For example, on 7 Dhu'l-Hijja 1047/22 April 1638, al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* co-operated in the inspection of the *sabil* pools with al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn 'Ali *mi'mar bashi* al-Jami' al-Umawi (the Umayyad mosque), Ustad Nasr Allah, Ustad Mikha'il and Ustad

Ya'qub. All were experienced architects. The total cost of the pools' reconstruction amounted to 2,750 *ghirsh* (127/1: 66), while the estimated cost of canal renovation on 25 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1054/23 January 1645 was 1,090 *ghirsh asadi* (135/1: 296; for *ghirsh asadi* see Atallah 1988: 42 n.87).

The chief architects and architects co-operated in revealing any damage to the *sabil* canal both inside and outside the city. Muhammad Manakhir al-'Ijla damaged the *sabil* basin under the stairway of the Sakhra esplanade by building two walls which obstructed the *sabil*. As a result, Muhammad Basha *amir al-umara*, requested that Qadi Muhmmad ibn Amin look into the matter in Jerusalem. The *qadi* and the chief *amir* went in person to inspect the site, accompanied by al-Mu'allim 'Abd al-Muhsin *mi'mar bashi*. They discovered that the basin had been rebuilt and a wooden door added. The *qadi* ordered the demolition of the building on 19 Dhu'l-Hijja 1037/20 August 1628 (113/1: 846). In addition, the attorney of Muhammad Basha's wife, Muhammad ibn Salih al-Dajani, complained on 25 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1054/23 January 1645 about the location of a canal between the houses of Shaikh 'Umar al-Halabi and Ishaq al-Yahudi in the Jewish Quarter, on the grounds that it would affect al-Khwaja al-Duhaina soap-factory. Al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* and his son al-Mu'allim Fakhr al-Din, together with Muhammad al-Shami al-Qanawati, visited the site but found on inspection that the canal had no connection whatsoever with the soap-factory and, moreover, that it was an old construction. It was causing no harm whatever to the soap-factory (135/1: 359). Ahmad Katkhuda al-Basha, on 18 Rajab 1056/30 August 1646, complained about villagers who were vandalising the canal en route for Jerusalem by opening a link in order to provide water for their animals. This had resulted in a shortage of water and residents of the city had been harmed. The situation required a close on-site inspection. As a result al-Mu'allim 'Umar ibn Hasan ibn Nammar and al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn Karim al-Din ibn Nammar, together with other canal personnel, conducted their own investigations (136/2: 322).

Special Personnel

Some sites were so important that specialists were employed to supervise the architecture. These are as follows:

1. The Royal Buildings of the Noble Sultanate (al-'ama'ir al-sultaniyya al-sharifa)

The buildings were under the supervision of special employees of the sultan. These 'buildings' were in fact a castle used for defensive purposes which included housing for soldiers, governors and relatives of the sultan. The

special employees have been identified as follows:

a. *al-Amin* (Superintendent)

The legal documents mention *qudwat al-amathil* Haidar Katkhuda as secretary of the buildings of the Noble Sultanate in addition to his post as leader of the Tripoli District (*liwa' Tarablus*) and administrator of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*kanisat qumama*) (24/4: 69; 3: 440; on this church see also al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 51; al-'Arif 1951: 213-39; al-'Arif 1961: 517-23; Najm 1983: 437). On 24 Ramadan 957/6 October 1550, Haidar brought stones from churches that had been destroyed in the village of Qaluniya to use in the royal buildings (24/4: 69; for Qaluniya, see Hütteroth 1977: 118). On 22 Jumada II 958/27 June 1551, Haidar was in receipt of 500 *sultani* gold coins as the return from the Holy Sepulchre for the year 958/1551; this money was to be spent on the building (24/3: 440).

b. *al-Mushidd*

Al-mushidd (for the term see al-Qalqashandi 1963 4: 77; al-Maqrizi 1956 I 1: 105 n. 2) was in charge of the reconstruction and restoration of the royal buildings. Several people are named as having held the post:

i. *Mafkhar al-amathil* Hasan Beg, who is cited at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 937/16 July 1531 in connection with the receipt of 30,000 *'uthmanis* from *mafkhar al-khuddam* Biri Jawish ibn Khadr (11/1: 348).

ii. *Mafkhar al-akabir* Muhammad Beg was a *mushidd* in charge of a royal building—the Citadel of Jerusalem—on 28 Rabi' II 938/9 December 1531. He paid al-Hajj 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Suqi a sum of money as recompense for design work on the Citadel (1/2: 6).

c. *al-Yazici*

The *yazici* was Clerk to the Royal Buildings. In Shawwal 937/June 1531 *fakhr al-muharririn* Husain al-Yazici is cited as having received a specific sum of money from Khwaja Badr al-Din ibn Mujahid ibn al-Jamus al-Ramli as the final instalment of a total of 19,500 *'uthmanis* for oil (1/2: 319). Apparently the funds were to be used on the building. Owing to the importance of the post, on 15 Dhu'l-Qa'da 937/June 1531, Husain introduced Muslih al-Din al-Yazici as deputy 'to audit the expenditure on all royal buildings' (1/2: 338). In this post, all specialist clerks were to be listed in specific places, as was the case with Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad, deputy *nazir* of al-Aqsa Mosque. This illustrates the fact that the Noble Court bestowed a daily wage of 1 *qit'a misriyya* in line with a *bara'a sharifa* dated 6 Safar 994/27 January 1586 (69/2: 206) on him for the maintenance of the Bimaristan endowment.

d. *The Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque*

The 'job of repairing and renovating the lead of the Rock'

was one of those related to the maintenance of the Sakhra and al-Aqsa Mosque. The post was introduced at a time when the surface lead of the two buildings was in need of repair and renovation due to heavy rain and snow on Awa'il Jumada II 1003/11 February 1595. There was a large amount of damp because of the weather. Al-Qadi Maulana Shuja' al-Din Efendi inspected the roofs and he was informed by the Jerusalem dignitaries that the damp would recur annually due to lack of inspection and supervision. They suggested that he appoint a person to renew the lead. An *'alufa* (salary) would be earmarked for him from al-Aqsa Mosque endowment. The Qadi Salih ibn Ibrahim al-Gharabili was a man of 'experience and knowledge in renovation and repair' work. But the *qadi* was not satisfied with this recommendation. He ordered al-Zaini Salih to repair and renovate a sample of the lead so that he could be sure of his expertise and knowledge. Salih renewed some parts and succeeded in stopping the damp. The *qadi* concluded that Salih was indeed a man of expertise and knowledge. He was duly appointed to the job of 'repairing and renovating the lead' with a daily wage of 1 *qit'a misriyya* at the expense of al-Aqsa *waqf* (76/1: 350).

e. *Bait al-Maqdis wall*

Mafkhar al-'umana Muhammad al-Naqqash was one of the men who assumed the post of *al-amin* with respect to the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem. This was on 2 Rabi' II 947/6 August 1540 (12/2: 400). Following the news, he received at the end of Ramadan 948/17 January 1542 information to the effect that al-Mu'allim Darwish al-Mi'mar in Aleppo had written a letter to *maulana* 'Ali Çelebi Efendi, *al-daftardar* of the Ottoman empire, to the effect that Muhammad Çelebi was negligent in his work of wall reconstruction despite all the potential he had in the way of masters, carriers and labourers. In the wake of this, *maulana al-efendi* Salih ibn Yanni summoned al-Mu'allim Darwish, the administrator of Jerusalem and Hebron. He asked him about the authenticity of the letter. Darwish denied its contents and said 'I have not completed, written or sent a letter against him. I have been in his company for four years. I have not noticed any carelessness, negligence or laziness' (14/3: 144). He added that Muhammad had on the contrary been active, serious, diligent and knowledgeable in his work. All these qualities he had contributed towards the completion of the reconstruction of the wall (14/3: 144; for the wall see Najm 1983: 100-1).

f. *Craftsmen*

The 16th- and 17th-century documents refer to five groups of craftsmen in industries related to reconstruction and renovation:

1. *Smiths*

Smiths contributed considerably to the completion of one

aspect of reconstruction and renovation. On 7 Shawwal 947/4 February 1541, the minaret of al-Masjid al-Sharif was stripped. It was found to be in need of reconstruction, and renovation was also required in its vicinity. Mu'allim Jum'a al-Haddad was one of those who participated in this renovation work (15/2: 114). In Awa'il Safar 977/16 July 1569, four smiths are cited on the occasion of their appointment in accordance with an *amrin sharifin sultani* (royal order) to participate in the building of *al-qal'a al-mansura* in Jerusalem. Their wages amounted to 6 *sultani* distributed as follows: Mus'ad ibn Sulaiman—2 *sultani*; Jirjis ibn Hanna—2 *sultani*; Khalaf ibn Khalil—1 *sultani*; and Muslih ibn al-Riyah—1 *sultani*. All of them were guaranteed by Mus'ad ibn Sulaiman (52/1: 20; Atallah 1988: 208-12).

2. Lead-Pourers

Lead-pourers were needed in the reconstruction and renovation of sites where lead was used in the building. The documents relating to the construction of al-Mansuriyya soap-factory show expenditure on 4 Muharram 940/26 July 1533 on al-Mu'allim 'Ubaid al-Sakkab, who had leaded the soap-factory kettle (*qidra*) (4/4: 219-20; on the term *sakkab* see Ibn Manzur 1981 3: 2045; al-Qasimi and al-'Azm 1960 2: 236-7). Two masters (*mu'alliman*), Ibrahim Walad Sadaqa al-Ghazzi and his brother Yusuf, are cited on 22 Rabi' II 1037/31 December 1627 as lead-pourers for al-Aqsa Mosque (113/1: 439).

3. Carpenters

Carpenters worked on various tasks associated with construction work of both old and new houses—doors, windows and roofs (al-Qasimi and al-'Azm 1960 2: 478-9). The documents contain information on the amount of a carpenter's wage working on four successive days in Sha'ban 941/February 1535 on the repair of the Khan al-Qattanin doors. The carpenter Muhammad al-Hindi received 411 *qit'a sulaimaniyya* (4/1: 615; on Khan al-Qattanin see Burgoyne 1987: 276), while al-Mu'allim Muhammad Abu Baksh made nine doors for the upper storeys of the same *khan* on 22 Shawwal 944/24 March 1538. He also repaired another (tenth) door (7/1: 452). On 4 Rabi' I 947/9 July 1540, the carpenter al-Mu'allim Muhammad al-Jaljuli made another four doors for the same upper storeys (12/1: 306). On 13 Rabi' I 948/7 July 1541, the carpenters Ahmad Walad Khattab and Muhammad al-Jaljuli made doors for al-Madrasa al-Tuluniyya and for private rooms (*khalawiha*) (13/2: 351; for al-Madrasa al-Tuluniyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 40; al-'Arif 1961: 251-2; Nasir 1974: 68; al-Nu'aimat 1983: 37).

With regard to carpenters' wages, a document dated 19 Jumada II 951/7 September 1544 reports that the carpenter Ahmad ibn Hattab had made three doors for the

lower storeys of Khan al-Qattanin and that for this he had received 12 silver *dirhams* (17/1: 168). In the reconstruction of Hammam al-'Ain, on 4 Jumada I 953/3 July 1546, 'Abd al-Karim and Ahmad al-Najjar received 411 *qit'a sulaimaniyya* (18/4: 163; for Hammam al-'Ain see Atallah 1988: 224). On 26 Dhu'l-Hijja 954/6 February 1548, al-Mu'allim 'Ali al-Najjar received 20 *qit'a sulaimaniyya* in payment for reconstructing al-Madrasa al-Manjakiyya (20/1: 183; for al-Manjakiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 37; al-'Arif 1961: 248-9; Ghawanima 1982: 160; Najm 1983: 229-32; al-Nu'aimat 1983: 60-1; Burgoyne 1987: 384-8). 'Abd Allah al-Najjar received the same amount in payment for his work on the building on 4 Muharram 957/23 January 1550 (23/2: 52). Five carpenters were appointed to participate in the building of the Citadel (*al-qal'a*) al-Mansura in accordance with an *amrin sharifin sultani*. The document, dated Awa'il Safar 977/16 July 1569, specified their wages as follows: al-Usta Muslih al-Din—2 *sultani*; Khalaf ibn Muhammad—2 *sultani*; Dib ibn Sulaiman—1 *sultani*; Mahmud ibn Abi 'l-Khair—1 *sultani*; and Muhammad ibn Muslih al-Din—1 *sultani*. These carpenters were guaranteed by al-Usta Muslih al-Din (Atallah 1988: 218-21; 52/1: 40). In addition two carpenters, Hasan ibn Jamal al-Ramli and 'Umar al-Muhtadi, were appointed on 23 Jumada 'l-Akhira 988/5 August 1580 to participate in the construction of 'Uyun al-Tujjar. Each would receive 6 *qurush*; both were guaranteed by Ahmad ibn Abi Shadi (72/3: 68).

It is also worth noting that the documents dated Muharram 952/March 1545 refer to a *sabiyy al-najjar* (carpenter's apprentice) whose job was to help the carpenter in his work (17/1: 168).

4. Mu'allimu al-balat (pavement-makers)

The job included lifting stone slabs. The brothers al-Mu'allim Muhammad and al-Mu'allim Khalil, the sons of Mu'allim Ghanim ibn Nammar, accepted work in lifting slabs in the place of al-Halabi and his brother on condition that they would receive the same salary as these brothers, who were both resigning. Both brothers were guaranteed by Mamiya ibn Mustafa (31/1: 7; 33/6: 187).

5. Sani'u al-tub (brick-makers)

The brick-makers produced both fire-baked and sun-baked carmine bricks which had a brilliant red (*nisf ahmar*) and white colouration. The site of brick production was known as the *tubkhana*. The person in charge of the factory was called *al-amin 'ala 'amal al-tubkhana*. *Qudwat al-mustahfizin* Sinan Aga took on the job on 22 Rabi' II 964/22 February 1557. Sinan was also a constable (*dizdar*) of the Citadel in Jerusalem (33/1: 238). After he had concluded an agreement with *qudwat al-mustahfizin* Sinan Aga of the Qal'a, a document dated 9 Dhu'l-Qad'a 963/14 September 1556 cites Master Muhammad ibn

Muhammad ibn Turkiyya as one of the specialists of the craft. Master Muhammad would supply him with various kinds of carmine bricks. The agreement also states that Sinan Aga would pay him 10 *sultani* in return for making 1,000 red *tugla* (a Turkish term, meaning carmine or baked brick; see Redhouse 1987: 1257; Steuerwald 1985: 952; Ghalib 1988: 314). Al-Mu'allim Muhammad (mentioned above) received 12 *qubrusi* gold coins as a first payment. On 22 Rabi' II 964/22 February 1557, Sinan Aga *amin tubkhana* and *tubjiyya* explained to delegates from the Sublime Porte (*al-bab al-'ali*), who had come to Jerusalem in connection with the rebuilding of the Citadel, that part of the roof (*dargah*) of the building where the bricks would have been made had been destroyed by an earthquake (*min afatin samawiyya*—through a natural disaster). The oven where copper would have been smelted had also been destroyed (33/1: 238). On 26 Rabi' II 964/26 February 1557, Sinan Aga and al-Mu'allim Muhammad agreed that the latter would work for Sinan and supply him with red and white fire-baked bricks. In return Muhammad would receive 8 *sultanis* for 1,000 red *tugla*, 4 *sultanis* for every thousand brilliant red *tugla*, and 18 *sultanis* for 1,000 white *kerpic* boards. In the document, Muhammad acknowledged that he had received the price of the bricks he had made at the *tubkhana* (33/2: 247).

6. *al-Nahhatun* (stonemasons)

The *nahhatun* cut all kinds of stone and *qashami* (faience tiles) according to demand. One document states that a stonemason would receive 2 *ghirsh* according to an estimate for al-Madrasa al-'Uthmaniyya on 23 Ramadan 1066/15 July 1656 (151/1: 322; for al-Madrasa al-'Uthmaniyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 36; al-'Arif 1961: 254; Nasir 1974: 64-6; Ghawanima 1982: 163; Najm 1983: 284-7; Nasir 1983: 78-104; al-Nu'aimat 1983: 38-40; Burgoyne 1987: 544-54).

7. Labourers

The documents describe labourers as *fu'ul*, the plural of the word *fa'il*. The *fa'il* was the man who worked under the direction of a master or *al-sani'*, carrying mud, digging, moving stones or water, removing rubble and so on (Ibn Manzur 1981: 3459; al-Qasimi and al-'Azm 1960 2: 333; 4/1 446; 6/2 354-5; 14/1 543-4; 26/2 2; 33/1 138). The documents also supply information on the wage a labourer would receive in the period. During the four-day renovation of al-Madrasa al-Baladiyya on 16 Dhu'l-Hijja 947/13 April 1541, thirteen labourers took part. They received 52 *uthmanis*, that is 1 *uthmani* each per day (13/1: 145; for al-Madrasa al-Baladiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 135; al-Nimr 1961: 251; Ghawanima 1982: 164; Najm 1983: 245-6; al-Nu'aimat 1983: 15-16; Burgoyne 1987: 443-55). The documents sometimes specify the name of the labourer and his wage. On 9 Muharram 960/26

December 1552, the labourers 'Abd al-Rahman al-Magharibi, Ibrahim al-Maghribi, Ibrahim al-Mu'adhdhin and Muhammad al-'Iraqi worked on the reconstruction of a house located in the al-Sharaf quarter, the property of al-Hujra al-Sharifa *waqf*. Each labourer received 6 *uthmanis*, while Mansur al-Maghribi, who worked on the same site for two days only, received 4 *uthmanis*. Ahmad al-Matari, who also worked on the site for four days, was paid 8 *uthmanis* (that is 2 *uthmanis* per day) (27/2: 413). In other documents there are references to labourers and their wage but none to the number of days worked. On Awa'il Sha'ban 959/23 July 1552, ten labourers worked on renovating the oven in the Bani 'l-Masharifi quarter, for which they received 100 *dirhams* (25/1: 544). Often the documents only specify the labourers' wages together with the wage of *al-mu'allim* (master). For inspecting and giving an estimate on al-Zawiya al-Ahmadiyya on 3 Rajab 959/25 June 1552, one document gives the wage of both labourers and masters as a total of 22 *sultanis* (31/9: 271; for al-Zawiya al-Ahmadiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 63).

In another estimate dated Awa'il Safar 1017/17 May 1608 (88/2: 50) for Khan al-Wakala in al-Suq al-Kabir, the property of al-Sakhra and Hebron *waqf*, wages for masters, labourers, supplies and *qufaf* (baskets) amounting to 40 *ghirsh* are recorded (for Khan al-Wakala see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 52; Ghawanima 1982: 92-4; Najm 1983: 261-3; Nasir 1983: 312-23; Burgoyne 1987: 479-84). On the subject of accidents on site in which labourers were harmed, one document dated 10 Jumada II 954/28 July 1517 reports that Ishaq al-Nasrani had informed the *qadi* at the time that his brother, Ibrahim Nasrani al-Mi'mar, had employed a group of labourers to remove the wall on the west and south of Dair al-Habash. The name of one of the labourers was Khalil ibn al-Nasrani min Aulad al-Jamal. When he began work, soil and debris fell on him with the result that his leg was broken. When Ibrahim was questioned, he said he had employed Khalil for five days for a wage of 10 *qit'a*. When Khalil was also questioned about the accident, he made a similar report and added that he had no claim against either Ibrahim or his son or the Habash community (19/1: 214; for Dair al-Habash see al-'Arif 1951: 138 and 1961 534).

The documents also introduce other specialised groups of labourers with specific tasks:

a. *al-Mukarbilun*

The term *mukarbilun* (plural of *mukarbil*) is derived from the Arabic verb *karbala* meaning to purify or refine; it is also close to *gharbal* (Ibn Manzur 1981 5: 3848). It has come to mean sifting soil or similar substances and removing unwanted material. The documents describe the men of the profession as *karabilat al-turab* (21/1: 245) and *mukarbilu al-turab* (31/9: 27). The work of these men would precede that of the shovellers (*al-mujarifi*—see below).

Another document dated 11 Ramadan 955/14 October 1548 specifies the wages of three labourers who had worked as *karabalat al-turab* at a house in the Aulad al-‘Alam quarter; they were to receive 30 *‘uthmanis* (21/1: 254). On the other hand, one estimate set the *mukarbil*’s wage for reconstruction work at al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya at 5 *sultanis*, a sum which also included the wages of *qufaf* and water-carrier, and took in the cost of digging the foundations (31/9: 271). The estimate of reconstruction work on Turba Baraka Khan on Khatt Da‘ud specifies the wages for *mukarbilin* at 8 *qit‘a misriyya* on 13 Rabi‘ II 1038/10 December 1628 (115/1: 116; for Turba Baraka Khan see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 45; Najm 1983: 137-8; Burgoyne 1987: 109-16).

b. *al-Mujarifiyya* (shovellers)

The term *mujarifiyya*, plural of *mujarifi*, is derived from the Arabic verb *jarafa*, meaning to move something on the ground with a spade or shovel (Ibn Manzur 1981 1: 603). The term refers to the man who prepares the mud for construction work using a shovel (the same implement is widely used today, see al-Qasimi 1960 1: 93; 2: 532). The job would therefore also require the labourer to know the correct quantities of building materials in terms of the proportion of *qusurmil* which a *qintar* of cast *shid* would need (for these terms, see below). A suitable quantity of water would then be added to the mixture. All this would be mixed with the shovel for a specified time (al-Qasimi 1960 2: 415; for *qintar* see Hinz 1970: 24-7; Ashtor 1991: 117). A shoveller received 12.5 *‘uthmanis* according to a document dated 19 Jumada II 954/6 August 1547, which refers to a labourer who had worked on Zawayat al-Maghariba (19/1: 243; for Zawayat al-Maghariba see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 45-6). On 11 Rabi‘ I 955/20 April 1548, Ahmad al-Mujarifi worked for five days on the reconstruction of a house in the Bab Hitta quarter for which he received 62.5 *‘uthmanis*, while on 9 Muharram 960/26 December 1552, Mansur al-Mujarifi, who worked for three days on the reconstruction of a house which was part of al-Hujra al-Sharifa *waqf* in al-Sharaf quarter, received 7.5 *‘uthmanis*; Isma‘il Sani‘ is recorded in the document as receiving the same amount (27/2: 413).

Apparently some form of emergency tax was imposed on the people from time to time. The documents refer to these taxes as *‘awarid* (accidental) (on *‘awarid* see Gibb and Bowen 1951 1: I /35; Gibb and Bowen 1957 1: II/3; Gibb 1960: 760-1; Barkan 1961 2: 13-19; Sahilioglu 1991 4: 108-9; Ipşirli 1991 4: 109). The people would pay a specific sum towards these *‘awarid*, in addition to amounts paid to masons and labourers involved in reconstruction. The *‘awarid* would be imposed by royal order (*awamir sultaniyya sharifa*). The sultanal noble order (*al-amr al-sharif al-sultani*) cited in the document regarding *‘awarid* collection in Jerusalem gives a specific amount—80

‘uthmani sahih per khana. A construction mason together with a labourer would take control of 100 *khana*s. However, Mahmud ibn Ahmad al-Khuraishi and Kamal ibn Yahliq protested against this specific order, for which they received a reprimand as punishment (66/8: 188; for the term *khana* see Atallah 1986: 81 n. 133). The inhabitants of Hebron also protested against the order on 6 Jumada II 994/25 May 1586. A group of them travelled to Jerusalem to meet the *qadi* of Jerusalem, Muhammad Efendi. They explained to him the situation of the poor people in Hebron, who, they said, were living on *al-simat al-karim* (meal flour). They added that the male inhabitants of the city could be classified as: 100 men who were servants of the prophets (*Maqamat al-Anbiya*’); 100 men who served *simat*; 100 men who were poor. Despite the *qadi*’s understanding of their situation and their inability to pay, he merely agreed to lighten their burden by imposing an *‘awarid* of only 10 *khana*s in compliance with the royal order (66/3: 196).

From the noble order received by Nablus, mentioned in a document dated 20 Jumada II 994/8 June 1586, it appears that one construction mason and labourer would be supported from 100 *khana*s. The amount of their wage was, however, not specified. This led to a dispute with the people of Nablus about the level of wages for masons and labourers due from each *khana*. The Nabulsi decided to send Ahmad ibn al-Hajj Muhammad to accompany al-Qadi Muhyi al-Din Khalifa, the royal legal deputy of Nablus (*al-na‘ib al-shar‘i bi-Nablus*), together with masons and labourers. They explained that they would pay the sum to Ahmad regardless of the amount due to the masons and labourers. Certain notables of Nablus, among them Ahmad ibn Muhammad, al-Hajj Nafi‘ ibn Muhammad al-Fidawi and al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Hasan, wanted Ahmad ibn al-Hajj Muhammad—who was to pay the masons and labourers on request—to accompany the deputy *qadi* Muhyi al-Din at whatever time he left with the *‘awarid*. Meanwhile, both Maulana Yahya Efendi al-Daftardar bi-Liwa’ al-Sham and Maulana Haidar Beg Qa’immaqam Amir al-Umara’ forwarded a reminder stipulating that if and when there were no masons and labourers, 32 *qit‘a* would be collected from each *khana*. On this basis, the Nabulsi collected the wages due (66/2: 111).

Building Materials

The documents provide accurate information on the building materials used in Jerusalem in the 16th and 17th centuries. The materials are as follows.

1. Stone

The documents make clear reference to several kinds of stone used in construction: *jabsh* (rubble) and *jabsh nari* (fire rubble) (4/4: 219-20); *‘uqadi* or *‘uqadiya* (96/3: 274;

105/1: 102; 168/1: 408); *al-ayyubi* (31/3: 63); *al-mazzi* (124/1: 316); *al-manhut* (83/2: 43; 144/1: 326); *al-salb* (83/2: 43); *al-qantari* and *al-mamillawi* (134/1: 195). The documents also refer to other components made from stone: *al-'atabats* (door-steps), *sawaqif* (lintels) (144/1: 326; 151/1: 322) and *al-zawayya* (squares) (155/1: 92) (see Appendix 12.3). Ahmad al-Khuraishi is cited as a stone-dealer on 18 Jumada II 945/12 October 1538 (10/1: 80). The documents cover the possibility of buying stone according to specification. On 3 Rabi' I 963/16 January 1556, al-Mu'allim Banul al-Istanbuli al-Rumi al-Mi'mar al-Nasrani, al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar and al-Mu'allim Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi agreed to prepare 100 *ayyubi* stones according to the following measurements: length 16 *qirat*, width 10 *qirat* per stone; in addition 60 *dhira'* (arms) of the same stone, the size of each to be 4 *qirat* square, for one silver piece for each stone. The document also states that the cost of transportation would be borne by the sultanate (31/3: 63).

On Akhir Dhu'l-Qa'da 993/23 November 1585, *qudwat al-tuqah wa-'l-mustahfiz* Sinan Aga of the Jerusalem Citadel and the *amin* in charge of building a wall round Wali Allah Sayyidi Abi 'Abd Allah al-Qurashi cemetery, bought 2,000 *mazzi* stones from al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn Husain ibn Nammar, Yusuf al-Halabi, Musa al-Halabi, Musa ibn 'Ubaid, Mahmud ibn Husain, Jauhar ibn 'Abd Allah, Muhammad Shuqair and Muhammad al-Qanawati. The stones had the following specifications: 500 stones to be 2/3 of a building arm (*dhira'*); 500 stones to be 14 fingers (*asabi'*) in length each; 500 stones each one to be half an arm in length; and 500 stones each to be 10 fingers in length. Their width was to be 1/3 of an arm, 9 fingers, and 10 fingers respectively. Sinan paid a total of 26 *sultani* gold coins (new gold *sulaimani*) (66/2: 621). Another document, dated Saturday 8 Rabi' II 999/3 February 1591, makes reference to the possibility of re-using stones from disused sites in other locations. Al-Shaikh Salah al-Din al-Ju'bi, *mutawalli* of Bimaristan *waqf*, asked permission from the current *qadi* to allow him to use some of the stone from a disused house for the reconstruction of Dabbur House, which belonged to the *waqf*. The *qadi* granted him permission (72/2: 354). Appendix 12.3 illustrates the types of stone, their use, their quantities and their price.

2. Rough-cast

Walls would be faced either with rough-cast (a lime and gravel mix) or tiles (Ibn Manzur 1981 4: 2374; Ghalib 1988: 239). The documents refer to the highest quality of rough-cast as *al-tayyib al-jadid al-hajar al-fahl al-salim min al-banduq wa-min 'aybin mithlihi* (2/2: 268; 33/2: 460; 39/2: 391; 96/1: 314). The documents refer to some places which specialised in the production of rough-cast; Bait Hanina (4/1: 446; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 120); Lifta

(39/2: 391; 96/1: 314; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 115) and Majdal Fadil (16/1: 45; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 123). A document dated 2 Rajab 954/18 August 1517 refers to a price of 8 *qit'a* silver *sulaimaniyya* coins per *qintar* of higher quality rough-cast. Anyone who violated the set price would receive the due punishment with the knowledge of al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* (2/2: 268). It is worth noting that rough-cast was procured through *al-salam* (forward buying). On 10 Sha'ban 964/8 June 1557, al-Qadi al-'Allama Abu 'l-'Aun al-Diri sent 10 *sultani* to al-Mu'allim Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar for 55 *qintars* of high-quality rough-cast. He would deliver it in Ghurra Shawwal/28 July of the same year (33/2: 460). On 10 Ramadan 967/4 June 1560, al-Khwaja Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Khwaja Jalal al-Din ibn Diklik sent 10 *sultani* gold coins to 'Imran ibn al-Harish and al-Hajj 'Ali ibn Hasan of Lifta village in payment for 50 *qintars* of higher quality rough-cast. They had to deliver that quantity after Salkh Dhu'l-Qa'da/22 August of the same year (39/2: 391). In Ghurra Rajab 1024/27 July 1615, 'Auda ibn Nammar, Ma'ali ibn Sa'd Yusuf ibn Khalil, 'Assaf ibn Saqar, Mufarrij ibn Mur'ib, Sadaqa ibn Ghabayin, Hijaz ibn Zafir and Buraq ibn Muhammad, all of Lifta, were pre-paid 113.5 *ghirsh* silver coins by *hawi al-mahamid wa'l-makarim* Sulaiman Aga, *nazir* of al-Aqsa and al-Sakhra *waqf*. He was also the *mandub* (delegate) in charge of the construction of the eastern face of al-Aqsa Mosque wall as well as the Tower of David in the Jerusalem Citadel. All this was pre-payment for 200 *qintars* of excellent rough-cast, and delivery would be secured for Ghurra Ramadan/24 September of the same year. They also undertook to offer Sulaiman 100 *qintars* in return for 17 *qit'a misriyya* per *qintar* after completion of delivery of the former quantity (96/1: 314).

Among those specialising in selling rough-cast were 'Ali ibn al-Najjar of Bait Hanina (4/1: 446), and Hanna, Nasr and Farraj, Christians of Majdal Fadil (16/1: 45). Appendix 4 illustrates the quantities of rough-cast and the prices. From the information in the appendix, the conclusion is that the *qintar* was the unit of measure in general use; in rare cases a camel-load (*himl*) was also used (Hinz 1970: 13-14). The average cost of 1 *qintar* of rough-cast was 1 *ghirsh* (see Appendix 12.4).

3. al-Qusurmil

Qusurmil was made from ash extracted from *qammim al-hammam* (al-Qasimi and al-'Azam 1960 2: 363; al-Nimr 1961 2: 109). The presence of numerous baths in Jerusalem helped to produce the material. These included Hamman al-Sultan, Hammam al-'Ain, Hammam al-Batrak, Hammam 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir, Hammam al-Asbat, Hammam al-Shifa', Hammam Da'ud, Hammam Bab al-Mutawadda, Mustaham Daraj al-'Ain (Atallah 1988: 224-5). 'Ali ibn al-Tibi was one of the people who

specialised in selling the material from Hammam Tankiz (6/2: 354-5), as were Ibn al-Fakhkhar and Ibn al-Naja (10/1: 80). The material was used—after riddling and processing at the hands of a shoveller (see above)—for covering roofs and for flooring. The documents refer to specialists in laying *qusurmīl*. Al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn al-Karth is a case in point (6/2: 354-5). One *mu'allim* received 5 'uthmani for three days' work in laying the material in 952/1545 (17/5: 330). On 24 Ramadan 968/8 June 1561, the master's and labourers' wages for laying *qusurmīl* were estimated at 40 *qit'a misriyya* (40/2: 355). On 9 Jumada I 1038/4 January 1629 the total wages for *mu'allimin*, labourers, layers, brushes and mortar to make the *qusurmīl* amounted to 7 *ghirsh* (115/1: 179) (see Appendix 15.5).

With regard to the price of *qusurmīl*, there is a noticeable difference between summer and winter. A document dated 22 Sha'ban 955/26 September 1548 specifies the price of *quffa min al-qusurmīl al-tayyib al-salim min al-'ayb mithl al-zibil* (21/1: 210) per *quffa* (basket) for al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar at 1 *qit'a halabiyya* each in summer, while in winter it was double the cost at 2 *qit'a halabiyya*. It should be noted that the price was arranged with the prior knowledge of al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar and Abu 'l-Fadl ibn al-Qalqili al-Muhtasib, and the masters of the baths (*mu'allimi al-hammamat*) Musa ibn al-'Arif, Muhammad ibn Warjis, Muhammad ibn al-Sulami and Daghiri (21/1: 210; for *qit'a halabiyya* see Cohen 1989: 48-9). Appendix 5 illustrates the quantities of *qusurmīl* used and its prices. The conclusion is that the camel-load (*himl*) and basket-load (*quffa*) were the only two units of measure used for *al-qusurmīl*. (On *quffa* see al-Qasimi and al-'Azmi 1960 2: 361-2).

4. Paving stones (*al-balat*)

Stone slabs were used to cover the floor or walls of a house or to produce a smooth flat pavement (Ibn Manzur 1981 1: 344; Atallah 1988: 88). The legal documents refer to many brands of these slabs: *marji* (31/1: 7); *'uqud* (31/3: 53); *mazzi* (31/1: 110; 33/4: 259); *mahalli* (local) (40/2: 513); *ayyubi* (66/2: 62), as well as red, black and white varieties (31/1: 110; 157/1: 3373; 174/1: 10). The documents also show the processes through which the paving-stones would pass—quarrying, cutting to size and polishing with sand (31/1: 7; 31/1: 110; 43/2: 263; 174/1: 10). It seems that in this period people were skilled in processing old paving-stones and restoring them by means of veneer and repair. For example, on 7 Shawwal 954/20 November 1547, al-Mu'allim Nauba received 50 *qit'a* for two days' work in veneering and repairing the pavement of the Madrasa al-Manjakiyya (20/1: 83). The documents also refer to the process of making and selling the paving-stones by the arm measure. On 3 Rabi' I 963/6 January 1556, al-Mu'allim Banul al-Istanbuli al-Rumi al-Mi'mar al-Nasrani, al-

Mu'allim Khalil ibn Nammar and al-Mu'allim Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi all agreed to cut *mazzi* paving-stones for the new bath, Hammam al-Sultan. The measurements were to be: 50 arms wide, 16 *qirat* per slab; and, in addition, another 50 arms of paving stones, the measurements of which would be 1 arm by 1 arm. Hanna ibn Da'ud, Musa ibn Nasr Allah, 'Aun al-Halabi and Yusuf ibn Nabi' were also contracted to prepare 100 arms of *mazzi* tiles, with the value of each arm set at 6 *qit'a*. The cost of their transportation would be borne by the sultanate (31/3: 63; for Hammam al-Sultan see Atallah 1988: 224 n. 1840). On 1 Muharram 969/11 September 1561, the needs of al-Madrasa al-Qa'itba'iyya were estimated at 80 arms of *mahalli* (local) slabs at a value of 20 *sultani* (40/2: 513; for al-Madrasa al-Qa'itba'iyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 290, 325, 328-9; al-'Arif 1961: 255-6; Najm 1983: 306-10; Burgoyne 1987: 589-605).

At the end of Dhu'l-Qa'da 993/November 1585, Sinan Aga of the Jerusalem Citadel purchased from certain architects eight *ayyubi* frame-slabs measuring 2.5 arms in length by 1.5 arms in width at a price of 2 *sultani* gold coins of the *sulaimani* type. The slabs were to be transported by donkey or horse to Ra's Mamilla (66/2: 621). The total cost of paving Hammam al-Batrak in black, white and red stone as well as marble was more than 3,790 *qit'a misriyya* on 15 Jumada I 1033/6 March 1624 (107/1: 373; for Hammam al-Batrak see Atallah 1988: 224 n. 1837). The Dome of the Rock was in need of new paving at the end of Sha'ban 1080/22 January 1670 at an estimated amount of 4,000 arms, the value of which would amount to 1,500 silver *ghirsh 'adadi*. Some 500 *ghirsh* were also earmarked to renovate the old paving stones (171/2: 274). In Awasi Rajab 1082/17 November 1671, the *mutawalli* in charge of Hebron and al-Sakhra *waqf*, Ahmad Aga, reached an agreement with the architects al-Hajj Hasan and al-Hajj 'Ali ibn Karim al-Din to cover the esplanade of the Rock with 6,000 *dhira'* (arms) of new and old slabs, the total value of which was more than 300 *ghirsh asadi* (174/1: 190).

References to men laying stone slabs appear in the documents on the occasion of paving work in the yard of a house in Khatt Bab al-Hadid on Ghurrah Safar 963/16 December 1555 (31/1: 7; 42/2: 263). Al-Mu'allim Khalil and the son of his brother Mahmud, Husain ibn Nammar, al-Mu'allim Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi, Diyab ibn Ramadan, Hanna ibn Da'ud al-Nasrani and 'Aun ibn Musa al-Nasrani all agreed on 20 Rabi' I 963/2 February 1556 to pave two baths which were the property of al-'Amara al-'Amira at a cost of 75 gold *sultani* (31/1: 110). Dair Yasin was one of the places where people specialised in quarrying the slabs (17/2: 279; al-Dabbagh 188 1: 258-9).

5. Faience

Ceramic or faience tiling is traditionally associated with the

city of Kashan (Atallah 1988: 160, 308; al-Rumi 1990 4: 336). *Qashani* are mentioned during the renovation of Qubbat al-Silsila (Dome of the Chain). A document dated 7 Sha‘ban 969/12 April 1562 explains how the dome was in need of *qashani* work on the interior and the exterior façades, in addition to the interior of the *mihrab* (43/6: 280; for Qubbat al-Silsila see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 18-19; Najm 1983: 73-4). In Awasi Rajab 1082/November 1671 the Dome of the Rock needed 3,000 large and 500 small *qashani* at a total cost of more than 1,083 silver *ghirsh* ‘*adadi* (174/1: 190).

6. Marble

Marble—soft, smooth, white or coloured (Ghalib 1988: 199)—was used on the exterior in the construction of an oven in the Maghariba quarter, the property of the Maghariba *waqf*. On 16 Jumada I 958/22 May 1551, twelve pieces of marble were used for the oven, at a total value of 130 *qit‘a* (24/6: 514). Marble was used to face the *mihrab* of Qubbat al-Silsila on 7 Sha‘ban 969/12 April 1562. It amounted to one post (43/6: 280).

7. Gravel

Gravel or small stones (Ibn Manzur 1981 2: 892-3; Ghalib 1988: 133) appear in the documents as *hasma* (20/1: 90) on 11 Dhu‘l-Qa‘da 954/23 December 1547, when reference is made to expenses relating to a house which was the property of Abi Sharif *waqf*; and again in a document dated Ghurra Jumada II 955/8 July 1548 (21/2: 503) when the expenses needed for al-Madrassa al-Tuluniyya amounted to 45 *qit‘a*.

8. Gypsum

This material is used in the building process by applying it to stones during construction (Ibn Manzur 1981 1: 537, 630; al-Qasimi and al-‘Azmi 1960 1: 77; Ghalib 1988: 115). Appendix 12.6 illustrates the quantities required and the prices of gypsum in various places. It shows an increase in the price per *qintar* during the 17th century. A *qintar* was more than 5 *ghirsh* in value.

9. al-Hamra

The documents refer to this material as *ahmar* or *hamar*, meaning red. The red substance would be added to rough-cast to obtain a red mixture. Fakhr al-A‘yan Hamza Çelebi Nazir al-Haramain was one of the people to become involved in the business. On Friday 9 Rabi‘ II 971/26 November 1563 he sold 2 *qintars* of *al-hamra* through two Christians, al-Mu‘allim Mikha‘il ibn Jirjis al-Sairafi and Yusuf ibn Musa ibn Muhayya al-Tarabulsi, in return for 60 *sultani* gold coins, of the new gold *sulaimani* type (45/5: 28).

On another occasion, 18 Muharram 996/19 December 1587, al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya was in need of

gypsum, the value of which amounted to 130 *qit‘a shamiyya* (67/4: 71; for al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 37; al-‘Arif 1961: 254; Nasir 1974: 63-4; Ghawanim 1982: 160-1; Najm 1983: 288-91; Nasir 1983: 209-46; Burgoyne 1987: 555-67). On 25 Jumada I 1111/18 November 1699, 5,000 *mudd* were needed to construct al-Marji‘ pools at a total cost of more than 1,200 *ghirsh* (199/1: 318).

10. Linen (al-kattan)

A putty made from threads of lint would be added to the rough-cast. The resulting mixture would be used to plaster and to face walls (Atallah 1988: 323). Al-Nimr pointed out that walls treated with this mixture would last for longer (al-Nimr 1961: 2/113). A document dated Awa‘il Dhu‘l-Hijja 997/11 October 1589 set the sum of 30 *qit‘a misriyya* as the cost of gypsum and lint plaster (69/1: 329). 35 *qintars* of lint were required to construct the al-Marji‘ pools on 25 Jumada I 1111/18 November 1699 at a cost of over 1,300 *ghirsh* (199/1: 318).

11. Brick

As explained above, carmine brick is sun-baked. There is a reference to this material in a document dated 7 Sha‘ban 969/12 April 1562 on the occasion of building with brick inside the Qubbat al-Silsila (43/6: 280).

12. Wood

Wood is one of the primary raw materials used for construction work in general (Atallah 1988: 174). Wooden boards were used for roofs, doors, windows and such like. A document dated 16 Jumada II 952/25 August 1545 refers to the price of *sandyen* wood (17/1: 161). On 29 Jumada I 952/8 August 1545, a house belonging to the Abi Sharif *waqf* needed fourteen wooden boards, at a value of 70 *qit‘a* (17/1: 125). On the other hand, on 7 Shawwal 954/20 November 1547, al-Madrassa al-Manjakiyya was roofed with wooden boards which cost 40 *qit‘a* (20/1: 183). On 3 Rajab 956/28 July 1549, the expenses here amounted to 28 *qit‘a* (23/2: 52). The estimated needs of al-Madrassa al-Hasaniyya for wooden boards, nails and dowelling amounted to 200 *qit‘a shamiyya* on 15 Muharram 996/16 December 1587 (67/3: 64; for the term for nails [*dusur*] see Ghalib 1988: 188; for al-Hasaniyya see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2/40-1; al-‘Arif 1961: 249; Nasir 1974: 70; Ghawanim 1982: 160; Burgoyne 1987: 534-41). On 18 Muharram 996/19 December 1587, al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya needed 480 *qit‘a shamiyya* worth of the same material (67/4: 71).

13. Nails

Nails were used for work in wood undertaken by carpenters. Mikha‘il al-Nasrani and his partner were among the specialists in the nail business. On 9 Ramadan

943/19 February 1537, Khan al-Ghadiriyya needed 2 *ratls* of nails (6/2: 354-5; for *ratl* see Atiya 1913 3: 1219-20; Hinz 1970: 29; Ashtor 1991 6: 118).

The expenses of the *khan* at Bab al-Qattanin in terms of nails during different periods in 951-2/1544-5 were as follows: 0.5 *ratl* of nails at 12 *qit'a*; 8 *awaq* at 16 *qit'a*; 1 *ratl* at 24 *qit'a*; 4 *awaq* at 8 *qit'a* (17/1: 204). In the same year, renovation at Maqam Yunus needed 1.5 *ratls* of nails (16/1: 54; for Maqam Yunus see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 270).

A house, the property of the Abi Sharif *waqf*, required 1 *ratl* of nails on 29 Jumada I 952/8 August 1545 at a cost of 24 *qit'a* (17/1: 125). During the 17th century, there are also references to estimated amounts of wood and nails. Khan al-Wakala in al-Suq al-Kabir, the property of al-Sakhra and Hebron *waqf*, required 15 *ghirsh*, worth. A house located in al-'Amud quarter was estimated to need 15 *qit'a misriyya* in Awa'il Safar 1017/17 May 1608 (88/2: 50; 1: 79).

Functions of the Architect

The most usual functions undertaken by architects were construction and renovation work. This included *takhil* (repainting), removing walls and houses, building walls, paving, plastering, etc. All this work needed due legal process before it could begin, bearing in mind that all matters regarding construction and building work in general came under the authority of the *qadi*. The *mi'mar bashi* had the same power. The legal process fell into two main fields—inspection and construction.

1. Inspection

The process of inspection included checking the building site as well as estimating any damage to it as a first step towards getting approval for reconstruction, renovation or other maintenance. This, as the legal documents show, would be done by the person in charge of the site in question. He could be a *nazir*, superintendent, head or tenant. He would attend the Noble Council in Jerusalem to clarify the nature of the damage so that he could obtain a permit from the *qadi* to allow him to start the required construction work, after the authenticity of the information presented by the applicant had been checked. It should be noted that the application to conduct an inspection at certain sites would be done via the sultan by way of a royal order, or by way of an *amir* by sending a 'noble' memorandum, or by letter from *mir liwa' al-Quds* to the *qadi* to initiate the necessary process. The *qadi* would appoint a legal architectural committee which very often included the deputy *qadi* and sometimes the *qadi* himself, in addition to a *mi'mar bashi*, architects and others. This committee would inspect the site in the light of the information that had been submitted, and would

determine the necessity of carrying out any repair or construction work. A report was then forwarded to the *qadi* so that he could consider the appropriate action.

Eighty cases of various types of inspection have been found described in the 16th- and 17th- century documents. These refer to: 24 schools (see Appendix 12.7), 20 houses (see Appendix 12.8), 6 *zawiyas* (see Appendix 12.9), 4 *arbitas* (hospices) (see Appendix 12.10), 3 canals (see Appendix 12.11) and 23 Christian sites (see Appendix 12.12). It should be noted that some places were inspected more than once.

When Shaikh al-Islam al-'Afifi ibn Jama'a assumed the post of teacher and *nazara* (administrator) at al-Madrassa al-Salahiyya, he immediately took it upon himself to begin the work of construction and repair of the school and its *waqf*. In Awakhir Rabi' II 944/5 October 1537, he asked the current *qadi*, *maulana al-efendi* 'Abd al-Rahim, to inspect the school and its *waqf* buildings in order to estimate the requirements. He also requested that expenditure on *waqf* beneficiaries should cease because of the cost of reconstruction. The *qadi* himself inspected the school and found that there had been heavy wear and tear in the building and its *waqf* premises, and that it needed both reconstruction and renovation. Nevertheless, the *qadi* argued that the necessary construction work could not be implemented due to a lack of available rough-cast because of the *khudawandkariyya* royal work. He ordered the administrator (*nazir*) of the school to pay out the customary grants to students, employees and assistants. The *qadi* agreed only to the renovation using *qusurmil* of the school roof, the roof of Suq al-'Attarin and Suwaiqat Bab Hitta. The amount of *qusurmil* needed to complete the work was estimated at 600 *himl* (camel-loads) (6/2: 692-3; for al-Madrassa al-Salahiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 41; al-'Arif 1961: 236-8; Ghawanima 1982: 166-8; Najm 1983: 102-3; for Suq al-'Attarin see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 50). In addition, *maulana al-efendi* Nur al-Din Damra, a former *qadi* of Jerusalem, went himself to al-Madrassa al-Mu'azzamiyya to make his own inspection. He found that it had both upper- and lower-storey dwellings on the verge of collapse, while others were already completely destroyed, and some other places were in need of reconstruction. Other sites required debris to be removed and then reconstruction work to be undertaken. Some roofs were crumbling and had holes as a result of heavy rain and lack of repair and maintenance. He granted permission for Shaikh Sharaf al-Din ibn Musa al-Diri al-Hanafi, the *imam* of al-Sakhra and the *nazir* (administrator) of the school, to spend the 953/1546 *waqf* money (which was due in 954/1547) on the restoration of the school building. The construction work lasted from 11 Ramadan to 6 Dhu'l-Qa'da 954/25 October to 18 December 1547. The total expense amounted to 2,939 *qit'a* (20/1 26; for al-Madrassa al-Mu'azzamiyya see al-

‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 42; al-‘Arif 1961: 240-1; Ghawanima 1982: 170-2; Najm 1983: 134-5). On Awa’il Jumada II 958/6 June 1551, Muhyi al-Din Khalifa ibn ‘Abd al-Karim, administrator of al-Madrassa al-Hanbaliyya, drew attention to the quarter located to the south of the school *waqf*. He found the place beyond use and in very bad shape. No one would rent it and the school had no income to spend on its reconstruction. He therefore asked the *qadi* to inspect the quarter in question and to grant permission for the removal of its eastern side in order to sell the resulting debris so that the proceeds could be spent on rebuilding the school itself. The committee set up by the *qadi* at the time was made up of *maulana* Shams al-Din Muhammad al-‘Alami and al-Mu‘allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi*. They both inspected the site and found the administrator’s report to be true. The *qadi* allowed the *nazir* (administrator) to have the wall of the quarter in question removed and to sell its debris (rubble) to interested buyers. The proceeds were then to be used to reconstruct and renovate the school (25/3: 59; for al-Madrassa al-Hanbaliyya see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 44; al-‘Arif 1961: 250; Ghawanima 1982: 172-3; Najm 1983: 240-1; Burgoyne 1987: 437-43).

On 17 Rajab 964/16 May 1557, *malik al-umara* ‘Ali Beg, former *mir liwa* of Jerusalem, sent a letter to Qadi ‘Abd al-Rahman asking him to inspect al-Madrassa al-Ghadiyya. If it needed reconstruction, the money for the work was to be taken from ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jabi. The *qadi* went to the school himself, accompanied by Qadi Sa’d al-Din *al-muhandis* and Ustad Husain ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi* and others. They all came to the conclusion that some places were in need of renovation; a high wall overlooking the pool was required as well as repair to stone, wooden doors, stonework of the stairs, renovation of the meeting hall (*al-majma*’), lead for the column, and *qusurmil* to be used for repairing the interior and exterior surfaces. Rough-cast and labourers were also required. The costs of labour and materials would come to a total of 10 *sultani* according to the estimate by al-Mu‘allim Husain *mi‘mar bashi* (33/2: 360; 4: 410; for al-Madrassa al-Ghadiyya see al-‘Ulaimi 1973 2: 22; al-‘Arif 1961: 253; Burgoyne 1987: 526-33).

Shaikh Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn al-Hajj Nasir al-Din, *nazir* of al-Madrassa al-Afdaliyya, reported that the school and the *barwa’ik* (warehouses) of *‘arasat al-ghilal* (the fallow area for grain) where crops would be sold, in addition to the inner *barwa’ik* where animals would be tethered—all the property of the school *waqf*—were in need of construction and renovation. He added that grain merchants or importers (*jallabat al-ghilal*, literally meaning those who collected a variety of goods) had been damaged economically due to the condition of the site and the lack of places in which to secure their animals. They also complained about loss of ropes as a result of the non-reconstruction of the inner *barwa’ik*. All this had also

resulted in damage to the *waqf* and a decrease in its income. On 12 Muharram 965/4 November 1557, the *qadi* was granted permission to inspect these locations, to assess them and to make an estimate of the necessary work; he also obtained permission to spend the proceeds of renting the warehouse, and to borrow extra funds if needed. The *qadi* appointed a committee that was made up of al-Qadi Taqi al-Din al-‘Alami al-Maliki and *iftikhar al-mi‘mariyya* al-Mu‘allim Muhammad ibn Ramadan, with the administrator (*nazir*) of the school in attendance. The three members of the committee duly inspected the school and its *barwa’ik*. The buildings were indeed found to be in need of reconstruction and repair, the cost of which was estimated at 89 *para* (53/1: 102; 90/1: 287; for *para* see Atallah 1988: 41 n. 82; Cohen 1989: 48-53, 115-17).

On 28 Ramadan 968/12 June 1561, *qudwat arab al-iqbal* Murad Çelebi Daftardar Efendi sent a *tadkhira sharifa* (‘noble memorandum’) to the *qadi* and to *iftikhar al-akarim* Mustafa Beg in Jerusalem informing them of the need to build and renovate al-Madrassa al-Qa’itba’iyya. The memorandum asked him to undertake the building work with the prior knowledge of the *waqf mutawalli*, and explained the necessity of giving priority to the reconstruction work over expenditure on beneficiaries. In accordance with these instructions, the *qadi* himself and *fakhr al-‘ulama* Mahmud al-Diri, *mutawalli al-madrassa* (in charge of the school), together with al-Mu‘allim Muhammad ibn Ramadan *mi‘mar bashi* and al-Mu‘allim Mahmud ibn Nammar *al-mi‘mar* inspected the school and found that some parts were in need of reconstruction and repair. The two architects assessed the cost at 50 *sultani* gold coins. They also estimated that the school would require 80 *dhira*’ of paving stones and local slabs at a cost of 20 *sultani* (40/2: 513).

On Awa’il Jumada II 1003/11 February 1595, Shaikh Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhyi al-Din ibn Jama’a, *mutawalli* of al-Madrassa al-Khatuniyya, stated that the eastern wall of the stable (*qabu al-tahun*) in the Jewish quarter, property of the *waqf*, had collapsed. Some parts of the northern wall were also crumbling, and its roof was dilapidated due to heavy snow and rain. He also explained that no money was available from the *waqf* that could be used for the reconstruction. He asked the *qadi* to inspect the stable and to give him permission to borrow funds. The *qadi* acted by appointing a committee consisting of al-Hajj Muhammad al-Turjuman and al-Mu‘allim Mahmud ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi* to inspect the place. They found that the eastern wall did need reconstruction and part of the western wall needed rebuilding. They also recommended treating the wall with *sarara* and *mu‘allaqa* (materials normally used for the renovation of roofs) and they assessed the required work at 800 *qit’a misriyya*. Basing his decision on this estimate, the *qadi* permitted the *mutawalli* to undertake the stated building work (76/3: 334).

Al-'allama al-shaikh Ya'qub al-Qarqashandi, *al-wakil* (deputy) of Shaikh Ishaq ibn Abi 'l-Lutf, *mutawalli waqf al-madrassa al-malikiyya*, explained that he had been asked by *qudwata' al-a'yan* (dignitaries) Hasan and Ahmad, officials at the Sublime Porte (*al-bab al-'ali*) and the appointees for the inspection and assessment of the *waqf*, to inspect the school and assess its requirements. On Awasiit Jumada I 1041/16 January 1596, Ya'qub asked the *qadi* to set up a committee to inspect the property with the two Porte officials; Musa Efendi ibn 'Abd al-Latif and al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* were duly appointed to do so. The two-member committee made their inspection and found that the roof was in need of treating with *qusurmil*. Other areas required paving repair, and yet others reconstruction or repair. According to the *mi'mar bashi*'s estimate, the work would cost 25 *sultani* for *qusurmil*, rough-cast, paving stones, wages for masons and labourers, and mortar. The *qadi* instructed the *wakil* in question to spend the estimated amount taken from the *waqf* income (77/1: 252; 2: 252; for al-Madrassa al-Malikiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 38; al-'Arif 1961: 246; Ghawanima 1982: 157; Najm 1983: 203-6).

On another occasion, on Ghurraṭ Saḡar 1016/28 May 1607, *maulana al-sayyid* Mahmud ibn Abi 'l-Waḡa explained that the stable located in al-Madrassa al-Husainiyya, and leading from al-Aqsa Mosque, was on the verge of collapse and had holes in its walls. The roof of the latrine (*kanif*) also needed repair. He intended to reconstruct and repair it from his own pocket as a form of donation. He accordingly asked for an inspection and structural report on the place. The *qadi* duly appointed *al-'allama* Muhammad al-Ghazzi, al-Ustad 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* and others to estimate the required reconstruction; they did so and found that it came to 53 *ghirsh* and 20 *qit'a misriyya* (87/2: 192). Appendix 7 illustrates the funds required to meet the needs of the school in terms of reconstruction and renovation throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Because of an earthquake which struck Jerusalem in the middle of the 10th/16th centuries (described in the documents as 'a trembling and heavenly catastrophe' 18/1: 253; 25/1: 204), several parts of the city were damaged and were in need of repair and reconstruction. The following are a few of the locations. When the earthquake destroyed the *qantara* (arch) located in the Ribat of 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir and the small house above it, and other places belonging to al-Madrassa al-Manjakiyya to the west, the damage was immediately evident to neighbours and pedestrians. The neighbours of the Ribat inspected the site on 15 Dhu'l-Qa'da 952/18 January 1546 and the *qadi* came himself with al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* and other knowledgeable experts. They concluded that there was no point in reconstructing it. Instead they suggested that the stones should be sold and the money

kept for future needs. They also called for the removal of the tomb and for its clearance. The debris from the *qantara* was offered for sale for three days; it was eventually sold for 400 'uthmani to Karim al-Din ibn Abi 'l-Waḡa', *shaikh al-ifta'* and of teaching, as well as *amin* (superintendent) of al-Aqsa Mosque (17/1: 448; for Ribat of 'Ala' al-Din see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 43; Burgoyne 1987: 117).

On 13 Jumada II 953/11 August 1546, when no further use was found for a small house (*al-duwaira*) in Mahallat al-Ghawanima, property of al-Hajj Khalifa's *waqf* (for *duwaira* see al-Maqrizi 1987 2: 415; Ghalib 1988: 192), Muhammad ibn Khalifa asked the *qadi* to appoint someone to carry out an inspection of the site. Al-Mu'allim Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*, together with other architects (who included al-Hajj 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Ahmad al-Sukkari and al-Mu'allim 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Halabi) participated in the site inspection. They found the place consisted of an open courtyard surrounded by low houses, the majority of which had been damaged. Others had fallen down and the rest were crumbling away, on the verge of collapse. The ground and roofs of the houses were found to have holes. Some places were in need of reconstruction and repair. In other places there was a need for total demolition and building again from scratch owing to flooding and heavy rain, especially after the complete destruction of the *duwaira* following the earthquake. The work of reconstruction and repair was estimated to come to more than 4,000 'uthmani. The inspection committee proposed that the site be replaced with one of the same value, and that either a full estate or part of one should be purchased. The *qadi* agreed to the proposal after appointing al-Hajj Muhammad *nazir al-waqf* (administrator). The place was sold to *malik al-umara'* Sinan Pasha for the price of 10,000 'uthmanis (18/1: 253).

Another house, located in al-'Amud quarter along Khatt Wadi al-Tawahin, was affected by the same earthquake. The house was sold for 30 *sultanis* after a careful examination by the architectural examining committee on 5 Muharram 959/2 January 1552 (25/1: 204; 1: 409). It should be noted that the same method of inspection was also operating in the 17th century (for more detail, see 84/1: 548; 117/1: 334; 150/1: 26; 193/2: 278-9; 198/1: 281).

Appendix 12.8 shows assessments of house requirements, while Appendix 12.9 illustrates *zawiya* requirements; Appendix 12.10 illustrates *arbita* needs during the 16th and 17th centuries.

It is also worth mentioning that the activities of the architects were in fact never restricted to those described above in terms of estimation of construction work. Their work covered other issues such as the inspection of damage resulting from building, participation in the assessment of rent, and the division of common ground. For example, the

property of both 'Ali ibn al-Khwaja Shams al-Din ibn Samum and Hajji Musa ibn al-Duhaina was damaged on 22 Safar 965/14 December 1557 as a result of al-Mu'allim Khalil ibn Abi Zaid al-Bitar digging a pit next to al-Nasiriyya soap-factory. They asked the *qadi* to inspect the site. The *qadi* appointed al-Qadi Yahya al-Diri, al-Hajj Muhammad al-Turjaman, al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* and al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn Ramadan, *al-mi'mar* of the Jerusalem Citadel to carry it out. These four suggested that al-Mu'allim Khalil rebuild on the east, constructing a wall of red soil, *qusurmil*, rough-cast, and 1 arm of *dhira' al-'amal* in order to avoid further damage (35/2: 131; for *dhira' al-'amal* see Hinz 1965 2: 231-2; Hinz 1970: 55).

In a document dated Awakhir Shawwal 997/10 September 1589 there is a reference to al-Mu'allim Musa ibn Mahmud al-Kurdi. This man owned a mill (*tahun*) located in al-Bab al-'Amud quarter adjacent to al-Hamra' Minaret; the mill was causing trouble to Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Shihab al-Din al-Sururi who lived nearby. The *shaikh* lodged a complaint with the *qadi* after the mill had caused damage to his house and harmed his neighbours. The *qadi*'s response was to forbid al-Mu'allim Musa from operating it, but Musa argued that the mill was a hundred years old and it had never previously caused any harm to anyone; he asked for an inspection of the site. The *qadi* appointed al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi*, al-Mu'allim Khalaf ibn Sulaiman and al-Mu'allim Musa ibn Kar'un. These three checked the mill and found that it was indeed an old works, and that it had been grinding grain for over a hundred years. They also concluded that the presence of the mill was of interest and benefit to the residents of the neighbourhood and that it would cause no harm to anyone. On this basis, the *qadi* permitted al-Mu'allim Musa to continue to run the mill as had been the case in the past (69/1: 277).

On 6 Rabi' I 1003/19 November 1594, Shaikh Burhan al-Din ibn al-Shaikh Ahmad al-Hariri lodged a complaint against the wish of Mulla Yusuf ibn 'Abd Allah al-Anbari's to build a latrine (*kanif*) on top of Shaikh Burhan's house. He approached al-Qadi Muhammad Efendi accompanied by experienced men, among them al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi*, his son Karim, al-Mu'allim Dhiyab ibn Ramadan and al-Mu'allim Musa ibn Kar'un. The architects explained that if the facility were to be built without any fenestration—not even a single small window—it would not harm Burhan's house. Provided that he abide by the architects' condition, the *qadi* gave Mulla Yusuf permission to build a latrine (76/1: 267).

Muhammad Aga lodged a complaint on 8 Rabi' I 1029/12 February 1620 with the official of *al-bab al-'ali* and the administrator of al-Sakhra *waqf* against a latrine that had been introduced into a house located in the Jewish quarter, the property of the *waqf*, where a number of Jews

were residing. The house was inspected by al-Qadi Mustafa al-'Alami and *fakhr aqranih* al-Usta Mustafa ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin, *ra'is al-mi'mariyya*, who later reported to the *qadi* about their findings after the inspection. The *qadi* ordered the facility to be moved to another site (102/2: 483).

On 10 Jumada II 1048/19 October 1638, because of a dispute between Tauba ibn Salah al-Akhras and Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffar al-Akhras concerning an upper-level house belonging to Ahmad located in al-Jawalida quarter, Tauba reported that the house was on the verge of collapse and he feared that it would destroy the lower-level house beneath. Al-Usta Khalil ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi* was ordered to renovate the house. Khalil inspected it and managed to solve the dispute to the effect that Ahmad was to repair the upper-level house by covering its roof with *qusurmil*, renovating and repointing it. Equally, Tauba was to renovate the lower-level house (127/2: 372; for more details see 143/3: 36; 160/1: 70; 2: 193).

With regard to the participation of the architects in estimating and approving rents, a document dated 23 Jumada I 1019/13 August 1610 makes reference to al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din ibn Musa ibn 'Asila, who for over sixty years had leased out his father's house which was located in the Christian quarter, for a rent of 15 *ghirsh*. The tenant had the right to benefit from rented property by adding to the building. Two architects, Badr al-Din ibn Sulaiman and Khalil ibn Khalaf, pointed out that the rent was the same as that of other similar properties in the same quarter (91/2: 64). On 21 Shawwal 1024/13 November 1615, *malik al-umara' maulana* 'Uthman Beg rented a plot of land pertaining to al-Madrasa al-Jawiliyya *waqf*, belonging to *Maulana* Shaikh al-Islam Ishaq ibn al-Shaikh 'Umar Siraj al-Din ibn Abi 'l-Lutf. The 6 by 1 arm plot was leased for thirty-six years at a cost of 300 *qit'a misriyya*, and the lessee was given the right to add more buildings if he wished. The architects Badr al-Din ibn Sulaiman *al-mi'mar* and Ibrahim ibn Ahmad testified that the rent was similar to that of other comparable properties (98/1: 88; for al-Madrasa al-Jawiliyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 38; al-'Arif 1961: 243-4; Ghawanima 1982: 159; Najm 1983: 179-81; Burgoyne 1987: 201-10).

On 3 Jumada I 1030/26 March 1621, *fakhr aqranih* al-Zaini Taha ibn Husain Çelebi rented a vault which was *waqf* property from *fakhr al-kuttab* Ishaq Çelebi ibn Ibrahim Çelebi ibn Shaikh al-Tankiziyya, *mutawalli waqf al-sadaqat al-hukmiyya*. The lease would last for forty-five years at a cost of 990 *qit'a misriyya*. The transaction was completed in the presence of, and with the approval of, al-Mu'allim Sa'd al-Din ibn al-Mu'allim Dhiyab *al-mi'mar* and al-Hajj Husain ibn 'Ali Altinbugha, both of whom were men with expertise in estates and the estimation of their values (105/1: 495; see also 105/1: 499; 116/1: 22-3; 139/1:

63). On Ghurraṭ Jumada II 1030/23 April 1621, al-Ustad ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi* estimated the rent of Hammam al-‘Ain located at the Bab al-Qattanin at 26 *qir‘a misriyya* per day (104/3: 227).

The architects also solved the problem of property held in common by dividing it between those in dispute. According to a document dated 10 Ramadan 1036/25 May 1627, following a dispute between ‘Awwad Walad Mikha’il al-Nasrani and his sister Saliha over a house and courtyard located in the Christian quarter, *al-faqir* Sulaiman al-Da’udi and *fakhr al-aqran* ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi* were assigned to inspect it. These men defined Saliha’s share as 3 1/3 *dhira‘* from the south-north side and 6 *dhira‘* from the east-west side. It was also agreed to build a wall separating the two parts (113/2: 679). On 23 Shawwal 1040/25 May 1631 al-Ustad Mustafa ibn al-Mu‘allim ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, *kabir al-mi‘mariyya*, divided a house located in the Christian quarter held in common by Mu‘mina bint Muhammad Abi Siyaj and the sons of her uncle, with 15 *qirat* for Mu‘mina and 9 *qirat* for the others (118/1: 53).

Supervision of the *qanat al-sabil*, the canals supplying Jerusalem with water, was also one of the responsibilities of the architects. Following an interruption to the supply of water to Jerusalem on 12 Shawwal 981/4 February 1574, Sulaiman Çelebi ibn Muhammad Çelebi, the *mutawalli qanat waqf*, asked the current *qadi* to inspect the canal, the pools, and the *balu‘* (water draining) tributaries to the pools in order to check if the areas through which the water ran were in need of clearance or rebuilding, or if the shortage and the disappearance of the source was due to lack of water. A committee consisting of Qadi ‘Imad al-Din al-Shafi‘i and Mustafa Aga Wali *mudhir bashi* was set up for the purpose. Accompanied by the *mutawalli*, they visited the pools and examined the *balu‘*, which fed the pools near Maqam al-Khadr, and the vicinity. They found nothing obstructing or impeding the flow of water. They therefore concluded that the quantity of water available in ‘Ain Salih, ‘Ain al-Jauza, ‘Ain ‘Ata and ‘Ain al-Furukh was scarce as a result of a dearth in the supply from the wells. The *qanawatiyya* attributed this to the lack of rain (56/1: 732; see also 90/3 238 and above). According to a document dated 9 Rabi‘ II 1046/10 September 1636, al-Hajj Mustafa *wakil al-kharj*, al-Hajj Hasan ibn Nammar, and al-Ustad Mustafa *mi‘mar bashi* had been working to open the water canal leading from Wadi al-Abyar to *qanat al-sabil* and supplying the city for ten days, beginning 7 Rabi‘ II/8 September, although they had started the reconstruction work on 6 Rabi‘ I/8 August that year (125/3: 475).

On 27 Rabi‘ II 1090/7 June 1679, *maulana* Ahmad Efendi granted permission to *fakhr al-a‘yan* al-Hajj ‘Umar ibn al-Hajj Hasan Nammar and al-Hajj ‘Ali ibn al-Hajj Karim al-Din ibn Nammar to rebuild the *qanat al-sabil*.

They should refer their expenditure to the authorities (181/3: 258).

Appendix 12.11 illustrates the estimated requirements of the canal at various dates.

As to the Christian and Jewish sites, the royal sultanal orders also defined the procedures and conditions under which permission had to be obtained from the *qadi* whenever there was a necessity for reconstruction or repair when part of a site was demolished. It was essential to repair any area that was damaged (94/1: 86). On the other hand, if someone from either a Christian house or monastery wanted to erect a dry-stone wall without using mud or rough-cast, or to use *al-qusurmil* on the roof of his house, or to isolate a rubbish and soil pit (cistern), or to replace a wooden door (excluding the door or window of a house), or to repair the paving of his house, or to whiten his building with rough-cast, none of these would require a permit (122/1: 159).

On 13 Jumada II 955/20 July 1548, Jermanus al-Nasrani stated that five chambers in the southern part of Dair Mar Ilyas had been demolished following the earlier earthquake in the city. The remaining facilities in the monastery had been in need of repointing and renovation both inside and out. Jermanus asked the *qadi* for permission to reconstruct and repair the damaged or demolished parts of the monastery. The *qadi* responded by visiting the monastery in the company of al-Mu‘allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi‘mar bashi* in order to inspect it. They found that part had been destroyed; the *qadi* immediately asked al-Mu‘allim Husain to measure these destroyed premises. Al-Mu‘allim Husain duly surveyed each chamber inside the monastery to the north and took the following measurements: height 5 arms, width 3.5 arms. The height of the southern wall on the south-west was 11 arms. To the south-west, the height of the wall was 16 arms; the length of the building from east to west was 31 arms. The wall surrounding the monastery was 1.5 arms. Following the completion of the survey, the *qadi* allowed Jermanus to begin the reconstruction work and the repairs inside the monastery in accordance with their findings as to the extent of the damage, but without adding any extra buildings (22/1: 187; for Dair Mar Ilyas see al-‘Arif 1961: 527; Cohen and Lewis 1978: 91).

Another case involved Akhirstorlū ibn Basili al-Nasrani al-Sirbi—*iqlim* (chief) *dair al-sirb* region—also known as the Mikha’il Monastery in the Christian quarter—presenting a *hukmin sharifin sultani* (royal order) dated Awasit Rabi‘ I 955/24 April 1548 to the effect that some Christians of Dair al-Sirb had reported to the Sublime Porte on the need for reconstruction and repair of the church and dwellings in Jerusalem. They added that some people had opposed their intention to do the work, alleging that they had no legal right to do so. If the situation was as stated, they had to be allowed to do the

reconstruction work so long as they made no additions to the original building. The *iqlim* added that some places inside the monastery were in need of reconstruction while others were in need of repair. Still other parts were in need of demolition and restoration. Other parts also were in need of repointing and all the roofs needed treatment with *qusurmil*. He also explained that he was in charge of a house belonging to the monastery which had dwellings that needed to be demolished and rebuilt. The gardens of the site also needed to be reconstructed and repaired and the walls rebuilt. On 17 Rajab 963/27 May 1556 the *iqlim* requested an inspection of the site and permission to undertake the work. The *qadi* met his request and granted permission (31/1: 366; for Dair al-Sirb see Cohen and Lewis 1978: 87).

When Afrathomas, an *ifranj* monk and head of *al-ifranj* monastery, asked al-Qadi 'Abd Allah ibn Mahmud on Ghurraṭ Dhu'l-Qa'da 1030/17 September 1621 to be allowed to reconstruct and renovate the church of *al-ifranj*, the *qadi* granted him permission on condition that no more than three monks were to be allowed to reside in the church. They were also obliged to welcome any visiting Muslims and to feed them as they required. These conditions were similar to those agreed by *sayyiduna* 'Umar ibn al-Khattab in the *'uhda* (agreement) and the head of *al-ifranj* accepted them (89/1: 23; for *al-'uhda al-'umariyya* see al-Tabari 1962 3: 609-10; al-'Ulaimi 1973 1: 253-5; al-'Arif 1961: 91-4; Hamid Allah 1983: 488).

Appendix 12 illustrates the requirements of Christian holy sites undergoing renovation and restoration work during the 16th and 17th centuries. There were a total of sixty-two records of inspections and permits to renovate or reconstruct Christian dwellings. The houses were located in the Christian and al-Risha quarters (for example see 31/4: 367; 78/1: 135; 105/2: 713; 118/1: 370; 150/1: 368; 187/1: 570).

With regard to the Jewish sites, the legal documents also make reference to royal sultanal orders relating to cases where permits were required in order to make renovations or reconstruction. In some cases, no permission from the *qadi* was necessary. These cases were exactly the same as those that applied to the Christians (122/2: 181). The documents focus on the Jewish synagogue located in the Jewish quarter. When *amir al-umara*' Hasan Beg al-Muzaffari, *malik liwa' sanjak al-quḍs wa madinat al-khalil*, learned on 14 Rajab 947/14 November 1540 that the Jews had restored the fabric of their synagogue, made a new door and a new wall on the west, and had paved the courtyard of the synagogue with new paving stones, he sent *mafkhar al-amathil wa 'ain al-aqran* Qasim Kikhya to the *qadi* to inspect the site. Al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*, al-Mu'allim Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Qadi al-Salt, and al-

Mu'allim Ahmad ibn Salim al-Khuraishi visited the synagogue and made a careful inspection. They found that indeed a door, a wall and courtyard paving had been introduced and all of them testified to the fact in front of the Jewish Rabbi Shaikh al-Yahud (12/3: 502; 1: 509).

A document dated 4 Jumada I 956/31 May 1549 refers to al-Shaikh Ahmad al-Dajani who learned that the Jews had built a house located between the mosque in the Jewish quarter and their synagogue, a property belonging to that synagogue. Shaikh al-Dajani sent al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Hafiz to the *qadi* to inform him of the news and to ask him to make the necessary inspection. The *qadi* visited the place himself and found al-Shaikh al-Dajani there. They checked the place closely in the presence of many Muslims, including al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mi'mar bashi*. They found that the Jews had renovated one face of the mosque walls by using new rough-cast. As to the wall of the house, they found that it was in fact an old one to which no change had been made. At the same time, Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Duhaina lodged a complaint against Yusuf ibn Diyab al-Yahudi, Ya'qub Khallaf Shaikh *ta'ifat al-Yahud*, and Musa and Malki *min akabir al-Yahud*. He reported that there was a chamber belonging to the mosque in the north wall which had been annexed and included in the house adjacent to the synagogue without any legal right. When they were asked about it, they denied it and pointed out that the house to the south was old; they said they had been in possession of the old house beside the synagogue for generations both before and after the Muslim conquest, as legal evidence showed. In order to check the evidence, the *qadi* asked al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar to demolish the disputed north wall. After he had done so it was discovered that there was a shortage of stones which proved that its construction was independent of the house to the north, a building which was the property of the synagogue (22/1: 117; see also 64/1: 248; 161/2: 391).

On 15 Jumada I 996/12 April 1588, Shamsun ibn Shamu'il al-Yahudi explained to the *qadi* that one of the chambers and the *iwan* (hall) of the *ribat* (hospice) allocated for Jewish outcasts (*sa'alik*) had been demolished because of heavy rain and was in need of reconstruction and repair. He asked for a close inspection; on completion, it was found that Shamsun was telling the truth. The *qadi* granted him permission to make the necessary repairs and reconstruction without any new additions (67/2: 151).

With regard to the Jewish houses located in the Jewish quarter, some thirty-three cases of inspection have been counted in the documents. All the inspections carried out were necessary before permission was granted for construction or renovation (for more details see 90/3: 307; 100/2: 341; 102/2: 483; 107/2: 303; 110/2: 46; 121/1: 4; 134/1: 290; 137/1: 4).

2. Implementation

The work was undertaken by assigning it or referring it to a person who was capable of completing all the various aspects of reconstruction. An agreement would be made between the person in charge of the site and the architect, who would carry out the specified renovation work in return for an agreed wage. The person in charge of the site could be the owner or tenant, administrator or guardian of the place, who was referred to in the documents as *al-muqati'* (bidder) (31/1: 52) or *al-musta'jir* (tenant) (36/1: 268). The documents make it clear that reconstruction (*muqata'a*) would be done in accordance with the current system of tendering. The *muqata'a* document pertaining to al-Madrasa al-Taziyya refers to al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar who had agreed on 17 Rajab 953/13 September 1546 to bid for the school tender against payment of 44 *qubrusis* (18/3: 77; 18/2: 628; for al-Taziyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 45; al-'Arif 1961: 249-50; Ghawanima 1982: 174; Najm 1983: 232-3; Burgoyne 1987: 399-411; for *qubrusi* see Cohen 1989: 158 n. 112). Then the outcome of the *muqata'a* was presented to other architects in order for them to 'submit a tender for 36 *qubrusis*'. Al-Mu'allim Husain also accepted the tender against the stated amount (18/2: 628). In the *muqata'a* document relating to al-Madrasa al-Qa'itba'iyya dated 9 Sha'ban 953/5 October 1546, three architects, Muslih al-Din, Muhammad ibn Minqar and Rajab, agreed to reconstruct the parts of the school demolished after the earthquake. They accepted the deal personally and on behalf of those in whom they had confidence for 10,000 '*uthmani dirhams*' (18/1: 349). On the same day, al-Mu'allim Nammar ibn 'Ubaid ibn Nammar accepted the deal for 6,000 '*uthmani dirhams*'. And finally Rajab and his companion also tendered for 6,000 '*uthmani*' (18/1: 359). When al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* accepted the tender to reconstruct three shops in Suq al-Dukhaniyya which were the property of al-Sadaq al-Hukmiyya *waqf*, it was for 400 '*uthmani*'. Al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mi'mar al-Halabi accepted the tender for 300 '*uthmani*' (18/1: 621).

The documents also contain references to cases in which the tender rules have been rejected or cancelled. In these cases, the architect had to return any money he had received from the *muqati'* (bidder). After *maulana* Shaikh al-Islam Sharaf al-Din Musa and al-Mu'allim Ahmad ibn al-Khuraishi vetoed the conditions of the tender on a house above Daraj al-Harafish, al-Mu'allim Ahmad reported that he had spent 10 *qubrusis*, 6 *qubrusis* of which had been after the bid. The *muqati'* asked him to provide evidence of expenditure or to repay the sum. He failed to return the 4 *qubrusis* and was imprisoned as a result (18/3: 177). The same thing happened to al-Mu'allim 'Ubaid ibn Nammar. On 13 Ramadan 954/27 October 1547, he and Shaikh al-Islam Sharaf al-Din Musa al-Diri al-Hanafi vetoed the conditions of the tender of al-Madrasa al-Hanafiyya.

Because of this, Sharaf al-Din received back the sum he had previously paid out (19/2 447; for al-Hanafiyya see al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 42, 219-21; al-'Arif 1961: 248; Ghawanima 1982: 170-2). When Salih ibn Jirjis al-Mi'mar and his father failed to carry out construction work for 'Ali Çelebi ibn Mustafa ibn Hamza Efendi, al-Hajj Khudawardi ibn Husain, who was acting as 'Ali's *wakil* (attorney), requested them on Awasiit Jumada I 973/8 December 1565 to return the amount they had received—a total of 130 *sultani*—in accordance with the document dated 16 Ramadan 963/24 July 1556 (49/3: 233).

The documents also refer to wages for architects (see Appendix 12.13) and their duties and whether the wage covered all or some of the building materials. On 15 Ramadan 952/20 September 1545, al-Mu'allim Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar committed himself to the construction of al-Nuwai'ima bridge—the property of the Jerusalem *haram waqf*—which required digging the foundation, building the walls and all that was necessary in terms of returning the construction, restoration, renovation and the flow of water to their original state. All this was in return for 200 *sultani*, 50 *mudd* of wheat, 50 *ratl* of olive oil, and 50 *ratl* of *dibs* (molasses) (17/1: 334). When al-Mu'allim Ahmad al-Khuraishi al-Mi'mar agreed to plaster the *ivvan* (hall) of al-Madrasa al-Hanafiyya and to whiten the external walls flanking the *ivvan* for 6.5 *qubrusis* on 19 Jumada I 955/26 June 1548, the document makes it clear that the cost had to be supplied by the bidder, al-Shaikh Sharaf al-Din Musa ibn al-Diri al-Hanafi, *imam al-sakhra al-musharrafa* and administrator of the school (21/2: 11; see for example 33/4: 259). On 1 Safar 963/16 December 1555 Maulana 'Abd al-Karim Khalifa engaged al-Mu'allim Tadrus ibn Musa al-Nasrani to pave the courtyard of his house located in Khatt Bab al-Hadid in return for 20 *sultani*. The amount included purchase of the paving slabs, the master's wage, quarrying the new paving slabs, as well as transportation and provisions for masters and labourers. The bidder also had to supply rough-cast, *qusurmil*, sand and *al-hamra* (see above). The document adds that Tadrus had pawned the amount with 'Abd al-Karim, who was living in the Christian quarter (31/1: 7). When on 26 Safar 963/10 January 1556 Ghabriyan ibn Hadid al-Nasrani engaged al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn al-Mi'mar and al-Mu'allim 'Ubaid ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar to complete certain reconstruction works in his house located in Aulad Quttaina quarter for a price of 83 *sultani* gold coins, the tender document stipulates that the building stone, rubble, paving slabs, wood, food and drinking water are to be supplied by the two masters. Ghabriyan on the other hand had to supply soil and rough-cast. Water brought from outside the house would be the joint responsibility of Ghabriyan and the masters (31/3: 53). When *mafkar al-amathil wa zain al-aqran* Muhammad Beg ibn Murad Beg, *al-sibahiyya* notable of Jerusalem district, employed al-

Mu'allim 'Ubaid ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar to build a house in al-'Amud quarter against the payment of 60 *sultani* gold coins, the tender document clearly states that 'Ubaid had to provide everything needed for the construction work, including stone, rubble, pebbles, baskets, wood for scaffolding, removal of debris and soil (36/1: 268). A document dated 7 Sha'ban 969/12 April 1562 deals with the reconstruction of Qubbat al-Silsila on the esplanade of the Dome of the Rock for 120 *sultani*. The fee covered the wages of eight architects, manufacturers, labourers, provisions, carpenters, stone-masons and their water costs, cutters and installers of *qashani*, as well as materials including *qashani*, rough-cast, rubble, carmine bricks, nails, copper etc, all to be supplied by the sultanate (43/6: 280; for more details see 83/4: 51; 85/2: 255; 1: 432; 105/1: 379).

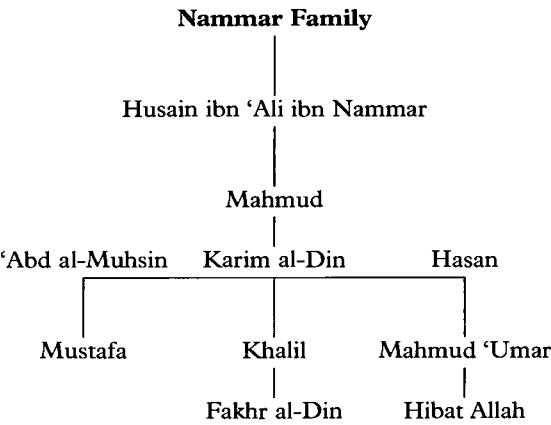
Appendix 12.13 illustrates wages paid to architects for the construction of schools, houses, hospices and other places identified in this chapter. Wages were paid in advance, as for example in the tender for Nuwai'ima Bridge (see above) or in instalments, as in the case of Ustad Khair al-Din ibn Nammar who received 1 *sultani* out of a total wage of 8 *sultani* from Sinan Khalifa, administrator of al-Ribat al-Mansuri, in partial payment for the Dome of Mu'awiyya at the Ribat. The remainder of the wage was forwarded to Musa ibn Husain, *al-jabi* (collector) *al-waqf* (27/2: 120). Al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar received 3 *sultani* from Ahmad Çelebi ibn al-Hajj Bairam al-Khalwati, deputy of al-Hajj Sinan, *al-sibahiyya* notable in Ramla district, in return for his bid to pave the narrow street (*zuqaq*) located opposite al-Hajj Sinan's house in Jerusalem. His total wage was estimated to be more than 15 *sultani*. The rest would be paid to him gradually (33/4: 259). Al-Hajj Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mi'mar al-Halabi received 13 *sultani* on 4 Safar 966/16 November 1558 from 'Abd al-Karim Khalifa. The money was part of his total wage of 25 *sultani* gold coins for the construction of a house located in Khatt Bab al-Hadid. The rest would be paid upon completion of the work (35/1: 119).

It is worth noting that the guarantees to which the architects had to commit themselves (known now as insurance on a building) in terms of the safety of any construction for twenty, thirty or fifty years were clearly defined by the tender rules. In this way, al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar undertook to guarantee the safety of al-Nuwai'ima bridge for fifty years. In case of any defect, he would rebuild the bridge (17/1: 334). The bidders for the renovation and reconstruction of al-Madrassa al-

Qa'itba'iyya undertook to guarantee its safety for thirty years. In the case of any demolition during that period, they would restore it free of charge. Damage as the result of natural disasters such as earthquakes was not included (18/1: 349; see for example 18/1: 519; 39/3: 282; 102/1: 37). Al-Mu'allim Mahmud ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdallah al-Mi'mar al-Halabi also undertook to guarantee the safety of renovation work on three shops located in Suq al-Dukhaniyya for twenty years, excluding any damage resulting from natural disasters (18/1: 621). One document which deals with the reconstruction of the house of *mafkhār al-amathil wa zain al-aqrān* Muhammad Beg ibn Murad Beg stipulated that, following completion of the work, there would be an inspection of the house by experts. In the case of any defect or other deficiency, al-Mu'allim 'Ubaid ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar would undertake to remove the defect and repair the building free of charge (36/1: 268). But there are documents which refer to the violation of their contracts by some architects. On 18 Rabi' I 967/18 December 1559, al-Hajj Husain ibn 'Abd Allah, deputy of *malik al-umara'* 'Ali Beg, *mutawalli* at al-Madrassa al-Ghadiriyya, reported that al-Mu'allim 'Ubaid ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar had neglected to build as tendered in the *khan* belonging to the *waqf*. The *qadi* ordered him to perform the work in accordance with the tendered conditions agreed between them. In addition, the work had to be completed within twenty days from 23 Safar 967/24 November 1559 (39/5: 46). In a dispute which had broken out between al-Sayyid Mahmud ibn al-Sayyid Mahmud al-Basir, in charge of al-Muthbat *waqf*, and Sa'd al-Din ibn Diyab al-Mi'mar, on 18 Sha'ban 1005/6 April 1597, Mahmud argued that it had been agreed that Sa'd al-Din would build the wall and garden of the *zawiya*, the property of the *waqf*, in return for 3 *sultani* and 2 *qintars* of rough cast, but that he had failed to complete more than half the work. With the coming of winter, heavy rain had destroyed the work. Mahmud therefore asked him to build it up again and to complete the reconstruction in accordance with the agreed conditions. Sa'd al-Din replied by arguing that he had carried out the work according to the agreement. He added that he had even added extra to the 2 *qintars* of rough-cast. But Mahmud did not believe him. Sa'd al-Din brought witnesses to support his claim (78/4: 102).

Finally, the documents specified the period for completion of work. The document concerning the Dome of Mu'awiyya stipulates that al-Ribat al-Mansuri be renovated completely within one month (27/2: 120) while the completion of the house of Muhammad Beg ibn Murad Beg was estimated to take three months (36/1: 268).

APPENDIX 12.1



APPENDIX 12.2

List of masters in the 16th and 17th centuries

1. 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mi'mar (118/1: 493; 123/1: 78; 125/1: 148)
2. 'Abd Allah ibn Ibrahim al-Banna' al-Ramli (145/1: 85; 1: 91; 156/1: 389, 1: 470)
3. 'Abd Allah ibn Riziq Allah (116/11: 22-3)
4. 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Ahmad al-Sukkari (18/1: 253)
5. 'Abd al-Karim al-Jaludi (105/1: 379)
6. 'Abd al-Masih ibn Farah al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
7. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kishbari (39/2: 149)
8. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Shibaki al-Mi'mar (31/6: 268)
9. Abu 'l-'Aun ibn 'Ubaid (52/1: 40; 53/1: 314)
10. Abu Bakr ibn Qasim (105/1: 379)
11. Abu 'l-Jud (3/1: 323)
12. Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr al-Tarablusi (102/1: 37; 105/1: 379; 135/1: 214; 138/1: 79)
13. Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Shami (5/7: 240)
14. Ahmad ibn Hattab al-Najjar (43/6: 280)
15. Ahmad ibn Mahmud al-Ghuwaishani (146/1: 97-8)
16. Ahmad ibn Katib al-Zait (146/1: 73-4)
17. Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Kharufi (52/1: 40; 64/1: 367; 72/1: 278)
18. Ahmad ibn Sahl (52/1: 40)
19. Ahmad ibn Salim al-Khuraishi al-Mi'mar (10/1: 80; 18/1: 253; 21/2: 11; 96/10: 217)
20. Ahmad ibn al-Shakhis (4/1: 446)
21. 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Nabulsi al-'Asqalani (102/1: 37; 103/1: 234-5; 105/1: 379; 125/1: 148)
22. 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Shami (31/1: 229)
23. 'Ali ibn Karim al-Din ibn Nammar (177/1: 169)
24. 'Ali ibn al-Jumaizi (105/1: 379)
25. 'Ali ibn Khalil ibn Nammar (91/1: 206; 102/1: 37; 105/1: 499; 174/1: 133)
26. 'Ali ibn Sayyidi al-Mi'mar (31/2: 306; 40/4: 316; 58/1: 395; 54/1: 63)
27. 'Ali ibn Shaikh Ahmad al-Shami al-Mi'mar (19/1: 69)
28. 'Ali al-Sharif (20/5: 319)
29. 'Ali ibn Washah al-Mi'mar (10/1: 80)
30. 'Ata Allah Duqmaq al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
31. 'Ata Allah ibn al-Munir al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
32. 'Awad ibn Ahmad ibn Nammar (146/1: 73-4; 156/3: 301; 165/1: 16; 168/1: 18)
33. 'Aun ibn Musa al-Nasrani (31/2: 63; 1: 110)
34. Badr al-Din ibn Hasan al-Khayyat (165/1: 48; 171/1: 538).
35. Badr al-Din Sulaiman al-Mi'mar (69/1: 368; 102/1: 37; 105/1: 379; 168/1: 99)
36. Banul al-Istanbuli al-Rumi al-Mi'mar al-Nasrani (31/2: 63)
37. Dib ibn Kar'un al-Banna' al-Turi (52/1: 40; 58/4: 40; 64/2: 110)
38. Diyab ibn Ramadan (31/1: 110)
39. Faraj Allah ibn Sabih al-Nasrani (43/6: 280)
40. Hajji Qasim ibn 'Abd Allah al-Rumi (25/1: 203)
41. Hasan ibn Musa al-Khayyat (91/1: 206; 102/1: 37; 116/1: 39; 123/1: 78; 138/1: 79)
42. Husain ibn 'Ali Altinbugha (104/1: 172)
43. Husain ibn Nafi' al-Mi'mar al-Halabi (17/1: 266)
44. Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Qanawati (135/1: 296; 151/1: 7; 156/3: 301)
45. Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Tarsha al-Mi'mar (21/3: 588; 52/1: 40)
46. Ibrahim al-Nasrani al-Shami (52/1: 40; 105/1: 379)
47. Ishaq ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani (62/2: 435)
48. Jawhar ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hitti (52/1: 40; 66/2: 621)
49. Jirjis ibn Hanna al-Banna' (31/6: 427)
50. Jum'a al-Qanawati (135/1: 296)
51. Karim ibn Muhammad al-Khayyat al-Mi'mar (72/3: 195)
52. Khalaf ibn Fadul al-Nasrani (62/2: 435)
53. Khalaf al-Muhtadi (102/1: 37)
54. Khalaf ibn Sulaiman al-Mi'mar (52/1: 40; 64/1: 367; 66/2: 253; 69/1: 368; 72/4: 352)
55. Khalil (168/1: 18)
56. Khalil ibn Husain ibn Nammar (37/1: 128; 43/6: 280; 52/1: 40; 105/1: 379)
57. Khalil ibn Karim al-Din ibn Nammar (135/1: 441; 136/2: 322)
58. Khalil ibn Khalaf al-Banna' (85/2: 255; 91/2: 64; 116/1: 390)
59. Khalil al-Nasrani (52/1: 40)
60. Khalil ibn 'Umar (23/2: 52)
61. Khalil ibn al-Zibar (52/1: 40)
62. Khashadur al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
63. Khattab ibn Musa al-Mi'mar (14/3: 94; 1: 296; 19/1: 243)

64. Khair al-Din ibn Khalil ibn Nammar (156/1: 398; 168/1: 18; 171/1: 538)
65. Khair al-Din ibn Nammar (27/2: 120)
66. Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Halabi al-Mi'mar (12/4: 351; 17/1: 551; 39/2: 149)
67. Mahmud al-Qanawati (84/1: 522)
68. Ma'tuq al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
69. Mikha'il walad Salih al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
70. Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Halabi (54/1: 63; 165/1: 148)
71. Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-Khair (165/1: 48)
72. Muhammad al-Hamawi al-Shami (1/2: 400)
73. Muhammad ibn Kharufi (69/1: 368)
74. Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Qanawati (52/1: 40; 102/1: 37; 132/1: 381; 135/1: 359)
75. Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Halabi al-Mi'mar (1/2: 400; 13/2: 351; 14/2: 332; 31/3: 53; 72/3: 68)
76. Muhammad ibn Minqar (18/1: 349; 23/2: 52)
77. Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Shami (118/1: 189)
78. Muhammad ibn Salama (52/1: 40; 54/1: 63)
79. Muhammad ibn al-Shakhis (10/1: 80)
80. Muhammad Shuqair (66/2: 621)
81. Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Hajjar (3/1: 323; 165/1: 48)
82. Musa ibn Abi 'l-Khair (25/1: 204)
83. Musa ibn al-'Ajiza al-Nasrani (43/6: 280)
84. Musa ibn Hajji (52/1: 40)
85. Musa al-Halabi (66/2: 621)
86. Musa ibn Kar'un al-Mi'mar (52/1: 40; 69/1: 368; 72/3: 68; 1: 278; 4: 352)
87. Musa ibn al-Khayyat (160/1: 70; 165/1: 48)
88. Musa ibn Musa (51/7: 240; 72/1: 278)
89. Musa ibn Sa'd al-Din al-Banna' (134/1: 543; 156/1: 398; 157/1: 70; 168/1: 99)
90. Musa ibn 'Ubaid ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar (31/2: 306; 43/6: 280)
91. Muslih al-Din ibn Hasan al-Najjar (51/4: 590)
92. Muslih al-Daqqaq (168/1: 99)
93. Muslih al-Din al-Mi'mar (14/2: 121; 2: 332; 18/1: 349; 2: 356; 1: 359)
94. Mustafa ibn Hasan al-'Asqalani (102/1: 37)
95. Nammar ibn 'Ubaid ibn Nammar (18/1: 359)
96. Niqula walad Mitri al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
97. Nuh al-Banna' (15/2: 47)
98. Nur al-Din (168/1: 18)
99. Rafa'il ibn Jirjis al-Qibti al-Banna' Nasrani (52/1: 40; 83/2: 21)
100. Rajab ibn Yahya al-Antaki (5/1: 81; 14/2: 332; 18/1: 359)
101. Sa'd al-Din ibn Diyab al-Mi'mar (72/3: 68; 91/1: 447; 98/4: 504; 104/1: 172; 105/1: 379)
102. Salah al-Din ibn Nammar (168/1: 18)
103. Salama ibn Muhammad al-Mi'mar (33/1: 261; 37/1: 128; 39/3: 283; 40/4: 316)
104. Salih ibn Hajji (52/1: 40)
105. Salih ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani al-Mi'mar (31/6: 427; 43/2: 350; 49/3: 233; 52/1: 40)
106. Al-Sayyid Sharaf (168/1: 18)
107. Shihab al-Din ibn Qadi al-Salt al-Mi'mar (13/1: 2)
108. Shihada al-Qanawati (135/1: 296)
109. Shuqair walad Musa al-Nasrani (105/1: 379)
110. Sulaiman (123/1: 78)
111. Sulaiman ibn Da'ud (37/1: 128; 52/1: 40)
112. Sulaiman ibn Muhammad al-Najjar (18/2: 155; 52/1: 40)
113. Tadrus ibn Musa al-Nasrani (31/1: 7)
114. Tauba ibn Muhammad al-Jarun (31/1: 221)
115. 'Ubaid ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar (4/1: 446; 19/2: 447; 31/3: 53; 36/1: 268; 37/1: 128)
116. 'Umar ibn al-Hikma (72/3: 68)
117. 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Halabi (20/1: 90; 27/2: 413; 37/1: 128; 52/1: 40)
118. 'Umar ibn Nammar (174/1: 133)
119. 'Uthman ibn Nammar (168/1: 18)
120. Walada Qadi al-Salt (4/1: 446)
121. Yahya ibn Muhammad al-Mi'mar (86/2: 231)
122. Yahya ibn Zain al-Din Bazazu (72/3: 195; 91/1: 206; 1: 447; 96/4: 9)
123. Yuhanna (13/1: 145)
124. Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi (3/3: 63; 1: 110; 36/2: 317; 37/1: 128; 39/2: 94)
125. Yusuf al-Banna' al-Yahudi (83/1: 89)
126. Yusuf al-Qanawati (135/1: 296)
127. Yusuf ibn Nabi (31/2: 63)
128. Zain al-Din al-Nabulsi (14/1: 204)

APPENDIX 12.3

Varieties of stone: uses, quantities and prices

Place	Kind of stone	Per stone quantity	Price	Date/Source
Al-Mansuriyya soap-factory	fire rubble	—	—	4 M. 940/26 July 1533 (4/4: 219-20)
Zawiyat Sayyidi Ibrahim al-Sarra	—	200	—	6 RI. 949/20 July 1542 (14/1: 538)
Dar al-Sharaf quarter	—	300	—	23 Shaw. 954/6 Dec. 1547 (20/1: 20)
Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya	—	2000	10 <i>sultani</i> gold coins	3 Raj. 959/25 June 1552 (31/9: 271)
Dar-Aulad Quttaina quarter	rubble stones	— 500	— —	26 S. 963/10 Jan. 1556 (31/3: 53)
Dar Waqf al-Nabi	—	200	40 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	24 Ram. 968/8 June 1561 (40/2: 355)
Al-Madrassa al-Hasaniyya	stones door-steps	— —	80 <i>qit'a misriyya</i> 80 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	15 M. 996/16 Dec. 1587 (67/3: 69)
Haush Bab al-Qattanin quarter	cut-stones <i>salb</i>	— —	30 <i>qit'a misriyya</i> 1 <i>sultani</i>	Awa'il JI. 1010/28 Oct. 1601 (83/2: 43)
Al-Haram al-Sharif	cut-stones	—	—	6 Shaw. 1014/14 Feb. 1606 (85/1: 432)
Al-Madrassa al-Malikiyya	—	—	60 <i>qit'a</i>	Awa'il Ram. 1018/28 Nov. 1609 (90/1: 191)
Dar Waqf al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya	' <i>aqadi</i>	—	65 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	Ghurrat JII. 1024/28 June 1615 (96/3: 274)
Dar Waqf al-Zawiya al-Bistamiyya	' <i>aqadi</i> and other	—	10 <i>ghirsh</i>	12 JI. 1031/25 March 1622 (105/1: 102)
Dar Hitta quarter	<i>mazzi</i> squares <i>mazziyya</i> ' <i>aqadi</i>	1550 1800	37.25 <i>ghirsh</i> 100 9 <i>ghirsh</i>	14 RII. 1045/27 Sept. 1635 (124/1: 316) 5 <i>ghirsh</i>
Dakakin Waqf of Jewish quarter mosque	new stones ' <i>aqadi</i>	400 1000	10 <i>ghirsh</i>	21 Shaw. 1048/25 Feb. 1639 (127/2: 473)
Stable Waqf al-Khalil	' <i>aqadi</i> squares <i>qintari</i> <i>mamillawi</i>	2000 100 100 200	13 <i>ghirsh</i> 3 <i>ghirsh</i> 4 <i>ghirsh</i> 4 <i>ghirsh</i>	29 H. 1053/10 March 1644 (134/1: 395)
Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya	stones squares cut-stones	3000 4 100	30 <i>ghirsh</i> 6 <i>ghirsh</i>	19 Q. 1060/13 Nov. 1650 (144/1: 326)
Dar Waqf al-Sakhra	stones squares stones	900 50	13.5 <i>ghirsh</i> 2.5 <i>ghirsh</i>	15 JII. 1061/5 June 1651 (145/2: 379)
Café Qantar al-Laimun	' <i>aqadi</i>	500	5 <i>ghirsh</i>	20 Shab. 1063/16 July 1653 (147/1: 380)
Mosque Jewish quarter	—	1700	32 <i>ghirsh</i>	23 RI. 1064/11 Feb. 1654 (149/1: 13)
Dar Christian quarter	—	1300	9 <i>ghirsh</i>	3 Ram. 1065/7 July 1655 (150/1: 368)
Al-Madrassa al-'Uthmaniyya	fire-stones and rubble	—	6 <i>ghirsh</i>	23 Ram. 1066/15 July 1656 (151/1: 322)
Hammam al-Sultan	squares ' <i>aqadi</i>	8	60 <i>qit'a misriyya</i> 36 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	4 RII. 1068/9 Jan. 1658 (155/1: 92)
Birkat 'Ain Silwan	' <i>aqadi</i>	3000	60 <i>ghirsh</i>	5 Q. 1069/4 Aug. 1659 (156/1: 423)
Dar Waqf Baraka Khatun	' <i>aqadi</i> ' <i>aqadi</i>	2000 —	20 <i>ghirsh</i> 5 <i>ghirsh</i>	22 JII. 1079/27 Nov. 1668 (168/1: 408)
Dar Waqf ma Tayassar	' <i>aqadi</i>	—	2 <i>ghirsh</i>	2 M. 1104/13 Sept. 1692 (193/2: 278-9)

APPENDIX 12.4

Rough-cast quantities and prices from several sites

Site	Quantity per <i>qintar</i>	Price	Date/Source
Khan Bab al-Qattanin	20	—	6 JI. 948/28 Aug. 1541 (13/1: 478)
Dar al-Fusqiyya	2	—	3 Q. 948/18 Feb. 1542 (14/1: 204)
Al-Madrasa al-Baladiyya	3	—	29 H. 948/15 April 1542 (14/2: 332)
Zawiyat Ibrahim al-Sarra	10	—	6 RI. 949/20 June 1542 (14/1: 539)
Maqam al-Sayyid Yunus	60	700 <i>'uthmani</i>	19 Raj. 951/6 Oct. 1544 (16/1: 54)
Ribat Bab al-Silsila	7	—	25 M. 953/28 March 1546 (17/1: 551)
Dar Waqf al-Hujra al-Sharifa	10	—	23 Shaw. 954/6 Dec. 1547 (20/1: 20)
Al-Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya	50	700 <i>'uthmani</i>	Awakhir Q. 954/11 Jan. 1548 (20/1: 126)
Dar Hitta quarter	20 <i>himl</i>	200 <i>qit'a</i>	11 RI. 955/28 April 1548 (20/5: 319)
Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya	40	10 <i>sultani</i>	3 Raj. 959/25 June 1552 (31/9: 271)
Maqam al-Shaikh Jarrah	2	—	26 JII. 964/26 April 1557 (33/3: 356)
Dar Waqf al-Nabi	3	40 <i>qit'a</i>	24 Ram. 968/8 June 1561 (40/2: 355)
Al-Madrasa al-Fakhriyya	70	840 <i>qit'a</i>	Awasit H. 979/29 April 1572 (55/3: 25-6)
Al-Madrasa al-Husainiyya	—	500 <i>qit'a shamiyya</i>	15 M. 996/16 Dec. 1587 (67/3: 69)
Al-Madrasa al-Jauhariyya	—	120 <i>qit'a shamiyya</i>	18 M. 996/19 Dec. 1587 (67/4: 71)
Dar al-'Amud quarter	7	5 <i>ghirsh</i>	Awa'il S. 1017/17 May 1608 (88/1: 66)
Dar al-Hayadira quarter	10	13 <i>ghirsh</i>	25 H. 1021/16 Feb. 1613 (94/2: 146)
Dar Musa ibn 'Isa al-Tazziz and partners	39	255 <i>qit'a</i>	19 Shab. 1029/20 July 1620 (103/1: 475)
Dar al-Qattanin quarter	15	20 <i>ghirsh</i>	2 RII. 1030/24 Feb. 1621 (104/1: 140)
Al-Zawiya al-Bistamiyya	30	35 <i>ghirsh</i>	12 JI. 1031/25 March 1622 (105/1: 102)
Dar Waqf al-Tawashiyya	8	8 <i>ghirsh</i>	Awakhir Raj. 1031/10 June 1622 (105/1: 290)
Al-Madrasa al-Badriyya	5	4 <i>ghirsh</i>	26 M. 1033/19 Nov. 1623 (107/1: 152)
Hammam al-Batrak	150	3750 <i>qit'a</i>	15 JI. 1033/6 March 1624 (107/1: 373)
Dakakin Waqf of Jewish quarter	15	15 <i>ghirsh</i>	21 Shaw. 1048/17 Feb. 1639 (127/2: 473)
Dar al-Sharaf quarter	50	70 <i>ghirsh</i>	Awakhir Shaw. 1053/10 Jan. 1644 (134/1: 493)
Stable of Waqf al-Khalil	80	60 <i>ghirsh</i>	29 H. 1053/9 March 1644 (134/1: 395)
Dar Waqf al-Aqsa	1	30 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	Awasit Raj. 1054/17 Sept. 1644 (135/1: 105-6)
Tomb of Ahmad al-Thauri	13	15 <i>ghirsh</i> & 5 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	3 H. 1055/20 Jan. 1646 (138/3: 77)
Dar Khatt Da'ud	80	90 <i>ghirsh</i>	18 M. 1060/21 Jan. 1650 (143/1: 143)
Mosque of Minaret al-Hamra'	18	18.5 <i>ghirsh</i>	16 M. 1061/9 Jan. 1651 (145/1: 91)
Dar Waqf al-Sakhra	35	28.5 <i>ghirsh</i>	15 JII. 1061/5 June 1651 (145/2: 379)
Birkat al-Batrak	400	400 <i>ghirsh</i>	12 Shab. 1061/31 July 1651 (145/1: 501-2)
West house of Waqf Baraka Khatun	6	6 <i>ghirsh</i>	11 JII. 1062/20 May 1652 (146/2: 328)
Cafe of Qantarat al-Laimun	15	15 <i>ghirsh</i>	20 Shab. 1063/16 July 1653 (147/1: 380)
Mosque of Jewish quarter	71	77 <i>ghirsh</i>	23 RI. 1064/11 Feb. 1654 (149/1: 13)
Cellar of Hamman al-Basir	30	30 <i>ghirsh</i>	Khitam M. 1068/7 Nov. 1657 (155/1: 3)
Birkat 'Ain Silwan	50	50 <i>ghirsh</i>	15 Q. 1069/4 Aug. 1659 (156/1: 423)
Ribat al-Madrasa al-Malikiyya	25	25 <i>ghirsh</i>	7 JII. 1072/28 Jan. 1662 (161/1: 138)
Al-Madrasa al-Manjakiyya	11	11 <i>ghirsh</i>	8 JII. 1072/29 Jan. 1662 (161/2: 151)
Mosque of Lifta	31	31 <i>ghirsh</i>	Awasit S. 1078/6 Aug. 1667 (167/1: 403)
Dar Waqf Baraka Khan	35	30 <i>ghirsh</i>	22 JII. 1079/27 Nov. 1668 (168/1: 804)
Dar Waqf ma Tayassar	5	7 <i>ghirsh</i>	2 M. 1104/13 Sept. 1692 (193/2: 278-9)
Birak al-Marji'	1000	1000 <i>ghirsh</i>	25 JI. 1111/18 Nov. 1699 (199/1: 318)

APPENDIX 12.5

Qusurmil: quantities and prices

Site	Quantity per <i>himl</i>	Price	Date/Source
Dar al-Sharaf quarter	8	—	2 RII. 940/21 Oct. 1533 (3/1: 323)
Khan al-Qattanin	35	—	Khitam Shab. 943/10 Feb. 1537 (6/4: 342)
Al-Madrassa al-Salahiyya	600	—	Awakhir RII. 944/5 Oct. 1537 (6/2: 692-3)
Dar al-Ghawanima quarter	12	—	1 Shab. 948/20 Nov. 1541 (14/1: 11)
Zawiyat al-Maghariba	500	—	15 Raj. 954/31 Aug. 1547 (19/2: 271)
Oven al-Masharifi quarter	300	659 <i>dirham</i> 50 <i>dirham</i> transport	Awa'il Shab. 959/23 July 1552 (25/1: 544)
Maqam al-Shaikh Jarrah	400	—	26 JII. 964/26 April 1557 (33/3: 356)
Dar Waqf al-Nabi	200	40 <i>qit'a misriyya</i> 8 <i>qit'a</i> transport	24 Ram. 968/8 June 1561 (40/2: 355)
Al-Madrassa al-Hasaniyya	—	140 <i>qit'a shamiyya</i>	15 M. 996/16 Dec. 1587 (67/3: 69)
Al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya	—	160 <i>qit'a shamiyya</i>	18 M. 996/19 Dec. 1587 (67/4: 71)
Dukkan Waqf al-Aqsa	—	80 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	Awa'il H. 997/11 Oct. 1589 (69/1: 329)
Al-Madrassa al-Fanariyya	600 baskets	200 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	Awakhir RII. 1009/7 Nov. 1600 (82/3: 188)
Al-Madrassa al-Malikiyya	—	900 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	Awa'il Ram. 1018/28 Nov. 1609 (90/1: 191)
Al-Zawiya al-Bistamiyya	—	800 <i>qit'a misriyya</i> 40 <i>qit'a</i> transport	15 Q. 1018/11 Feb. 1610 (90/1: 294)
Dar al-Hayadira quarter	300 baskets	6 <i>ghirsh</i> with transport	25 H. 1021/16 Feb. 1613 (94/2: 146)
Dar Musa ibn 'Isa al-Tazziz and partners	25	75 <i>qit'a</i> 15 <i>qit'a</i> transport	19 Shab. 1029/20 July 1620 (103/1: 475)
Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya	200 baskets	3 <i>ghirsh</i>	9 JI. 1038/4 Jan. 1629 (115/1: 179)
Dar Waqf Bairam Jawish	100	2 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	9 RII. 1044/2 Oct. 1634 (123/1: 107)
Ribat al-Madrassa al-Malikiyya	50	6 <i>ghirsh</i> with transport	7 JII. 1072/29 Jan. 1662 (161/1: 138)

APPENDIX 12.6

Gypsum: quantities and prices

Site	Quantity per <i>qintar</i>	Price	Date/Source
Al-Madrassa al-Fanariyya	10	400 <i>qit'a</i> silver <i>sulaimaniyya</i>	22 RI. 979/14 Aug. 1571 (55/1: 395)
Dar al-Maghariba	1	3 <i>ghirsh</i>	21 Shaw. 1048/25 Feb. 1639 (127/2: 473)
Al-Madrassa al-'Uthmaniyya	1	5 <i>ghirsh</i>	23 Ram. 1066/15 July 1656 (151/1: 322)
Cellar of Hammam al-Basir	4	20 <i>ghirsh</i>	Khitam M. 1068/7 Nov. 1657 (155/1: 3)
Dukkan Waqf al-Manjakiyya	1	5 <i>ghirsh</i>	8 JII. 1072/29 Jan. 1662 (161/2: 151)

APPENDIX 12.7

Assessment of needs for funds for renovation and reconstruction: Schools

Site	Assessment	Date/Source
Al-Mu‘azzamiyya	700 <i>‘uthmani</i>	Awakhir Q. 954/11 Jan. 1548 (20/1: 126)
Al-Fanariyya	100 <i>sultani</i>	18 S. 967/19 Nov. 1559 (37/3: 646)
Al-Arguniyya	4,084 <i>qit‘a</i>	21 Ram. 981/14 Jan. 1574 (56/1: 11)
Al-Zamniyya	45 <i>sultani</i>	14 Shaw. 982/27 Jan. 1575 (56/2: 282)
Al-Maimuniyya	1,400 <i>qit‘a</i>	27 S. 987/25 April 1579 (58/2 364)
Al-Hasaniyya	1,300 <i>qit‘a</i>	15 M. 996/16 Dec . 1587 (67/3: 69)
Al-Jauhariyya	1,200 <i>qit‘a</i>	18 M. 996/19 Dec. 1587 (67/4: 71)
Al-Tashtimuriyya	51 <i>sultani</i>	Ghurrat H. 998/1 Oct. 1590 (72/2: 147)
Al-Khatuniyya	800 <i>qit‘a</i>	Awa’il JII. 1003/11 Feb. 1595 (76/3: 334)
Al-Baladiyya	75 <i>sultani</i>	Awakhir RII. 1004/1 Jan. 1596 (77/1: 534)
Al-Basitiyya	70 <i>sultani</i>	Awasiit JII. 1004/15 Feb. 1596 (77/2: 252)
Al-Subaibiyya	2,215 <i>qit‘a misriyya</i>	20 JII. 1012/25 Nov. 1603 (84/2: 183)
Al-Mihmaziyya	11 <i>sultani</i>	Awakhir Shaw. 1012/31 March 1604 (84/1: 275)
Al-Tuluniyya	1,050 <i>qit‘a misriyya</i>	Awasiit Ram. 1013/4 Feb. 1605 (85/5: 82)
Al-Tankiziyya	52.5 <i>ghirsh</i>	Ghurrat M. 1014/19 May 1605 (85/4: 141)
Al-Fakhriyya	900 <i>qit‘a misriyya</i>	Awasiit M. 1017/1 May 1608 (88/1: 31)
Al-Salahiyya	150 <i>ghirsh</i>	Ghurrat JII. 1030/23 April 1621 (104/1: 232)
Al-Badriyya	60 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	26 M. 1033/19 Nov. 1623 (107/1: 152)
Al-Manjakiyya	49 <i>ghirsh</i>	11 S. 1034/23 Nov. 1624 (110/1: 65)
Al-‘Uthmaniyya	515 <i>ghirsh</i>	23 Ram. 1066/15 July 1656 (151/1: 322)
Al-Hanafiyya	310 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	21 S. 1069/18 Nov. 1658 (156/1: 114)
Al-Ahmadiyya	558 <i>ghirsh</i>	15 Shab. 1070/26 April 1660 (156/1: 621)
Al-Karimiyya	215 <i>ghirsh ‘adadi</i>	Awakhir JI. 1078/17 Nov. 1667 (178/1: 454)
Al-Qa’itbai’iyya	167 <i>ghirsh ‘adadi</i>	Awasiit JI. 1112/28 Oct. 1700 (200/1: 140)

APPENDIX 12.8

Assessment of expenditure on houses

Site	Assessment	Date/Source
Dar Waqf al-Nabi	188 <i>qit'a</i>	24 Ram. 968/8 June 1561 (40/2: 355)
Dar Harat Bani Zaid	685 <i>qit'a</i> silver <i>sulaimani</i>	18 Q. 985/27 Jan. 1578 (58/4: 40)
Dar Waqf Sinan Aga	1,600 <i>qit'a</i>	2 Shab. 996/27 June 1588 (67/2: 269)
Dar Waqf al-Mausili	3,490 <i>qit'a shamiyya</i>	Ghurrat RI. 999/28 Dec. 1590 (72/1: 203)
Dar Mahallat al-'Amud	24 <i>sultani</i>	21 Ram. 999/13 July 1591 (72/4: 352)
Dar Zuqaq Abi Shama	1,600 <i>qit'a</i>	9 Raj. 1004/9 March 1596 (77/3: 277)
Dar Waqf al-Bimaristan	3,330 <i>qit'a</i>	Awakhir Shaw. 1011/11 April 1603 (83/1: 499)
Dar al-Maghariba	2,052 <i>qit'a</i>	Awa'il Shaw. 1018/28 Dec. 1609 (90/1: 239)
Dar Mahallat al-Qattanin	55 <i>ghirsh</i>	2 RII. 1030/24 Feb. 1621 (104/1: 1400)
Dar Mahallat Hitta	12 <i>ghirsh</i>	10 Ram. 1030/29 July 1621 (104/1: 353)
Dar Waqf Bairam Jawish	22 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	9 RII. 1044/2 Oct. 1634 (123/1: 107)
Dar Mahallat Bani Murra	159 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	29 Ram. 1045/8 March 1636 (125/1: 148)
Dar Waqf al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya	124 <i>ghirsh asadi</i> , 25 <i>qit'a</i>	Ghurrat JII. 1048/10 Oct. 1638 (127/1: 295)
Dar Waqf 'Ali ibn Qasim	25.25 <i>ghirsh</i>	18 JI. 1049/16 Sept. 1639 (128/1: 223)
Dar Waqf ma Tayassar	76 <i>ghirsh asadi</i> , 27 <i>qit'a</i>	29 M. 1057/6 March 1647 (139/1: 225)
Dar Waqf al-Sakhra (Dome of the Rock)	104.33 <i>ghirsh</i>	15 JII. 1061/5 June 1651 (145/2: 379)
Dar Waqf al-Hamidi	100 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	15 RII. 1065/22 Feb. 1655 (150/1: 111)
Dar Waqf al-Haramain	8 <i>ghirsh</i>	14 Q. 1066/3 Sept. 1656 (151/1: 393)
Dar Khatt 'Aqabat al-Takiya	60 <i>ghirsh</i>	2 RII. 1072/25 Nov. 1661 (161/3: 20)
Dar Waqf Baraka Khan	125 <i>ghirsh</i>	22 JII. 1079/27 Nov. 1668 (168/1: 408)

APPENDIX 12.9

Assessment of expenditure required on *zawiyas*

Site	Expenditure	Date/Source
Sayyid Ibrahim al-Sarra	700 <i>'uthmani</i>	6 RI. 949/20 June 1542 (14/1: 538)
Al-Adhamiyya	47.5 <i>sultani</i>	3 Raj. 959/25 June 1552 (31/9: 271)
Al-Bistamiyya	2,000 <i>'uthmani</i>	13 M. 964/16 Nov. 1556 (33/3: 56)
Al-Khanqah	362 <i>ghirsh</i>	16 JII. 1023/24 July 1614 (95/1: 252)
Al-Sunud	3.5 <i>ghirsh</i>	26 RI. 1029/2 March 1620 (102/3: 522)
Isma'il al-Azraq	101 <i>ghirsh 'adadi</i>	Awasiit RII.1086/9 July 1675 (178/1: 7)

APPENDIX 12.10

Assessment of expenditure required on *arbata*

Site	Expenditure	Date/Source
Al-Madrasa al-Malikiyya	500 <i>qit'a</i>	Awakhir Shaw. 1004/26 June 1596 (77/3: 391)
Al-Hamawi	1,000 <i>qit'a</i>	26 S. 1005/19 Oct. 1596 (77/3: 487)
'Ala' al-Din al-Basir	1,680 <i>qit'a misriyya</i>	7 JI. 1030/30 March 1621 (104/1: 185)
Al-Mansuri	322 <i>ghirsh</i>	20 Shaw. 1070/29 June 1660 (157/1: 219)

APPENDIX 12.11

Assessment of expenditure required on *al-qana*

Assessment	Date/Source
1,710 <i>qit'a</i>	5 Shaw. 1018/1 Jan. 1610 (90/3: 238)
2,750 <i>ghirsh</i>	7 H. 1047/22 April 1638 (127/1: 66)
1,092 <i>ghirsh</i>	25 Q. 1054/23 Jan. 1645 (135/1: 296)

APPENDIX 12.12

Requirements of Christian holy sites for repair and reconstruction

Site	Date/Source
Dair Sahyun	Awa'il Ram. 957/13 Sept. 1550 (23/1: 624)
Church of al-Qumama (Holy Sepulchre)	19 M. 964/22 Nov. 1556 (33/1: 64)
Dair al-Khadr	29 M. 966/11 Nov. 1558 (36/4: 391)
Dair al-Sayyida	12 JI. 966/20 Feb. 1559 (37/6: 104)
Dair Taqla	5 Shaw. 966/11 July 1559 (37/3: 410)
Dair Mar Ilyas	11 Q. 969/13 July 1562 (43/2: 420)
Dair al-Sultan	27 JI. 970/22 Jan. 1563 (44/1: 140)
Dair al-Musallaba	27 Q. 1014/5 April 1606 (86/5: 137)
Dair al-Sirb	10 RII. 1015/15 Aug. 1606 (86/2: 237)
Dair al-Banat	4 Q. 1020/8 Jan. 1612 (92/4: 183)
Dair Mar Mitri	27 H. 1020/2 March 1612 (92/3: 332)
Church of Mar Ya'qub	13 Shaw. 1021/7 Dec. 1612 (94/1: 86)
Dair Mar Tadrus	9 Ram. 1024/2 Oct. 1615 (98/1: 26)
Dair al-Ifranj	21 Shab. 1025/3 Sept. 1616 (99/1: 453)
Church of Bait Lahm (Bethlehem, Holy Nativity)	21 Shab. 1025/3 Sept. 1616 (99/1: 453)
Dair al-Sirian	25 Ram. 1025/6 Oct. 1616 (98/1: 476)
Dair Habs al-Masih	3 S. 1028/20 Jan. 1619 (101/1: 243)
Dair al-Arman	Ghurrat Shab. 1029/2 July 1620 (103/1: 234-5)
Church of Dair al-Ifranj	Ghurrat Q. 1030/17 Sept. 1621 (104/1: 231)
Church of Dair Bait Jala	22 JI. 1042/5 Dec. 1632 (120/1: 92)
Dair al-Batrak	10 RII. 1043/14 Oct. 1633 (122/1: 47-8)
Dair al-Zankal	14 S. 1051/25 May 1641 (129/1: 614)
Dair Mar Jirjis	Awa'il Q. 1085/27 Jan. 1675 (177/1: 12)

APPENDIX 12.13

Architects: wages for reconstruction work

Site	Architects	Wages	Date/Source
A. Schools			
Al-Jauhariyya	Husain b. Nammar <i>mi'mar bashi</i>	14,000 <i>dirham 'uthmani</i>	23 M. 958/31 Jan. 1551 (24/3: 307)
Al-Fakhriyya	Muhammad b. Ramadan <i>mi'mar bashi</i>	45 <i>dinar</i> gold coins	Awasiit H. 963/20 Oct. 1556 (33/1: 20)
Al-Aminiyya	Salama b. Muhammad al-Mi'mar	141 <i>qit'a</i> silver <i>sulaimaniyya</i>	4 JI. 964/5 March 1557 (33/1: 26)
Al-Ghadiriyya	Husain b. Nammar al-Mi'mar	10 <i>sultani</i>	3 Shab. 964/1 June 1557 (33/4: 415)
Al-Qa'itba'iyya	Husain b. Nammar, Mahmud b. Husain, Muhammad b. Ramadan	25 <i>sultani</i>	24 Raj. 969/30 March 1562 (43/2: 263)
Al-Afdaliyya	Khalaf b. Sulaiman, Ahmad al-Kharufi	150 <i>sultani</i>	7 JII. 993/6 June 1585 (64/1: 367)
Al-Badriyya	Khalil b. Khalaf al-Banna'	3 <i>ghirsh</i>	20 RII. 1040/26 Nov. 1630 (85/2: 255)
B. Houses			
Dar Khatt Bab al-Hadid	Tadrus b. Musa al-Nasrani	20 <i>sultani</i>	Ghurrat S. 963/16 Dec. 1555 (31/1: 7)
Dar Aulad Quttaina quarter	Muhammad b. al-Mi'mar, 'Ubaid b. 'Ali b. Nammar	83 <i>sultani</i> gold coins	26 S. 963/10 Jan. 1556 (31/3: 53)
Dar 'Aqabat al-Sitt	Mahmud b. 'Abd Allah al-Mi'mar	83 <i>sultani</i> gold coins	27 S. 963/11 Jan. 1556 (31/1: 52)
Dar Bab al-'Amud quarter	'Ubaid b. 'Ali b. Nammar	60 <i>sultani sulaimani</i>	16 Shaw. 965/1 Aug. 1558 (36/1: 268)
C. Arbita			
Al-Mansuri	Khair al-Din b. Nammar	8 <i>sultani</i>	13 JI. 960/27 April 1553 (27/2: 120)
Nasir al-Din al-Hanbali	Dib b. Musa Kar'un al-Banna' al-Turi	6.5 <i>sultani</i>	2 Ram. 992/7 Sept. 1584 (64/2: 110)
D. Others			
Dair al-Habash	Husain b. Nammar	6 <i>qubrusis</i>	5 JII. 954/23 July 1547 (19/4: 225)
Zuqaq	Mahmud b. Husain b. Nammar	15 <i>sultani</i>	3 JI. 964/4 March 1557 (33/4: 259)
Maqam al-Shaikh Jarrah	Sulaiman b. Muhammad al-Mi'mar	30 <i>sultani</i>	26 JII. 964/26 April 1557 (33/3: 356)
Mosque of Bait Jibril Citadel	Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi	45 <i>sultani</i>	23 Q. 965/6 Sept. 1558 (36/2: 317)
Bi'r (well) al-Shaikh Jarrah	'Ali b. Sayyidi Sulaiman b. Muhammad	35 <i>sultani</i>	29 Shab. 968/15 May 1561 (40/4: 316)
Al-Sakhra (Dome of Rock)	8 architects	120 <i>sultani</i>	7 Shab. 969/12 April 1562 (43/6: 280)
Shops in Suq al-'Attarin al-Jadid	Husain b. Nammar al-Mi'mar	13 <i>sultani</i>	23 JII. 972/26 Jan. 1565 (46/3: 143)
Al-Sakhra (Dome of Rock)	Muslih b. Hasan al-Mi'mar	6 <i>sultani</i>	28 Shaw. 976/15 April 1569 (51/4: 590)
Al-Bimaristan al-Salahi	Khalaf b. Fadul al-Nasrani, Ishaq b. Jirjis al-Nasrani	18 <i>sultani shahi</i>	15 M. 992/28 Jan. 1584 (62/2: 435)
Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya	'Abd al-Muhsin b. Mahmud b. Nammar <i>mi'mar bashi</i>	50 <i>sultani</i> gold coins	20 RII. 1014/4 Sept. 1605 (85/2: 255)
Haram Musa al-Kalim	'Abd al-Muhsin, Karim al-Din, Hasan, sons of Mahmud b. Nammar	600 <i>sultani</i> gold coins	6 Shaw. 1014/14 Feb. 1606 (85/1: 432)
Maqam Shamu'il	17 architects/stonemasons	200 <i>ghirsh</i> silver coins	9 Ram. 1031/18 July 1622 (105/1: 379)

Chapter 13

THE KHALIDI LIBRARY

Lawrence I Conrad

In the medieval Middle East it was not unusual for individuals to amass important private collections of books, and in some cases these comprised large personal libraries covering most of the subjects studied by scholars and pursued by the literate and educated public. It is often to such private collections that the great national libraries of the modern states of the region owe their manuscript treasures, though in many cases major private libraries still survive to this day.¹ Such collections are important not only for the individual works they preserve, but also for the way in which they illustrate the literary and cultural concerns of their period and region.

In Palestine the tradition of private book collecting and library building is probably of no less antiquity than elsewhere in the Islamic world, though research on the subject is still limited and concrete details presently available take us back only to the library of a certain Burhan al-Din Ibrahim al-Nasiri, a scholar from Jerusalem who died in 790/1388 (al-‘Asali 1983, 1: 50; Haarmann 1984). Much more is known about libraries of the Ottoman period. Eminent families and individuals in Jerusalem frequently established private libraries, and the 543 manuscripts from Palestinian family collections currently held at the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL) in Jerusalem make it clear that the tradition was well-represented in most of the main towns of

Ottoman Palestine.² Leaving aside the main holdings of the JNUL, which are not indigenous but represent donations or acquisitions from collectors abroad, these collections contain a total of more than 4,000 Islamic manuscripts, mostly in Arabic (Salama 1983: 2). Each collection is important in its own right, but the most significant in terms of contents, size, and research potential is clearly the Khalidi Library in the Old City of Jerusalem. Though founded only a few decades before the demise of the Ottoman empire and possessed of a history which continues to be significant through Mandate times and on to the present day, the Khalidi Library provides valuable insights on Palestinian Arab culture throughout the Ottoman era, and its post-1918 history raises important issues concerning the survival and preservation of Ottoman Jerusalem.

The family to the time of Sun‘ Allah

The Khalidi Library is based on a core collection of nearly 600 manuscripts assembled by Muhammad Sun‘ Allah al-Khalidi and endowed as *waqf* by him from 1133/1721

¹ See Roper 1992-94. This work surveys the Islamic manuscript collections in more than 80 countries and highlights the potential for very important work in little-known private collections.

² See al-‘Arif 1986: 449-52; also the fuller discussion in al-‘Asali 1981: 369-92; Salama 1987, 1: 3-24. Cf. further ‘Ali 1958; Crecelius 1991: 69-71. Preliminary research on the JNUL collections has been undertaken by the present writer, who would like to thank the World of Islam Festival Trust and its director Alistair Duncan for their support, and Efraim Wust at the JNUL, who is presently cataloguing the manuscripts, for his cooperation and assistance.

onwards. This collection itself reflects literary and cultural interests in the family in Mamluk times and the first two centuries of Ottoman rule in the Arab East.

The Khalidi family first emerges to our view in the Mamluk period, when members of the family in Jerusalem, Nablus, Safad, and Cairo gain attention in medieval biographical dictionaries. The original name of the Jerusalem Khalidis was al-Dairi, a name which figured in family prosopography even into the early years of this century. Family members still today explain the name as arising from the fact that monks in a certain monastery (*dair*) near Jerusalem sheltered fugitive members of the family during the Crusades. The story reveals attempts to assert the importance of the family in Jerusalem at a crucial time in the history of Palestine, but in historical terms it is baseless. The Dairis took their name from their home village of Dair ‘Uthman in the district of Nablus, near Mt Gerizim.³ The progenitor of the Khalidis of Palestine was Abu ‘l-Sa‘adat Sa‘d ibn Muhammad al-Dairi (d. 867/1463), and the Dairis were certainly already established in Jerusalem in the 8th/14th century. This is where Sa‘d ibn al-Dairi was born and his father, the renowned jurist and *qadi al-qudat*, Shams al-Din al-Dairi (d. 772/1373), was the one who moved the family there, went on to gain a reputation in the Islamic religious sciences, and figured among the purchasers of manuscripts from the Jerusalem library of the al-Nasiri referred to above (al-‘Asali 1983, 3: 190-91; Haarmann 1984: 329). Sa‘d ibn al-Dairi was a respected scholar who moved to Cairo, followed his father as head of the Madrasa al-Mu‘ayyadiyya, became the Hanafi *qadi* there in 842/1438, and held this post for 25 years. He was regarded as profoundly learned in many fields and an authority in *tafsir* and *hadith*, and wrote a number of juridical and dogmatic works (Brockelmann 1937, S2: 144; Zirikli 1990, 3: 87).

The shift to the name al-Khalidi, already under way in the Mamluk period, marked an attempt to identify the family as the descendants of Khalid ibn al-Walid, one of the commanders who led the Arab conquest of Syria in the early 7th century (Donner 1981: 119-32, 135-42, 149-51, 173-90), and a detailed genealogy tracing this descent back to Khalid was traditionally offered as proof.⁴ The

Table 13.1 Sun‘ Allah *waqf* collection, first part

SUBJECT	MS
<i>tafsir</i>	3
<i>hadith</i>	11
<i>tauḥīd, taṣawwuf</i>	4
<i>fiqh, uṣūl, farā‘id</i>	34
<i>naḥw wa-tawābi‘uhu, mantiq</i>	5
<i>dawāwīn, adab, tawārīkh</i>	11
<i>ṭibb</i>	8
<i>majāmī‘</i>	9
Total	85

Dairis of Nablus were not the first to lay claim to the name of al-Khalidi, but medieval biographers were rightly sceptical. Ibn Khallikan (d. 681/1282), for example, was given precisely the same explanation of the name by the descendants of the Aleppan poet Ibn al-Qaisarani al-Khalidi, but was unconvinced (Ibn Khallikan 4: 461):

This family name traces descent back to Khalid ibn al-Walid al-Makhzumi, or so the people of his family allege. But historians and scholars of genealogies state that [Khalid’s] lineage has not continued down to [our day], but rather came to an end long ago.

In early Islamic times, in fact, it was already well known that Khalid’s line had ceased within a few generations after his own death (Caskel 1966, 1: Table 23). For present purposes, these claims concerning family origins suggest that in Mamluk times the Khalidis comprised a rising social power in Jerusalem society and were seeking to assert their claims to eminence over and above those of older and better-established families. Still, readers’ and owners’ notes in manuscripts in the Khalidi Library indicate that even in the Ottoman period scholars of the family had for some time put little store by their status as Khalidis, and rather preferred to present themselves as, for example, *sibt al-Khair al-Ramli*, or just al-Khairi, i.e. descendants of the great jurist and *mufti*, Khair al-Din al-Ramli (d. 1081/1671). But through the course of the 12th/18th century, when the waning of Ottoman

³ This origin is explained in several sources: e.g. al-Sakhawi 3: 249; Mujir al-Din, 2: 221. Cf. also al-‘Asali 1983, 3: 191.
⁴ In the 19th century a family member also wrote a history of the conquests of Khalid that served to introduce the more recent history of the family. See Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Khalidi, *Al-Durr al-farid fi futahat Khalid ibn al-Walid*, Khalidi Library Ms Ar. 553. A copy of the genealogy is still shown to visitors, but in its present form it serves to trace, on the one hand, Sun‘ Allah al-Khalidi’s descent through single ancestors back to Khalid (i.e. it is not at that point a genuine family tree), and on the other, his descendants down to the present day, which of course provides vital information

for the distribution of shares of *waqf* revenues. Yusuf Diya’ al-Khalidi boasted of this lineage in Vienna in the 1870s (Schölch 1980: 321 n. 35), and in 1900 Hajj Raghīb al-Khalidi (1858-1951) still took the genealogy seriously, referring to the Khalidi family as ‘the tribe of Makhzum’ (Raghīb al-Khalidi 1900) and tracing his own descent back 37 generations through Muhammad Sun‘Allah al-Khalidi and Sa‘d ibn al-Dairi to Khalid ibn al-Walid (*Barnamaj*’ 2-3). Today, however, the family views the claim of descent from Khalid as a matter of historical interest but is well aware of its weakness.

Table 13.2 Sun‘ Allah *waqf* collection, second part

SUBJECT	MSS
<i>makramāt sharīfa</i>	13
<i>tafsīr</i>	17
<i>ḥadīth</i>	61
<i>tauhīd</i>	19
<i>taṣawwuf</i>	54
<i>fiqh, uṣūl, farā’id</i>	95
<i>naḥw wa-tawābi’uḥu, lugha, mantiq</i>	56
<i>dawāwin, adab, tazwārikh</i>	30
<i>ṭibb</i>	13
<i>majāmi‘, ta’bīr ru’yā</i>	32
<i>rasā’il</i>	74
Turkish and Persian books	15
Total	474

central power had allowed for the resurgence of local interests in the provinces, claims to venerable and prestigious family names were important vehicles used by various kinship groups to assert their eminence and priority over their rivals (Abu-Manneh 1986: 94, 99).

An especially interesting family member involved in this process was an obscure 9th/15th-century personality known as Ibn al-Sairafi, but whose name was Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ibn ‘Ali al-Makhzumi al-Maqdisi al-Khalidi al-Hanbali. Perhaps a government secretary, he composed a manual arranged according to the standard topics of Islamic jurisprudence on how the secretary should deal with various situations and formulate the appropriate documents; later he was asked to prepare an abridgement, which survives in the Vatican Library in Rome⁵ and in the Khalidi Library.⁶ Apart from the book itself his name is also of interest. One notes again the claim to affiliation with Khalid ibn al-Walid, this time by asserting membership in Khalid’s tribe, the Makhzum. This author also refers to himself as a Hanbali. Most of the later Khalidis were scholars of the Hanafi school, the dominant one in Ottoman Palestine, but at times they also display certain Maliki affiliations, and in this case we see an earlier family member who adhered to the Hanbali school, which enjoyed strong support in Jerusalem and such other towns as Tulkarm (Little 1989: 192; Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 285).

The figure of Muhammad Sun‘ Allah al-Khalidi (d. 1140/1727) is central in the genealogy and *waqf* affairs of the family, and it is likely that his career marked the apogee of the Khalidi dominance of social and political circles in Ottoman Jerusalem. A scholar of the traditional

Islamic sciences trained at the renowned religious academy of al-Azhar in Cairo, Sun‘ Allah returned to Jerusalem and quickly secured the important position of *bashkatib*, or chief secretary, of the Shari‘a Court in Jerusalem, and held this post for over 45 years. He was also a major figure on the social and economic scene, and endowments by him (beginning in 1123/1711) for the benefit of his family encompassed no fewer than 26 properties, including houses, shops, and bakeries (Dumper 1986: 62-3).

An important factor behind the proliferation of family endowments (*waqf dhurri*) was an effort to prevent assets from being lost or vitiated through division among increasing numbers of heirs (Sa‘ati 1988: 130-71), and the notables of Ottoman Jerusalem, a town which had more *waqf* per capita than any other city in the empire, including Istanbul (Reiter 1991: 35), were clearly adept at creating such shelters. It was almost certainly with this aim in mind that late in his life, in Rajab 1133/April 1721, Sun‘ Allah began to endow his library holdings for the benefit of ‘his male descendants, one generation after another in perpetuity’. A *daftar* prepared by his son⁷ lists a first instalment of 85 titles (Table 13.1), followed by a second of 466 (Table 13.2).⁸ These volumes apparently comprised the whole of Sun‘ Allah’s collection of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts, and it was this corpus that came to form the core of the Khalidi Library.

In several ways the distribution of titles and interests is a fairly predictable one. A scholar of the Islamic religious sciences needed to be able to comment authoritatively on both practical and hypothetical problems put to him, and his responses and judgments had to be made with reference to the precedents available in the classical texts of early Islamic times or the later commentaries, abridgements, or compendia based upon these texts. The dominant position in Sun‘ Allah’s library of such subjects as *fiqh*, *usul*, *fara’id*, and *hadith* is entirely consistent with such priorities, though one might note the relatively minor role that *tafsir* and the Qur’anic sciences play in the collection.⁹ The sizeable group of texts on grammar, logic and related subjects also relates to these concerns, since it was of course important to be able to understand the exact grammatical sense of a text, argue

⁷ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1126. The data in this register is discussed in Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 289-90.

⁸ In the second list the term *makramat* refers to mss intended for presentation as gifts to eminent personalities. Such works were copied with great care, were usually decorated in gold and colours, and represented enormous investments of time and money. The Khalidi Library still contains numerous such texts.

⁹ Under *tafsir* Muhammad ibn Sun‘ Allah includes such works as the *Itqan fi ‘ulum al-Qur’an* of al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), which is, strictly speaking, not a Qur’an commentary, but rather a manual on the Qur’anic sciences.

⁵ Brockelmann 1937, S2: 976; in this ms. the author is called al-Makhzumi al-Qurashi, Ibn al-Sairafi.

⁶ *Mukhtasar al-mukatabat al-badi’a fima yuktab min umur al-shari’a*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 700.

logically on the basis of one's evidence, and defend one's interpretation.

Of some interest is the large number of works on dogmatic, devotional, and mystical topics. This may be explained in terms of the policies of the Mamluks, who beginning in the reign of Barquq (r. 784-91/1382-89, 792-801/1390-99) promoted the foundation of *khanqahs* and *zawiyyas* and encouraged the integration of popular Sufi-style practices and literature into academic life (Haarmann 1984: 331; Little 1989: 192-93). The impact of these policies can already be seen in the library of al-Nasiri, which also contains an important element of popular devotional and mystical literature (Haarmann 1984: 331). Numerous Sufi-style organisations maintained lodges and study centres in Ottoman Jerusalem, and in 1672 Evliya Çelebi counted a total of 70 of them (Baer 1984: 171-72; al-'Asali 1989: 211; Ze'evi 1994, 1996: 63-85). In the books that eventually made their way into the Khalidi Library the same trend is reflected in the frequency with which Ottoman-period authors, owners, copyists, and readers of the manuscripts specify their affiliation with various Sufi orders (Khalwati, Qadiri, Shadhili, Maulawi, Naqshabandi, etc.). The Khalidi Library contains an *ijaza* granting a notable of Jerusalem membership in the Qadiriyya order as late as 1330/1912 (Little and Üner Turgay 1980: 60). An interest in such subjects is also evident in the extant library holdings of another notable of Ottoman Jerusalem, Muhammad al-Budairi (d. 1220/1805),¹⁰ and in other Palestinian collections (Abu Lail 1983; Salama 1987, 1: 146-237; Conrad and Salameh 1993: 577).

It is noteworthy that the subjects of poetry, *belles lettres*, and history are grouped together, as if the fact that they stand outside the main religious sciences gives them some common ground. Even when so combined they comprise only 7 percent of Sun' Allah's library, and upon checking the titles it emerges that most of the poetry volumes are copies of the *Diwan* of Ibn al-Farid (d. 632/1235), an Egyptian mystic whose verse was often chanted by *sufis* during their prayer and recitation sessions. History proper is actually represented very poorly, a phenomenon also encountered in other Palestinian family and private collections, in which one rarely finds any historical writing beyond a few limited tracts on the history and merits of Jerusalem. One is left with the impression

that in Ottoman Palestine the past was perceived primarily—if not exclusively—in terms of the applied and theoretical learning it had made available for pursuit of the religious sciences and the questions they had to address in contemporary Arab-Ottoman society.

Also noteworthy is the presence of 21 medical works in Sun' Allah's collection. By Mamluk and early Ottoman times, formal medical learning had percolated into society at large through a variety of channels; these included books on the 'Medicine of the Prophet', self-help manuals, and general encyclopaedic works with a chapter on medicine (Conrad 1995a: 122-25). But Sun' Allah seems to have taken more of an interest in the subject than one expects from a general reader, and his books include precisely the sorts of works that a practising physician would have found useful: a commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, the mnemonic *Manzuma* of Ibn Sina (d. 428/1037), the *Tashil* of Ibrahim al-Azraq (fl. 9th/15th c.), the *Tadhkira* of Da'ud al-Antaki (d. 1008/1599), and various books on *materia medica* and the preparation of compound drugs. It is not known that Sun' Allah was a physician, but if he was not, the question arises of why he was interested enough to acquire so many manuscripts on the subject.

Under *majami'* and *rasa'il* are primarily listed volumes containing multiple works, with the result that many works on, for example, Arabic grammar are listed under *majami'* because multiple works on the topic have been bound together. Some of the volumes of this kind that now survive in the Library were all copied together by a single scribe and were undoubtedly meant for presentation as a corpus, while others clearly comprise small originally separate books bound together for the sake of convenience or to save money on binding. But in other cases it is difficult to see why a book is listed in these sections. The *Al-Munqidh min al-dalal* of al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111) and several individual manuals on grammar, for example, are listed under *rasa'il*.

The library of Sun' Allah al-Khalidi may usefully be compared to that of another notable of the 18th century, Muhammad Beg Abu'l-Dhahab, the Mamluk *shaikh al-balad* who built and endowed a large mosque and *madrasa* complex in Cairo in 1774 and deposited his personal library in it ('Ali 1958; Crecelius 1991: 69-71). It would be rash to assume that Muhammad Beg was typical of other bibliophiles of Ottoman Egypt, but the comparison is nevertheless useful in light of the fact, as we shall see below, that Cairo and the circles of Islamic scholarship at al-Azhar were important sources of influence for the Khalidis of Jerusalem.

For the same reasons that applied to Sun' Allah, Muhammad Beg collected large numbers of books on the Islamic religious sciences, among which books relating to Hanafi law were dominant, followed by texts of the Shafi'i

¹⁰ See Salama 1987, 1: 146-237; Conrad and Salameh 1993: 577. The Khalidi Library holds copies of two works written by al-Budairi. Ms. 219 is his *Matn bughyat al-talib nafi' li'l-mubtadi wa-mughnim li'l-muntahi*, a grammatical essay accompanied by two poems on similar topics. Ms. 744 is his *Al-Kaukab al-waqqaq fi 'l-dalala 'ala ba'd fadl al-jihad*, an essay on the merits of *jihad*, perhaps written late in his life just after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. Cf. Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 284 no. 9.

and Maliki schools. Grammar, rhetoric, and logic are also similarly stressed, and while history would seem to be well represented, Crecelius points out (1991: 70) that most of the titles are listed under this rubric by mistake and that in fact the subject was not at all well covered. This would accord with our assessment above of the status of history in Palestine as a whole.

There are also areas where the coverage of the two libraries manifests significant discrepancies. Muhammad Beg's collection displays none of the interest in *tasawwuf* that one so often sees in Palestinian collections. This divergence becomes clear when one recalls that al-Azhar, where most of the Palestinian scholars trained, disapproved of *sufi* tendencies; the Palestinian '*ulama*' completed this part of their religious education when they returned home (Ze'evi 1994: 132). Also, whereas the exact sciences are represented in Sun' Allah's collection by books on medicine, in that of Muhammad Beg they are covered by works on mathematics, which was of course relevant to calculation of inheritance shares and a major reason why some of the leading scholars of inheritance law were also known as mathematicians. It must also be noted that Sun' Allah's library was a private collection intended for his own use and that of his family, while that of Muhammad Beg was a *madrasa* library and may have been built up with that end in mind. This may account for the fact that the latter collection contains many more duplications of the same works.

The consolidation of Sun' Allah's library into a stable collection supported by the protective structures of *waqf* was decisive in the formation of the Khalidi Library. It essentially institutionalised its founder's wide-ranging intellectual and cultural interests, and provided an incentive that served to encourage further growth and development.

Khalidi literary and collecting activity in Ottoman times

Far less is known of the immediate descendants of Sun' Allah, but sufficient information is available to comment on developments relevant to the history of the Khalidi Library. Certainly it is clear that his family continued many of his interests. Several very well-known members of the family in the late 19th century could be cited as examples of authorship among the Khalidis, but these will be dealt with below, and here note will rather be taken of less prominent writers and literary figures within the family. In late Mamluk times the Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khalidi already discussed above had composed his manual for secretaries. In the early Ottoman period Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Khalidi (d. 1034/1624-25) trained at al-Azhar and then returned to Palestine for a career of

teaching and service as a *mufti* and *qadi*. His writings were primarily in grammar and prosody, and he was also a poet in his own right (al-Muhibbi 1: 297-98); for modern scholars his most important contribution, however, was his history of the Ma'nid *amir* Fakhr al-Din II. Ahmad ibn Hasan al-Khalidi, who lived in Cairo and was better known as al-Jauhari (d. 1182/1768), was a broadly learned Shafi'i scholar, *mufti*, and teacher at al-Azhar (al-Muradi 1: 97); he wrote a number of books (Brockelmann 1937, 2: 331; S2: 459-60), and the Khalidi Library has from him a short essay on the interpretation of a Qur'anic passage on the temptation of Adam and Eve.¹¹ Another member of the family was Husain ibn Muhammad al-Khalidi (d. 1200/1786), who was an eminent Hanafi scholar and man of letters; he wrote a number of essays, most of which revolved around praises for the Prophet Muhammad (al-Muradi 2: 72). The year 1200/1786 also witnessed a further endowment of books; unfortunately, nothing is yet known about this *waqf* apart from references to it in notes in the manuscripts. Sometime in the 19th century Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khalidi wrote a historical work on the Arab conquests seeking to promote his family's claims to descent from Khalid ibn al-Walid,¹² and from about this same period comes an untitled collection of Hasan al-Khalidi's pieces in prose and verse, interspersed with religious, didactic and literary selections from older authors.¹³

Musa al-Khalidi (d. 1249/1832) was especially significant as a literary and religious figure who also gained considerable political importance. He wrote a number of legal treatises and was respected as far afield as Istanbul itself, and also served as *qadi* 'askar of Anatolia, one of the highest judicial posts in the Ottoman Empire (al-'Asali 1989: 217). In 1257/1841 'Umar ibn Muhammad Sun' Allah al-Khalidi wrote a manual on Hanafi law.¹⁴ A few years later, in 1266/1850, 'Ali Raghīb al-Khalidi composed a creed in 80 verses.¹⁵ In 1269/1852-53, Nu'man ibn Raghīb al-Khalidi, another product of al-Azhar, wrote a brief but wide-ranging essay on the interpretation of the *basmala*.¹⁶ This same scholar may be the author of another short work on inflection in Arabic poetry, concerning the many cases in which poets conceal a sense that is

¹¹ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 636.2, [*Risala fi ta'wil 'fa-waswasa lahum al-shaitan*'], an essay on Surat al-A'raf 7: 20—*fa-waswasa lahum al-shaitan*, 'Then Satan whispered to the two of them'.

¹² See above, n. 4.

¹³ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 745.

¹⁴ 'Umar ibn Muhammad Sun' Allah al-Khalidi, *Al-Tuhfa fi umur al-din*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 783.

¹⁵ 'Ali Ratib al-Khalidi, *Aqida*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1071.

¹⁶ Nu'man ibn Raghīb al-Khalidi, *Risala fi 'l-basmala*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 128. A register of this scholar's *ijazas*, mostly gained at al-Azhar, survives in Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1103.

¹⁷ *Kitab fi 'l-i'rab*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 277.2.

philologically difficult in an expression that appears to be corrupt.¹⁷ Working in Istanbul in 1281/1864 on the basis of an earlier work composed in 1791, Yusuf Muhammad al-Khalidi drafted an essay criticising the Christian Gospels, refuting various false claims and pointing out absurdities and contradictions among the different books.¹⁸ A few years later, in 1299/1882, Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Sa'ardi composed a work complaining in verse about governmental and other abuses.¹⁹

Such vignettes provide some indication of the continuing broad scope of the family's literary interests, and these are confirmed by the activities undertaken by individuals to acquire books for their personal collections. Members of the family could of course easily obtain books from Palestine: a number of important Palestinian authors were active in Ottoman times, and the status of Jerusalem as the third most holy Islamic shrine city ensured a steady flow of visitors and hence also of books accompanying scholars wishing to study at the Haram al-Sharif. The family thus acquired such important works as the unique autograph of a *qisas al-anbiya* ('tales of the prophets') book written by the Jerusalem scholar Ibn Abi 'Udhaiba (d. 856/1452)²⁰ and the autograph fair copy book of the *fatawa* of Ibn Qadi 'Ajlun (d. 876/1471).²¹ But Palestine also had a place within a complex cultural network extending over much of the Near East, and the notables of the Khalidi family made full use of this to pursue their own literary interests and expand their holdings of manuscripts.

The most important external source of books was probably Cairo. As commented above, scholars from the Khalidi family were quite often products of the academy of al-Azhar.²² Many of them spent long periods of time there, and while in Cairo they not only studied but also acquired manuscripts. Some of the Library's manuscripts bear notes attesting to a member of the family reading the book in question 'while a student at al-Azhar', and in such cases study of the text has clearly led to its purchase. These

acquisitions do not appear to have been incidental to a stay in Cairo, but rather one of its objectives, since notes in the Library's manuscripts sometimes refer to the efforts made to obtain books specifically for shipment back to Jerusalem and to ensure their safe arrival. In 1154/1741, for example, a shipment of books copied or purchased in Cairo for the family in Jerusalem was sent by ship to Palestine by Musa al-Khalidi. The shipment included a five-volume copy of an important *hadith* commentary that had taken three years to complete, but unfortunately one of the volumes was lost at sea. Musa had to commission another transcription of the missing volume, and hastened to explain what had happened on the title page of this manuscript.²³

Another source for family members seeking to obtain books was Istanbul, which as the imperial capital and a major Islamic cultural centre was of course also an important emporium for books. The presence in the Khalidi Library of manuscripts copied in Anatolia and the Balkans suggests access to this market in any case, but uncatalogued *daftars* found among the Library fragments in 1988 tell a fuller story. These registers were used to record a variety of family transactions in the 12th/18th century—i.e. in the time of Sun' Allah and his immediate descendants—and include notes on transactions involving books. All of these refer to dealings with Istanbul, and from the notes it would seem that some books were acquired by family members not for their own use, but rather for resale in the capital. These books were sent to a dealer there, who sold them on behalf of the Khalidis and likewise filled orders for the family and sent the required books back to Jerusalem. Though attested only for the 12th/18th century, this fact probably reflects nothing more than the survival pattern of the relevant evidence. It is likely that this sort of procedure was a standard method for acquiring books, and access to strategically placed professional dealers able to find important manuscripts would explain why the Khalidi Library, a family collection in a provincial centre, contains a disproportionately large number of *makramas*, autographs, copies from autographs, and unique manuscripts.

The third important source of manuscripts for the Library was Mecca and Medina (al-Shamikh 1973). Jerusalem was often visited by pilgrims on their way to or from the Hijaz, and members of the Khalidi family often joined the *hajj* caravans and remained in Arabia for considerable lengths of time. The copying of texts in the Islamic religious sciences was a prominent activity of

¹⁸ Yusuf Muhammad al-Khalidi, *Mumahakat al-ta'wil fi munaqadat al-Injil*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 461.

¹⁹ Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Sa'ardi, *Risala fi hawadith al-zaman fi harakat ma'murin hadha 'l-an*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 740. Cf. Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 284 no. 10.

²⁰ Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Qudsi, known as Ibn Abi 'Udhaiba, *Qisas al-anbiya*, Khalidi Library Ms. no. 86. Cf. Mukhlis 1926: 412; Talas 1945: 533.

²¹ Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Qadi 'Ajlun al-Zara'i al-Shafi'i al-Dimashqi, Abu 'l-Fadl, *Fatawa*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 242. Cf. Mukhlis 1926: 409; Talas 1945: 441.

²² On al-Azhar under the Ottomans see Dodge 1961: 77-105; Marsot 1968. Valuable eyewitness descriptions of al-Azhar in the 19th century are to hand in the accounts by Ignaz Goldziher, who was a student there in 1874. See Goldziher 1880; 1881: 299-340.

²³ Al-Qastallani (d. 923/1517), *Irshad al-sari fi sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 329, fol. 1r. The remaining volumes in the set are Mss Ar. 489-92. The point of Musa al-Khalidi's explanation is to assure the reader that while the volumes do not match, they comprise a single set copied from a single source text.

learned pilgrims, and owners' and readers' notes in Library manuscripts attest to their origin in this sort of work. It was also common for pilgrims to finance their travels by purchasing in one region goods they expected to sell at a profit elsewhere later in their journey. This included manuscripts, and a number of books in the Library were apparently purchased in Mecca or Medina and brought back with pilgrims to Jerusalem, either by family members or by other individuals rightly anticipating a market for religious books in another important Islamic shrine city.

It may at least be noted in passing that Damascus was not an important source of books for the Khalidis, nor indeed, it seems, for many other Jerusalem families. The Library does contain quite precious manuscripts of Damascene origin, most importantly a *majmu'a* of essays by Taqi 'l-Din al-Subki (d. 756/1355), drafted and corrected with additional notes, all in his own hand.²⁴ And of course there was regular traffic between Jerusalem and Damascus throughout the periods of interest to us here, and Damascus too was a major centre of Islamic culture.²⁵ But this simply renders all the more noteworthy the fact that in Ottoman times the Khalidis and most other Jerusalem families seldom refer to study in the Syrian capital or buying or selling books there, and thus do not seem to have looked to Damascus for cultural or intellectual inspiration. In what was probably an intensification of a developing intellectual tradition of Mamluk times (Little 1984), Palestinians in the Ottoman era who aspired to scholarship or a career in which a solid grounding in traditional Islamic learning was expected normally made their way to al-Azhar, even in cases in which Damascus was far closer to the places where they lived (Kupferschmidt 1984, 1986: 126; Ze'evi 1994: 132). It was not until well into the 19th century that Palestinian scholarship in general established close working ties with the Syrian capital.

In the Ottoman period the Khalidi family traditionally enjoyed a high reputation for the intellectual and religious credentials of its members, and in a time when, as will be seen, *waqf* endowments often failed to outlive their founders for very long, the mere survival of Sun' Allah's library would in itself have been a fact of some

significance. But the period between his death in 1727 and the founding of the nascent Khalidi Library in 1886 in fact marked a high point of the collection in terms of new acquisitions and saw it more than double in size.

Information on this growth can be extrapolated from the corpus of 445 manuscripts in the present Khalidi Library collection that are dated by their colophons. This comprises a third of the manuscript holdings, and there is no reason to doubt that it is representative of the collection as a whole. The distribution of dates must of course be assessed with the watershed date of 1133/1721, the date of Sun' Allah's library *waqf*, in view. Manuscripts dated before that year represent the extent to which old manuscripts were available to a Jerusalem family that had probably been collecting books at least since the time of Sa'd ibn al-Dairi in the 9th/15th century, if not earlier. The sharp rise in the representation of books copied in the 9th/15th centuries probably means that Sun' Allah's collection had roots in a Dairi collection that itself was being maintained up to Sun' Allah's time, with books from earlier periods being rare and extremely difficult to find. The further sharp rise in dated manuscripts copied in the 11th century demonstrates that Sun' Allah's collection came into being near the end of an active era in the transmission of Arabic-Islamic literary culture. The even sharper rise in the number of dated manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries AH (i.e., after the creation of the *waqf* of Sun' Allah) represents not the extent to which older manuscripts were available, but rather the extent to which new ones were being produced. Fully a third of the dated manuscripts currently in the Library were copied in the 12th/18th century, and the graph shows that intellectual and religious personalities in the family continued to pursue Sun' Allah's interests vigorously, and that new acquisitions largely comprised purchases of recently copied texts or copies specifically prepared for a member of the family, rather than searching out rare old exemplars.

Particular care and labour seems to have been devoted to the collection throughout the Ottoman period. Books were examined to determine if any folios or quires were missing from them, and gaps were made good by recopying the missing text from another manuscript. In many cases manuscripts were purchased before work on them had been completed, perhaps because of concern for shipping schedules or other time considerations. Books thus arrived in Jerusalem as stacks of quires of copied text inserted into their intended binding, but still requiring the addition of rubrications, final trimming of the text block, and stitching into the binding. Much of this sort of work was apparently being done in Jerusalem, but a number of unfinished books of this kind, usually manuscripts copied in Cairo in the 12th/18th century (cf. Pedersen 1984: 129-30), still survive in the Library's collections.

By the beginning of the 19th century the Khalidis possessed a far larger collection of books than one would

²⁴ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 49. This volume consists of a number of essays, both completed and partially so, as well as notes on various subjects, written by al-Subki at al-Madrassa al-'Adiliyya between 740/1339 and 755/1354. The first five texts are corrected and revised drafts ready for final copying, but left in a non-book hand without *nuqat* and apparently still unpublished by the author at the time of his death. The collection was in all likelihood bound in its present form by a subsequent owner (a student?) after al-Subki's death. Cf. Mukhlis 1926: 368; Talas 1945: 49.

²⁵ On the connections of Palestinian scholars with Damascus in the Ottoman period, see Kupferschmidt 1984: 179-82.

normally expect to find in private possession in an Ottoman provincial centre, and by comparison, several times larger than the holdings of such other families as the Husainis or Budairis (Conrad and Salameh 1993: 576-79).²⁶ But apart from those preserved in the *waqf* of Sun‘ Allah, these holdings were scattered in private possession among numerous family members in Jerusalem and did not yet comprise what one could call a unified family Library. It was late in this century, which marked the course of so many other fundamental changes in the Middle East, that the decisive movements in this direction were made.

The formal foundation

In modern scholarship the establishment of the Khalidi Library is almost universally assigned to the year 1318/1900, but in fact there was already a nascent institution in place more than a decade earlier. There was no recollection of information about this among elderly family members interviewed in the 1980s, but in the old Library building one of our research teams found a large decorative wooden plaque bearing the carved inscription: *al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya sana 1304* (The Khalidi Library, [founded AH] 1304). An old register of books is similarly entitled, and the conclusion to be drawn must be that a library institution proclaiming itself to the public as ‘the Khalidi Library’ and containing an at least rudimentarily organised collection of books already existed in 1886-87. This library probably comprised the surviving books from the old original *waqf* collection of Sun‘ Allah, plus others that had been added to the corpus over the intervening two and a half centuries, and the circumstances under which it came into being are explained in an unpublished announcement of the opening of the Khalidi Library in 1900 by Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi (1858-1951). He states that most of the original collection of Sun‘ Allah had subsequently been dispersed under unfavourable circumstances, and that Ruhi al-Khalidi (1864-1913) had gathered together what remained of the scattered books (the language is rather figurative here) and planned to use them as the basis for the founding of a public library in Jerusalem; the demands of his studies in Istanbul denied him the time required to do so, but his interest had instilled the idea among other members of his family (Raghib al-Khalidi 1900). In an autobiographical essay published in

Jaffa Ruhi states that he spent six years in Istanbul on this study trip and returned to Jerusalem in AH 1311 (Ruhi al-Khalidi 1908: 155); i.e. he left Jerusalem in 1305/1887, hardly a year after the first stages of organisational work in 1886. The collection of 1886 in all likelihood thus represented these preliminary but unfinished efforts of Ruhi al-Khalidi.

It is not known where this 1886 collection was kept, but the plaque strongly suggests a site fronting onto the street and specifically dedicated to housing the library, if not necessarily making it available to the public, and the accommodation of a large mass of books elsewhere (e.g. in a room in one of the family’s flats in Tariq Bab al-Silsila) would have been difficult in any case. A likely location for such a collection is the present site of the Khalidi Library, the *turba* of Husam al-Din Barakat Khan (Walls 1974; Burgoyne 1987: 109-16), a Khwarizmian chieftain who died in battle near Hims in 644/1246. Located in Tariq Bab al-Silsila about 100 metres from the Haram al-Sharif and at the end of a series of flats and houses owned by the family, this complex consisted in the mid-19th century of the original *turba*, a separate property on its eastern side comprising a large courtyard where arched open markets and later a mosque had once stood, and a second smaller low-ceilinged cross-vaulted chamber on the far side of the courtyard. In 1865 the *turba* was being used as a school and the adjoining area was in ruins (Sandreczki 1865: Day 9); the condition of the latter is confirmed by Raghib al-Khalidi’s reference to this plot as a dilapidated run-down site next to the *turba* (Raghib al-Khalidi 1900). Subsequent to 1886 the complex was extensively renovated: all of the walls of the *turba* except for the magnificent Mamluk façade facing Tariq Bab al-Silsila on the north side were rebuilt, the *turba* was converted into a family mosque, and the ruined courtyard area was at least partially revaulted (Walls 1974: 40; Burgoyne 1987: 115).²⁷ It may also have been at this time that a door was opened from the *turba* into the courtyard beside it, thus producing the single complex essentially as it exists today.

That the collection of books was already here is

²⁶ That the present courtyard was once a mosque is attested in a Mamluk *waqfiyya* of 797/1395; see al-‘Asali 1983, 1: 237-39. There has been much discussion of the three funerary inscriptions presently embedded in the west wall of the courtyard, each with a low stone platform in front of it. Sandreczki saw two of these inscriptions placed elsewhere in 1865, and clearly they were reused again in the subsequent rebuilding of the complex, with the three funerary slabs being added at that time. The courtyard itself stands over a high vaulted room (breached during renovation of the Library in the 1990s), and public works in Tariq Bab al-Silsila subsequently revealed that the street in front of this chamber is the Umayyad bridge leading to the Haram. There could therefore never have been any graves in this courtyard in Mamluk times, since what lies underneath has been an open room since long before the 13th century.

²⁶ In assessing such matters one really must judge on the basis of extant collections. The sight of many books on a wall often evoked extremely exaggerated guesses at numbers by both local and foreign visitors, as will be discussed presently, and any count not based on a detailed survey or estimated shelf run must be regarded as suspect.

suggested by the fact that the family became concerned about the appropriateness of using its family mosque as a library. For an opinion they sought the advice of Shaikh Tahir al-Jaza'iri (1851-1920), an outspoken Damascene advocate of political reform and modern education who frequently travelled and was approached by the Khalidis shortly after his arrival on one such trip in Jerusalem.²⁸ His opinion on Islamic libraries would have been of particular relevance to the Khalidis. Shortly after the appointment of Midhat Pasha as *wali* in 1878, al-Jaza'iri had established in Damascus the first Arab public library, an institution that eventually expanded into the renowned Syrian national library, the Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyya.²⁹ Later he was to serve as inspector of libraries, and his reputation as an authority on matters concerning the Arabic literary heritage was enormous (al-Khatib 1971: 105-106, 111-12; Escovitz 1986: 297). To the Khalidis' query he responded that the quest for knowledge was enjoined by Islam, and that there could therefore be no religious objection to using the *turba* of Barakat Khan as a library.³⁰

Al-Jaza'iri then became involved in the task of establishing the Khalidi collection as a formal library, and it is all but certain that he contributed not only a major portion of the actual cataloguing, but also the ideas informing the way it was organised and administered. But contrary to claims by his student Muhammad Kurd 'Ali (1876-1953) and others following him (Kurd 'Ali 1984: 11; Escovitz 1986: 294-95, 297), the Khalidi Library was not al-Jaza'iri's personal project and its collection was not based on his private library.³¹ The core manuscript collection was unquestionably that of Sun' Allah al-Khalidi: while the manuscripts abound with owners' and readers' notes in the name of Khalidi family members and many of the items in the *daftar* of Sun' Allah's collection are still to be found in the Library, research on the collection has failed to produce a single manuscript attesting to any origin with al-Jaza'iri (although in some of the documents held by the Library he figures as a witness). The building itself had been Khalidi property for centuries. Its owner in the mid-19th century was the Nu'man al-

Khalidi mentioned above (Raghib al-Khalidi 1900), and after his death it passed to the possession of his wife Khadija Khatim al-Khalidi, daughter of Musa al-Khalidi, also referred to above; urging that the family's library holdings be unified as a formal *waqf*-based institution based in the *turba* of Barakat Khan, she relinquished ownership of the property for this purpose (Talas 1945: 236).³²

The *turba* was thus converted into a reading room, the nearly five-metre height of which was gradually stacked floor to ceiling with bookcases, shelves, and cabinets on all four sides; access to the higher shelves was via a long wooden ladder. A large reading table with sloped sides to support books dominated the centre of the room, and in the southeast corner a French safe held the 25 most valuable manuscripts (pl. 13.1). Lighting was entirely natural, through a large circular window high on the south side of the room and single windows looking out onto the street to the north and the courtyard to the east.

With the help of another Damascene scholar, Muhammad Mahmud al-Habbal, Tahir al-Jaza'iri and Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi catalogued the books primarily according to the traditional classification used in the register of Sun' Allah's collection, with some expansions and additions (Table 13.3). Printed books were included, but in the handlist published in Jerusalem in 1318/1900 it is stated that not all of the collection had been listed:

There are many other books to be found in the Library which we have set aside and decided not to mention, either because they are duplicates, because they are commonly available, or because some of them are missing folios and time has been too short to collect and complete them. God willing, we will record them in the second edition (*Barnamaj*¹: 78).

These uncatalogued books were ultimately registered by the curator, Muhammad Amin al-Ansari (d. 1954), in an undated list (*Barnamaj*²) in his handwriting (Table 13.4), but a second edition of the handlist was never formally published. There are also cases in which it is not certain whether a printed book or a manuscript is meant. Nevertheless, the distribution of books among the various

²⁸ De Tarrazi (1947: 143) places this contact in the wake of al-Jaza'iri's banishment from Damascus, but this was in 1905 (Escovitz 1986: 295), whereas al-Jaza'iri had already played a fundamental role in the preparation of the handlist of the Khalidi Library printed in 1900.

²⁹ The Zahiriyya Library was established in the Madrasa al-Zahiriyya, which took its name from the tomb, located on this site, of the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baibars I (r. 658-76/1260-77). See al-Imadi 1967; Kurd 'Ali 1980: 269, 1984: 11; Shamir 1968: 375.

³⁰ For these details I am grateful to the former *mutawalli*, the late Mr Haidar Khalidi, who discussed this stage of the Library's existence with me at length.

³¹ The following elaborates on the argument in Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 290.

³² Later in his life Kurd 'Ali (1980: 269) would in fact correct his error on the origins of the Library, commenting that the manuscript collection consists of the books of Khalidi family members. Al-Jaza'iri did amass a large and valuable library of his own, but he took it with him when he left Damascus for Cairo in 1905 and eventually sold it there to Ahmad Taimur (Escovitz 1986: 295).

Table 13.3 Books published in *Barnamaj* of 1900

SUBJECT	MSS	PR.	UNSP.	TOTAL
Qur'āns	1			1
<i>tafsīr</i>	27	25		52
Qur'ānic sciences	7			7
<i>ḥadīth</i>	78	18	2	98
<i>uṣūl</i>	32	7		39
<i>fatāwā</i>	26	8	1	35
<i>fiqh ḥanafī</i>	111	30		141
<i>fiqh</i> (other schools)	18	2	1	21
<i>farā'id</i>	17	7		24
<i>tauḥīd</i>	30	16		46
<i>taṣawwuf</i>	19	25		44
<i>mawā'iz, ḥikam</i>	14	9		23
<i>naḥw</i>	62	31		93
<i>ma'ām, bayān, etc.</i>	44	8		52
<i>lugha</i>	3	1	14	18
<i>adab</i>	17	40		57
<i>siyāsa, qawānīn</i>	2	3		5
<i>dawāwīn, madā'ih nabawīya</i>	12	15		27
Turkish, Persian poetry	8	3		11
<i>madā'ih nabawīya</i>	7	1	3	11
<i>siyar nabawīya, manāqib</i>	14	18	3	35
<i>ta'rīkh</i>	1	71		72
<i>tarājīm</i>	6	25	1	32
<i>qīṣaṣ, ḥikāyāt, gharā'ib</i>		6	1	7
<i>manātiq</i>	24	10	1	35
<i>ḥikma, ādāb al-baḥth, munāẓara</i>	10	1		11
<i>ḥisāb, jabr, handasa</i>	1	3	4	8
<i>kutub falakiyya</i>	20	5	2	27
natural sciences, <i>falsafa</i>		26	1	27
<i>ṭibb</i>	5	12		17
<i>rūḥāniyyāt</i>	7	2		9
<i>majāmi' 'ilmiyya</i>	47			47
Mss. from <i>dasht</i>	24			24
Total	702	420	34	1,156

subjects in the handlist and al-Ansari's list provides a valuable impression of the state of the collection upon its formal opening in 1900. As the categories under which books were listed in the two registers are not always the same, it would be potentially misleading to combine the two lists.³³

A number of important conclusions can be drawn from these registers, which show that the collection as first formally constituted in 1900 contained 2,168 volumes: 960 manuscripts, mostly in Arabic but some also in Turkish and Persian, 1,138 printed books, and 70 for which the information provided is unclear. First, it may be noticed that the list compiled by al-Ansari confirms the published

handlist's concluding statement that not all of the manuscripts in the collection had been listed. But the decision about what and what not to include clearly involved not only relegation of duplicates, commonly available books, and defective copies, but also judgments on what works were most important. That is, the selection of books for cataloguing tells us something about the founders' aims and purposes in establishing the new Library. All of the works on Islamic law, both manuscripts and printed books, were taken up for inclusion in the printed handlist. There is no lack of duplicates, common works, and defective copies in this corpus, but the founders listed them all the same. Clearly they considered that it was worthwhile to make available a full and complete corpus of material in this field. Interestingly enough, however, they did not feel the same way about other areas: three quarters of the books on legal theory, a total of 124 volumes, were set aside, perhaps reflecting a concern for the more immediately practical dimensions of Islamic law.

There are other fields in which all of the available books were catalogued early on. The rubric of wondrous and marvellous tales need not detain us: this is an artificial category created by removing from *adab* such printed books as the *Thousand and One Nights* and the Middle Arabic tale *I'lam al-nas bi-ma waqa'a li 'l-baramika min bani 'l-'Abbas* by Muhammad Diyab al-Itlidi (d. 1100/1688). The other categories, however, are of some import. These comprise works on politics, mathematics, and astronomy, and their inclusion probably reflects the importance attached to such subjects in the 19th-century reform agenda, which not only stressed the need for political liberalisation, but also sought to identify means through which a response to the technological advantage of the West could be made. It is worth noting, however, that the stress on scientific subjects did not lead the founders of the Library to include all of the works on medicine, only half of which were listed in the printed handlist of 1900.

The two lists of Khalidi Library books also reflect the dramatically expanding role of the printed book in the Arab East in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Pedersen 1984: 131-41). Just as the family's main sources for Arabic manuscripts had been Cairo and Istanbul, it was these two centres that provided their primary access to printed books in the 50 years prior to the formal foundation of the Library (cf. Tadrus 1982; Gdoura 1985: 188-244; al-Tanahi 1996), with Beirut lagging behind in a distant third place. Even in such traditional Islamic religious topics as *tafsir* and *tauḥīd* the role of the hand-written manuscript was being overtaken by the printed book, and in other fields printing was clearly reshaping the relative representation of the various fields of study, and hence, their accessibility to the educated public. This can be seen most clearly in the field of history, which through much of the Ottoman period in Palestine, as noted above,

³³ The final category in the second list was added later in a different hand, and additions to some of the earlier sections in this list have also been made. Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1177 is a preliminary list of these holdings, registering 210 manuscripts and 227 printed books.

Table 13.4 Additional books catalogued by al-Ansari

SUBJECT	MSS	PR.	UNSP.	TOTAL
Qur'āns	4	1		5
<i>tafsīr</i>	7	59	1	67
Qur'ānic sciences	8	4		12
<i>ḥadīth</i>	13	17	2	32
<i>uṣūl</i>	67	52	5	124
<i>fatāwā</i>	3	4		7
<i>farā'id</i>	7	6		13
<i>tauhīd</i>	12	31		43
<i>taṣawwuf</i>	16	23		39
<i>mawā'iz, ḥikam</i>	20	27		47
<i>naḥw</i>	19	44	2	65
<i>ma'ānī, bayān, etc.</i>	9	5		14
<i>lugha</i>	3	24	1	28
<i>ādāb</i>	6	64		70
<i>siyar, manāqib</i>	5	12		17
<i>taẓwārikh</i>	6	135		141
<i>madā'ih nabawiya,</i>				
<i>dawāwin, tarājim</i>	8	38		46
<i>ḥikma, ādāb al-baḥth,</i>	2	24		26
<i>manṭiq</i>	8	9	2	19
<i>ṣarf</i>	3	11		14
natural sciences, <i>falsafa</i>	7	7		14
<i>ṭibb</i>	3	6	1	10
<i>majāmi' 'ilmiyya</i>	19	3	21	43
<i>qawānīn, niẓāmāt</i>	3	102	1	106
Total	258	718	36	1012

was only a minor topic of study as compared to other fields. In the second half of the 19th century, however, a rapidly increasing interest in history was accommodated by the new printing presses and publishing houses of the region, which made up for the traditional religious scholars' indifference to the subject by producing printed books on a large scale and at affordable prices. The result can be seen in the Khalidi Library of 1900, in which history is represented by only seven manuscripts but no less than 206 printed books, including copies of such central historical works as those of Ibn al-Athir (d. 630/1233), Abu 'l-Fida' (d. 732/1331), Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406), al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), and Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaimi (d. 928/1485), and more contemporary works in Arabic by al-Jabarti (d. 1825) and in Turkish by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha (d. 1895). Similar expansion appears in the field of *adab*, represented by 23 manuscripts but 104 printed books, and the disparity becomes even greater when one takes into account that many printed literary texts are listed under other categories.³⁴

The Library not only organised its collections, but

also gained formal stable financial support when, in consultation with Tahir al-Jaza'iri, Hajj Raghīb al-Khalidi established a *waqf* in favour of the Library in 1904 (Sijill 397: 245, 1322/1904; al-'Asali 1983, 1: 166-68). His share of the Hammam al-'Ain in Tariq al-Wad and six shops affiliated to it were endowed in perpetuity to pay the costs of the Library, which was to make its treasures available for reading and consultation by all interested parties. After defrayment of essential expenses, the entire income of the *waqf* was specified in perpetuity as salary for a curator, who was to open the Library every day during its specified hours and safeguard its collections. The *mutawalli* was to be Raghīb al-Khalidi himself, and after his death his male descendants of sound mind and deportment; should none of his own line be available, the *waqf* was to pass to the authority of the male descendants of his sister. The provisions of the *waqfiyya* were further elaborated through specific rules according to which the Khalidi Library was to operate. These were set forth in a list of articles hand-copied by al-Ansari and prominently posted in the Reading Room:

1. The Library will be open in the morning from 9:00 until 12:00 noon, and in the afternoon from 2:00 until an hour before sunset, except for the month of Ramadan, during which it will open in the afternoon only.
2. The smoking of cigarettes and waterpipes inside the Reading Room of the Library is strictly forbidden, regardless of who is concerned.
3. Those consulting books must not retrieve books themselves, but must request the book they wish to consult from the curator of the Library, who will remove it from its place and bring it to the reader. When a reader is finished with a book, he must personally hand it over to the curator.
4. The reader must handle the book carefully and cleanly. If he wants to copy something from it he must not write on top of the book, soil its pages with ink, or make any corrections in it.
5. Readers must not engage in excessive conversation, shouting, or argument, so as not to distract those who are reading or copying.
6. Absolutely no book held by the Library may be removed from it—whether on loan, or

³⁴ The ten double volumes of the *Kitab al-aghani* by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. 356/967), for example, are listed under *tarajim*, whereas the work is usually considered a classic of medieval Arabic literature.

upon payment of a deposit, or in any other way—except according to the terms specified in the following article.

7. Certain books on *fatawa*, jurisprudence, and inheritance law, if they are printed books held in multiple copies, may be removed to the Shari‘a Court only, but must be returned on the same day, after the legal principles they contain have been consulted. Under absolutely no circumstances may manuscripts or rare books be removed, whether to the Court or anywhere else.

8. Those using the Library may do so only to read and conduct research. While they are within the Library or in its courtyard they must not pursue personal matters.

9. The Library will be closed on Sundays, feast days, and recognised official holidays.

These regulations are of great interest for the light they shed on the completely innovative way the Library was organised and run.³⁵ A traditional Islamic library consisted of books laid down flat with titles or other identifying rubrics written on the head, tail, or fore-edge,³⁶ while in the Khalidi Library books were stood upright, as in Western libraries, with authors, titles, and catalogue numbers written on a paper label affixed to the spine. An individual or family library was also customarily regarded as the private affair of its owners,³⁷ and the conversion of such a collection to one to which the public had systematic access was in itself another remarkable innovation. The specification of regular opening hours was likewise a singular departure, as also were the arrangements for a curator with the responsibility of running the Library on a regular basis. It is not known how successful the Library was in enforcing its ban on general socialising within its walls, and its restrictions on the external circulation of books are known to have lapsed, but these too were quite modern measures. For the inspiration behind all this one

ought probably to look to Tahir al-Jaza‘iri. Raghīb al-Khalidī says little about his Damascene collaborator and routinely refers to himself as the founder of the Library, but the organisation of both the collection and the Library itself are suggestive of the thought of someone thoroughly experienced in the administration and inspection of libraries. Raghīb al-Khalidī undoubtedly contributed a great deal of work and support, but there is little indication in his published writings of the sort of specialised expertise that the foundation of the Khalidī Library represented.

The statements of Raghīb al-Khalidī provide specific reasons why the family collections were being converted into a public library offering systematic access to any interested readers in Jerusalem. Knowledge is a divine light that God bestows upon mankind, one is told, and civilisations of the past—the ancient Greeks, for example—have found that, in order to be truly useful, knowledge must be recorded in papyrus scrolls or books and made available in some systematic way, i.e. in libraries. The Arabs too established libraries, among them the great institutions of the early ‘Abbasids, and on these foundations rested the greatness of Arab culture and civilisation. These included many family libraries in Jerusalem, but neglect and the vicissitudes of the times have overtaken most of them. Yet the present moment is an occasion when libraries are urgently needed, since the challenges facing the Arab and Islamic world require the concerted action of both enlightened political leadership and ‘genuine scholars’ (*al-‘ulama’ al-haqiqiyyun*) (Raghīb al-Khalidī 1900, 1913a, 1913b). The perceived role of the Library within a larger perspective on modernisation and Islamic reform of course fits very well with the priorities of selection already commented upon above.

It would be overly simplistic, however, to see the foundation only in terms of religious, intellectual, and pedagogical motives. The social, economic, and political scene in Ottoman Jerusalem was dominated by families of local notables manoeuvring and competing for advantage and domination on a more or less constant basis (Hourani 1968; Abu-Manneh 1986, 1990; Muslih 1988: 24–37), and as observed above the 18th century was a period when the position of the Khalidis was especially strong. But it was precisely at this time that a new challenge appeared in the form of the rise to eminence of another family of notables, the Husainis, who had roots in Yemen and apparently migrated to Palestine in the 16th century, where at first they settled near Ramallah under the name of al-Aswad (Taggar 1986: 10–11). The later head of this family, ‘Abd al-Latif ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Husaini (d. 1188/1775), managed to acquire and hold on to several leading posts in Jerusalem, and his status was such that al-Muradi (3: 126) considered him the leading notable of the city and a man so powerful that nothing could be done without his approval. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the

³⁵ On the traditional organisation of a library based on *waqf*, see Eche 1967: 301–91.

³⁶ Cf. Pedersen 1984: 129. In the manuscript stores of the Zahirīyya Library in 1973, books were still being kept in this fashion.

³⁷ Cf. the experience of James Finn (d. 1872), who was the British consul in Jerusalem between 1846 and 1863 and recorded the following remark by a notable of Jaffa in 1852: ‘When I have money to spare I lay it out on a house, a slave, a diamond, a fine mare or a wife; but I do not make a road up to that object in order to invite strangers to come that way’ (Finn 1878, 1: 191).

rivalry between the two families was played out in various ways, with the Khalidis benefiting from their al-Azhar connections and credentials, a reputation for religious and intellectual leadership that made them much sought-after witnesses and representatives in legal disputes, and their control of the office of *bashkatib* for long periods of time,³⁸ and the Husainis making use of their own practically hereditary office-holdings in Jerusalem (especially that of *naqib al-ashraf*), contacts with Damascus, and careful cultivation of influence and favour in high places. There was also sometimes—as elsewhere in Palestine—serious social animosity based on factional (Qais-Yemen) antagonisms harking back to those that had prevailed in early Islamic times (Abir 1975: 293-94; al-Asad 1970: 25-34; al-‘Asali 1983, 3: 69, 75; Baer 1984; Little and Üner Turgay 1980; Schölch 1980: 312, 317-19, 1989: 239; Abu-Manneh 1986, 1990: 14-26, 38-43; al-‘Asali 1989: 216-18).³⁹ Both sides established strong connections in Istanbul and sought local support through their claims of venerable status extending back to the beginnings of Islam; the Khalidis’ assertion of descent from Khalid ibn al-Walid was matched by similar claims by the Husainis, whose family name identifies their ancestor as al-Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, the martyred grandson of the Prophet Muhammad.⁴⁰ The increasing population, size, and importance of Jerusalem throughout the period also meant that more was at stake, and rivalries over political positions, control of *waqf*, and occupation of administrative positions became very prominent indeed (Hourani 1968: 44-45; Baer 1986; al-‘Asali 1989: 217; Ze’evi 1994: 138).

The continuing rivalry between the two families throughout the 19th century eventually assumed a marked political character relating to Ottoman reform. In the wake of the Tanzimat, the Khalidis, the heads of what had been the Qais faction in Jerusalem, adopted a highly visible

position in favour of liberal reform and a secular democratic agenda that would embrace non-Muslims as well as Muslims and provide what they regarded as the only secure foundation for saving the Ottoman empire. The Husainis, the leaders of the Yemen faction, on the other hand, supported the absolute authority of the Ottoman sultan and the continuation of Muslim domination. The impact of this rivalry on local politics was perceptively described in 1898 by David Yellin (Gerber 1986: 41):

Among our Muslim citizens there are two aristocratic families whose genealogy goes back to the days of the establishment of Islam in the country, the families of Husayni and Khalidi. And from olden times the competition among them is great; while the power of one of them is supreme, most important offices go to its sons, and it rules, while the other becomes weaker, until the balance is redressed in the opposite direction.

The reforms of the Tanzimat provided a temporary advantage to the Khalidis, but when the reform agenda was abandoned the family suffered a major setback and found themselves under more or less constant suspicion (Abu-Manneh 1978: 26-28; 1986: 100-101; 1990: 38-43). The appointment of Yasin Efendi al-Khalidi as head of the Jerusalem city council in 1898 was an important victory after a long period of political decline for the family (Schölch 1980: 319; Gerber 1986: 41), but ultimately it was the Husainis who triumphed, remaining the leading family of Jerusalem—and indeed, of Palestine as a whole—throughout the period of the British Mandate (Muslih 1988: 219).

The formal establishment of an innovative cultural institution like a valuable family library accessible to a wider public conveyed a powerful message asserting—both implicitly and in explicit statements associated with the foundation—the Khalidis’ central claims to eminence: venerable status reaching back to the Arab conquest of Syria, connections with traditional centres of Islamic scholarship, religious and intellectual leadership in Jerusalem, and, within a broader Ottoman context, commitment to modernisation and liberal reform. This message was conveyed even by the visual aspect of the Library, with its elegant Mamluk façade and a sign over the entrance bearing the name of the Library in Arabic and French and the inscription: *Fiha kutub qayyima*, ‘Within are precious books’.

The opening of the newly established Library was favourably received, and photographs of al-Jaza’iri and the leading members of the Khalidi family were taken to commemorate the occasion. The new curator, Shaikh Muhammad Amin al-Ansari, a member of the Danaf

³⁸ Cf. al-‘Asali 1983, 3: 32-33, 37-38, showing that if one Khalidi was cashiered from the post another was appointed to replace him.

³⁹ Much could be learned from the registers of *ijazat* collected by the various members of the two families. An example from the Khalidi family has been noted above (n. 16). A volume of 20 such documents including the name of or pertinent to ‘Abd al-Rahim ibn Abi ‘l-Lutf al-Husaini, mainly his *ijazas*, is available in Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 889.

⁴⁰ Cf. also Murtada al-Zabidi (d. 1205/1791), *Al-Raud al-mi‘tar fi nasab al-sada al-Ja‘far al-Tayyar*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1193.1, which is a genealogical history of the descendants of Ja‘far ibn Abi Talib and their teachers and students, with special attention to the branch of the family established in Nablus up to 1191/1777. Here again one observes a family seeking special status by asserting that it originated in the earliest days of Islamic history. The Khalidi Library Ms. (for another copy in Cairo cf. Brockelmann 1937, S2: 398 no. 12) has two continuations and bears the attestations of various witnesses in Nablus to the accuracy of the genealogies given in the book.



Pl. 13.1. The reading room of the Khalidi Library, 1986, with the French safe on the floor in the corner. Much more clear wall area shows in a similar photograph taken shortly after the formal foundation of the Library in 1900, but subsequent acquisitions quickly consumed almost all available space for shelving books.

family, who was also curator of the Islamic sites on al-Haram al-Sharif and a savant of the Islamic literary heritage in his own right,⁴¹ devoted much of his time to the Library and in fact prepared numerous new copies of the Library's manuscripts there. Though the family seems never to have pursued any external acquisitions policy and rather viewed its library as a vehicle for unifying the holdings of its various representatives, the position of curator quickly proved to be a major responsibility, for a number of Khalidi family members soon donated their own personal libraries for incorporation into the family library. Of these, two collections are of particular importance, not only for their role in the Library, but also for their illustration of the range of literary and intellectual life in a leading Arab family of late Ottoman Jerusalem.

⁴¹ Cf. Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1181, *Fihrist asma' al-kutub allati fi mulki*, a register in al-Ansari's handwriting of 41 manuscripts and 503 printed books in his possession.

Yusuf Diya' al-Din al-Khalidi, born in 1842, was the son of a leading official in the Shari'a Court of Jerusalem, received a traditional education in the religious sciences of Islam, and held numerous posts in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine. He was also, however, the first of the many Khalidis who went abroad to pursue his education, took up the study of western languages, and enthusiastically embraced topics outside the boundaries of the traditional Islamic disciplines. He taught Arabic and served in the Ottoman diplomatic corps in Vienna (where he may have made a perfunctory conversion to Christianity), held political posts ranging from mayor of Jerusalem to member of the Ottoman parliament, and corresponded with scholars and political figures all over Europe.⁴² In 1877 Eugene Schuyler, the American Consul-General in Istanbul, was enormously impressed by his command of English and French, his skills as a speaker, and his liberal demeanour: according to Schuyler, Yusuf Diya' preferred to live in a Greek monastery in Istanbul and was 'almost as liberal as a French Republican, both in politics and religion' (Schuyler 1901: 104). His library reflects his broad and liberal interests, and all of these books were deposited in the Khalidi Library after his death in 1906. The collection consisted of 433 printed books in English and French, and comprised works on history, epigraphy, religion, politics, music, philosophy, law, travel, language, and art, including the complete works of Plato and Voltaire, dictionaries of various languages, reference books of all sorts, and seminal texts by such authors as Dante, Darwin, Gibbon, Josephus, Milton, and Shakespeare.⁴³ He also donated manuscripts to the Library, including some important items, but these are not listed as his in any of the Library's registers.

Of no less importance was the contribution of Yusuf's nephew Ruhi al-Khalidi. Born in Tariq Bab al-Silsila in 1864, he too combined a commitment to traditional Islamic learning with a zeal for modernisation and reform and an abiding interest in the West. His studies took him away from Jerusalem to Nablus, and beyond to Beirut, Tripoli, and Istanbul, in this last case against the

⁴² The most important source of information on Yusuf Diya' is his autobiography, an account of his life from his birth in 1842 until 1876, preserved in Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 764.2 and used in Schölch 1980, 1989: 241-44. Yusuf attended (and perhaps organised) a reception for the Egyptian poet 'Ali al-Laithi (d. 1896) in Vienna in 1876, and the next day the latter asked him for an account of himself. Yusuf agreed, and the resulting autobiography was taken back to Cairo by al-Laithi, where it remained among his papers after his death. One of his colleagues, Muhammad 'Ali Sa'udi, then transcribed the text and several related accounts and sent the copy to Yusuf Diya' in Jerusalem.

⁴³ There are two uncatalogued registers of the library of Yusuf Diya' in the Khalidi Library, the most complete being written in several different hands and including volumes as late as 1913 for journals to which he had subscribed.

wishes of his fearful parents. He was only 22 when he hit upon the idea of establishing a unified family library accessible to the public, and his studies in Istanbul beginning in the following year eventually led him on to Paris, where he was a student at the Sorbonne. In 1898 he was appointed as Ottoman consul-general to Bordeaux, and his political career culminated in election to the Ottoman parliament in 1908. Throughout his life he continued to be interested in literary and cultural affairs, and he published extensively on contemporary political topics, history, and literature.⁴⁴ By the time of his premature death in 1913 he had accumulated a considerable library of his own, and as in the case of his uncle, his collection was soon incorporated into the family library. His books included nearly 100 Arabic manuscripts, plus a few in Turkish (*Barnamaj*³: 102-12), and a large corpus of printed books, for the most part in French. As with the library of Yusuf Diya' the collection of Ruhi displays very broad interests; his, however, devotes special attention to Montesquieu, and even more to the fine arts, drama, music and literature, in particular the works of Victor Hugo, whom he regarded as a champion of human freedom (Ruhi al-Khalidi 1921).

Hajj Raghīb al-Khalidi also donated books and manuscripts to the Library, as is clear from the numerous books bearing his signature or owner's note or those of his father, Nu'man. Further research may identify one of the anonymous registers of acquisitions as the list of his books, but for the moment all that can be said is that he made several endowments of books to the Library in the decades following the foundation.

Further individual contributions were added over the years,⁴⁵ and many manuscripts were donated to the Khalidi Library by external parties (*Barnamaj*³: 113-36). Registers of some of these additional collections—unfortunately not identified by donor or source—further indicate the scale of acquisitions in the early years of the Library. One such register lists 138 printed books and nine manuscripts,⁴⁶ another records 241 Arabic printed books, 41 Arabic manuscripts, and 70 titles in Turkish and Persian,⁴⁷ and a third mentions 418 volumes without reference to whether they are manuscripts or printed

books, but includes, for example, 50 volumes on *tasawwuf*, 85 on *fiqh*, 126 on language and literature, 5 'historical novels' (*riwayat ta'rikhiyya*), 48 assorted school textbooks, and 7 Ottoman official documents.⁴⁸

The Khalidi Library received many visitors and readers, to whom Muhammad al-Ansari—the curator for nearly 50 years (al-'Asali 1981: 380)—proved to be an efficient and learned guide to the collections. Arab visitors included 'Ali 'Ala' al-Din al-Alusi and his brother Mahmud, 'Arif al-'Arif, Ahmad al-Khatib, Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, and Constantine Zuraik, and the visitors' registers bear numerous inscriptions, including quite a few in verse, recording praise and appreciation for the Library. 'Abd Allah Mukhlis spent time at the Library in 1917 and gave an account of the valuable manuscripts he found there, and during the Second World War As'ad Talas visited and produced an even more detailed inventory of the rare and unique manuscripts in the Library.⁴⁹

The Library also came to the attention of Western scholars. Pre-war visitors included Max van Bercham, Richard Gottheil, Paul Kahle, Ignatius Kratchkovsky, D S Margoliouth, Marmaduke Pickthall, and A S Yahuda. 'Capitaine Louis Massignon' and Ronald Storrs came in 1918, and later visitors included W F Albright, Harold Bowen, A S Fulton, H A R Gibb, R W Hamilton, W Höffner, Arthur Jeffrey, D S Margoliouth again (this time with a copy of his edition of Yaqut's *Irshad al-arib* to donate to the Library), Johannes Pedersen, Arthur Schaade, Laura Vecchia Vaglieri, and K V Zettersteen.

There were likewise callers from the local Jewish community, who sometimes left comments in Hebrew in the visitors' register; these visitors included Raphael Patai, who took the first PhD awarded by the new Hebrew University, Max Schloessinger, and in later years, M J Kister. The Khalidis in fact seem to have regarded the Jewish scholars of Jerusalem with no disfavour. In 1925 the new Hebrew University received an inscribed copy of the Khalidi Library's printed handlist of 1900, and in subsequent times Jewish readers were allowed to borrow books from the Library. Even during the tense years of the *Intifada* Israeli scholars had access to the Library, and several provided crucial support during the family's efforts to revive the Library in the 1980s and early 90s.

In 1917 al-Ansari told the local Jerusalem scholar 'Abd Allah Mukhlis that the Khalidi Library contained about 4,000 books, a third of them manuscripts (Mukhlis 1925: 366). At its largest extent it probably contained about 6,000-7,000 books, a strict upper limit being imposed by the size of the Reading Room, which even with shelving filling every possible space could never have had a

⁴⁴ A number of studies have been devoted to Ruhi al-Khalidi. See Asad 1970; Khateeb 1987; Walid al-Khalidi 1988; Muslih 1988: 58, 83.

⁴⁵ Donations by Ahmad Badawi Beg al-Khalidi and Nazif Beg al-Khalidi are often mentioned, and consisted mainly of printed books; the former donated three manuscripts and the latter nine (*Barnamaj*³, 112-13). The important collection of Khalil al-Khalidi (d. 1941), including the 360 manuscripts in the collection of Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili (d. 1147/1734), were endowed by his heirs to al-Aqsa Mosque Library in 1979 (Conrad and Salameh 1993: 591-93).

⁴⁶ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1178.

⁴⁷ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1179.

⁴⁸ Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1180.

⁴⁹ Mukhlis 1926; Talas 1945. Both of these essays are reprinted in al-Munajjid 1982.

shelf run of more than 200 metres, and that as an absolute maximum (pl. 13.1). Of these volumes perhaps about 1,500 were manuscripts, the rest printed books. The visual impression was quite overwhelming, however—as much so in 1986 as 80 years previously—and estimates of the collection were as a result often exaggerated.⁵⁰ Al-‘Arif, who visited the Library before the First World War, estimated the collection at 12,000 volumes (1986: 449) and his figure has reappeared in several subsequent studies (Walls 1974: 25; Burgoyne 1987: 111). Kurd ‘Ali, another earlier visitor and a scholar who examined many of the manuscripts in detail, correctly placed the collection at that time at about 4,000 volumes, but considered that two thirds of these were manuscripts (1983, 6: 195). Talas (1945: 236) put the figure at 10,000 volumes, half of them manuscripts, and an encyclopaedia of Palestinian history (Hashim 1984, 4: 287) and several reports apparently referring to it (Abu Khudair 1988: 9; 1990: 4) speak of 10,000 volumes, two-thirds of them manuscripts.

In addition to its intellectual and pedagogical functions, the Library also played a social role that, no less than its more formal activities, served to demonstrate and promote the status of the Khalidis as a leading family in the city. During Ramadan and on feast days the Library courtyard was opened to the public and was used to distribute sweets and special offerings to the poor. These were festive communal occasions, and several family members remember them fondly. This custom unfortunately lapsed with the shortages that quickly developed after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 (Dumper 1986: 61).

Decline and revival

The Khalidi Library was clearly an extraordinarily successful institution in its early years, and for some decades it appears to have fulfilled its intended mission as well as—and perhaps better than—could have been expected of any small private establishment. But by the 1920s and 30s serious problems were already in evidence.

One of these was the accumulation of what was called *dasht*, with reference to Geniza-like masses of usually fragmentary materials.⁵¹ If a weak binding failed and a manuscript came apart (e.g. as would occur if a book fell from a shelf), or if a signature or page became separated and its proper place could not be ascertained, the material in question was stored in the space between the Reading

Room ceiling and the roof, presumably in expectation that in the future it would be possible to restore the manuscript to order. Fragments of this kind—the *dasht*—rapidly accumulated, however, and whatever order was originally intended must soon have been lost. The scale of the problem is implicitly recognised by a corpus of inscriptions appearing in various forms in many of the manuscripts:

The poor Husain Hasan al-Khalidi, son of al-Hajj ‘Ali Efendi al-Khalidi, has collected the folios of this book after they had been scattered among the *dasht*, and has arranged it in its proper order and restored it to its original form, in hope for forgiveness from God his Master, the most Benevolent, and asking that he who peruses it raise supplication for pardon for him.

These inscriptions are all dated to Muharram 1309 (= August 1891), i.e. nearly a decade before the formal foundation of 1318/1900, and while the claims to a role in what would have been a major restoration enterprise must be rejected (since the manuscripts often show no evidence of such work or have bindings predating the late 19th century), they do attest to an awareness of the problem of accumulating *dasht*. By 1900 there was enough for Tahir al-Jaza’iri to recover major parts of 24 manuscripts from it (*Barnamaj*¹: 76–77), and the draft of the second edition of the handlist refers to identification of fragments of 21 further manuscripts by Muhammad Amin al-Ansari (*Barnamaj*³: 136–38), who also made notes in manuscripts identifying them as works he had rescued from the *dasht*. By 1927 a large mass of some 20,000 sections, fragments, and loose folios (about three cubic metres in volume) was in storage above the ceiling. The great earthquake of that year damaged the Library, and during the subsequent repairs the access hatch to the space was sealed up.⁵² The cache of fragments was gradually forgotten, not to be rediscovered until an engineer examining the roof in 1987 commented on what could be seen beneath him when he removed several roof tiles (Conrad and Kellner-Heinkele 1994: 291–92). By this time, of course, dust, moisture, heat, and insects had caused considerable damage; the surface materials were thickly caked with dust and dirt, many were stuck together to other sections touching them, others had been crumpled up into fragile balls, and many were completely limp from many years of alternating heat and cold and fluctuating humidity (Bish 1992: 178). On the other hand, some were in surprisingly good condition and during the preliminary survey of the fragments in 1988–90 it proved possible to restore numerous fragments from the *dasht* to their proper

⁵⁰ This problem was already pointed out by Donald Little (Little and Üner Turgay 1980: 44–45), who dismissed the earlier exaggerated estimates and put the contents of the Library at about 6,000 volumes.

⁵¹ On such caches of manuscripts and documents in the Middle East in general, see Sadan 1986.

⁵² I am grateful to Haidar and Mufid Khalidi for their comments on this earthquake and the subsequent repairs.

places in manuscripts in the Reading Room.

Further problems arose when many of the manuscripts were rebound in the 1930s. While some were carefully and skilfully repaired, with beautiful Mamluk bindings being reused where possible, in the majority of cases books were taken to the bindery of a local orphanage where they frequently suffered serious damage at the hands of youths being taught the binder's craft. In cases where the first and last folios had been pasted into the binding (hoping thereby to strengthen the book), removal of old bindings led to the loss of these folios, and with them, valuable information on the author, title, and copying details. Manuscripts were crudely sawn across the spine and tightly rebound, with the result that the book could not be opened out flat without damaging the binding. The head, tail, and fore-edge were trimmed to produce smooth edges or, in the case of large books, to reduce the size of the volume, and in the course of this trimming texts and notes in the margins were sometimes clipped or lost (Bish 1992: 179-80). In some instances manuscripts seem to have fallen into disorder at the bindery and were returned to the Library rebound with their contents in complete disarray,⁵³ or with folios from one volume of a multi-volume work bound by mistake into a different volume, and quires returned to the book folded incorrectly, so that pages no longer appeared in the correct order.⁵⁴

No less serious was the loss of important manuscripts from the collection once the original rule forbidding removal of manuscripts from the Library was relaxed. No comprehensive details on this are known, but a number of vignettes provide some sense of what was happening. Already in 1907, for example, a judge by the name of Amin Efendi noticed that al-Ansari had made a copy of a Khalidi Library manuscript on the merits and holy places of Jerusalem and Palestine, and so 'took' the older manuscript 'by permission' (*akhadhaha samahatan*), leaving the Library with only the new copy, into which al-Ansari wrote two notes explaining what had happened.⁵⁵ In an arrangement in the 1940s between Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi (1896-1951) and St Hanna Stephan, a historian working at the Rockefeller Museum, a number of

manuscripts were loaned to the Museum for preparation of handwritten or photostatic copies; some of these are among the books now known to be lost, though fortunately the copies, including several of unique autograph manuscripts, are still available for consultation at the Rockefeller Museum.⁵⁶ Other manuscripts were removed to Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi's house and subsequently to Beirut, where they were destroyed during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. A number of Jewish and Arab visitors who had borrowed books before 1948 returned them in the wake of the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967; it may be that other works were lost in similar circumstances, though a search of the manuscripts originally held by Palestinian families and now deposited in the JNUL in Jerusalem turned up no books bearing Khalidi Library stamps or notes by Khalidi family members. Reports of stolen or sold manuscripts have in any case been rife, and in 1967 this led the incoming *mutawalli*, Mr Haidar Khalidi, who conceded that many books had disappeared, to insist on the preparation a new handlist as a register of the books for which he was responsible.⁵⁷ Use of this handwritten list of over 4,400 works in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hebrew and nearly 1,600 in English and French (completed by 'Abd Allah al-'Akkawi, Mr Khalidi, and his son Kamil Khalidi, the present *mutawalli*, in 1973) is problematic, since it bears many errors and registers modern lithographic editions as manuscripts; still, it does show that many of the treasures remarked by early visitors had disappeared by the 1960s. Using the various lists and registers at his disposal in the 1970s, al-'Asali (1981: 384-85) calculated the loss at the unlikely level of about 50 percent, but with the important caveat that he assumed all of the figures available to him to be 'correct or approximately so'.⁵⁸

Such losses almost certainly occurred earlier than

⁵³ E.g. Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 460, a collection of creeds by al-Sanusi (d. 892/1486) with a few other related texts; the recto of the first folio of the manuscript as rebound bore the terminal colophon of one of the creeds, the Ms. was in complete disorder, and fols. 11-12 and 18-26 were recovered from the fragments. This sort of problem arose in manuscripts of even very well-known texts, such as the Qur'an.

⁵⁴ E.g. Khalidi Library Mss Ar. 330-31 (a copy of the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, d. 256/870), in which fols. 181-200 of the second volume actually belong between fols. 159 and 160 in the first volume. In the second volume, the text in fols. 161-70, 371-80, and 431-40 does not follow because of the incorrect refolding of opened quires at the bindery.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus ila ziyarat al-Quds al-mahrus*, Khalidi Library Ms. Ar. 1183: 1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Conrad and Salama 1993: 595. These works are unfortunately not identifiable in the Rockefeller Museum Library card catalogue as copies of Khalidi Library manuscripts. For details on these arrangements between the Rockefeller Museum and the Khalidi Library, I am grateful to Mr Hussam Alami, who worked with Stephan on the manuscripts, remembered the works involved, and showed me the copies during one of my visits to the museum.

⁵⁷ Cf. Birnbaum 1983: 705, whose discussions with Mr Khalidi in 1979 were confirmed by my own with him in 1986 and subsequently. Cf. also Conrad and Salama 1993: 590-91.

⁵⁸ It should be noted here that al-'Asali was particularly distressed by the apparent loss of so many unique and autograph manuscripts (1981: 383), but while quite a few of these do indeed seem to have disappeared, 25 of them were in the Library's safe, which was not opened until 1986. It would of course require a complete current catalogue to determine the extent of the losses with any accuracy. Iskafi (1994: 18) also states—perhaps following al-'Asali—that the collection has been reduced by 50 percent, but this figure is far too high; a collection twice as large as what presently exists would have required a room twice as large in order to shelve it.

this time, since the onset of the general decline of the Library as an institution may be guessed at from the fact that after the 1930s the visitors' registers contain only one entry (in 1952) until 1974. One might suspect that the zeal of the founders would have sustained the Library through much of the long life of Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi, who died in 1951. But by 1930 he was already over 70 years old and probably could not have supervised the daily affairs of the Library. Routine maintenance was gradually abandoned, and broken windows let in dust, rain and insects. The cracking rubble-fill walls of the building were penetrated by water from above and were affected by rising dampness that penetrated the plastered interior walls of the Reading Room from below; increasing moisture in the Reading Room thus passed to books on the shelves. The folios of many books became stuck together, in some cases sealing the volume into a solid mass; in other volumes dampness caused ink to run or led high-acid content paper or ink to attack the book itself. Insect infestation was extreme; some books were eaten so thoroughly that they could not be opened or read, and others were reduced to fragile lacework. A photographic team from the Arab League came to the Library in 1953 to make microfilms of the most important manuscripts, but while this project was successful in other cases, the films used in Jerusalem were of poor quality and within 20 years could no longer be used or read (al-'Asali 1981: 385). Visitors in the 1970s commented on the deteriorating conditions that then prevailed, and by the time of this writer's first visit in 1986 the situation was desperate, but not beyond redemption. Insect infestation in particular was rampant, and some books were literally alive with larvae of the highly destructive furniture beetle (al-'Asali 1981: 385; Abu Khudair 1988: 9; 1990: 9; Bish 1992, 1996: 51-52). For several years after the beginning of restoration work in 1986, in fact, conservation concerns were a far higher priority than those of historical research.

Lamentable as this situation was, it must be borne in mind that the fate of many *waqf*-based libraries throughout the Arab world demonstrates that *waqf* has not been a reliable vehicle for the maintenance and protection of libraries (Sa'ati 1988: 172-86). The dismemberment of the Cairo *waqf* of Muhammad Beg mentioned above, for example, began only a year after his death (Crecelius 1991: 71-78), and in Ottoman Jerusalem the families of local notables routinely used various means of access to posts in other families' *auqaf*, as well as legal devices allowing for the alienation of *waqf* assets, to promote their own positions and material benefit (Baer 1986; al-'Asali 1989: 218-19). Indeed, the Khalidi Library itself contains manuscripts bearing the Ottoman-period *waqf* notices of other families and family libraries (e.g. from a family collection endowed by 'Abd Allah ibn Ibrahim al-Da'udi at various times in the 12th/18th century), which demonstrates that status as part of a *waqf* did not necessarily prevent manuscripts from

leaving the collection and returning to circulation in literary circles. Such losses even affected al-Aqsa Mosque, where hardly a single one of the many beautiful and magnificently decorated *rab'at*—special presentation Qur'ans copied in 30 volumes—donated to it in medieval times has survived to the present without the loss of at least some (and sometimes most) of its volumes (Salama 1991). In the early 1980s Khadr Salameh, the most knowledgeable researcher on the manuscript heritage of Jerusalem, commented that these books were usually stored in premises exposed to the effects of humidity, that a large part of them had at least some insect damage, and that some had disappeared; unfortunately, most of those that remained required conservation (Salama 1983: 2).

Where Jerusalem and the Khalidis are concerned, political vicissitudes arising from Israeli expropriation policies beginning in 1948, and especially in the wake of the 1967 war, have had particularly deleterious effects. The effective operation of *waqf* is of course entirely dependent upon the continuing integrity of its income-producing resources, and in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City alone the Khalidis lost sixteen *waqf* properties in 1967 (Dumper 1994: 119). In the 1980s the annual revenue of the Hammam al-'Ain *waqf* supporting the Library was reportedly only about 20-22 Jordanian dinars, or about £25.00, clearly only a mere fraction of the costs of running such a facility (al-'Asali 1981: 381; 1983, 1: 166; Abu Khudair 1988: 9, 1990: 4).

In this regard it is worth noting that while the Palestinian family collections in the JNUL, which came into Israeli control in 1948 and 1967, are in generally good condition, the private libraries that remained in Palestinian hands have all suffered more or less serious loss and damage.⁵⁹ It would be a great mistake, however, to draw simplistic conclusions from this contrast or to view the decline of Palestinian private and institutional libraries solely in terms of personal or corporate culpability. The simple fact of the matter is that these collections traditionally owed their survival and protection to their central role in a living cultural tradition. Islamic literary culture was essentially characterised by what can be described as a continuum of processes of affirmation and confirmation, in which the creation, revision, reading, study, copying, and preservation of literary texts served both to assert the status and qualifications of an individual scholar or *littérateur* and, at the same time, to comment on the status and qualifications of others with whom his work

⁵⁹ This judgment is based on the present writer's inspection of the Khalidi Library, that part of the Husaini family collection deposited at the Markaz al-Abhath al-Islamiyya in Shaikh Jarrah, the Aqsa Mosque Library, and the Shaikh Khalil al-Khalili collection now held at al-Aqsa (cf. Conrad and Salama 1993: 565). The present physical condition of the Budairi Library is not known, but al-'Arif (1986: 451) describes it as disorderly.

was linked (Conrad 1995b). The large numbers of abridgements, commentaries, and glosses on the key texts of the various fields of learning, for example, served not only to affirm their authors' place in the circles of scholarship represented by those texts, but also to confirm the continuing importance of these works and their composers and their relevance to contemporary problems. The institution of *waqf* was inextricably bound up in this process, since it was largely the institutional and financial structure of *waqf* that sustained scholarly endeavour.

Reform and modernisation beginning in the 19th century posed serious challenges not only to the course of traditional scholarship, but more importantly, to the underlying processes that endowed it with its legitimacy and relevance. The increasing importance of learning European languages undermined the position of Arabic, and a steadily rising interest in Western research methodologies posed a brisk competition to the canons and agendas of traditional Islamic scholarship. The spiralling ascendancy of the printed book offered a cheap and readily accessible alternative to the handwritten manuscript, and in so doing not only deprived the scribe of his livelihood but also marginalised the structures of intellectual life that revolved around the critique and study of hand-copied manuscripts (Mahdi 1995; Roper 1995).

Similar challenges were posed to the institution of *waqf*. In traditional Islamic social and communal organisation it was private charity endowed as *waqf* that took responsibility for such public services as could be offered within the limits of pre-modern technology: for example, soup kitchens for the poor, water bearers, public fountains, hostels for pilgrims, baths, and so forth. But modern amenities—a national electricity grid, for example—cannot be delivered under the auspices of small independent religious endowments all over a country, and in any case the modern western concept of a state and municipality, by which the Ottoman-period reformers were much influenced, devolved to these entities exclusive responsibility and authority over public services, and thus decisively undermined the charitable purposes and relevance of *waqf*. Jerusalem, for example, was constituted as a municipality with a city council in 1863, and it was the municipality that assumed the leading role in establishing such public services as sewage, public health, lighting, street paving, water supply, and garbage collection (Schölch 1989: 239-41). The Arab reformers of late Ottoman Palestine did not immediately appreciate the full extent of this problem; in 1913 Raghib al-Khalidi, for example, demanded reform in the management of *waqf* in the interests of providing a better school system (Shamir 1975: 512). The real problem, however, was that *waqf* had been overwhelmed by the pace and character of modernisation, and as its relevance and status diminished so also did the appreciation for a need to preserve and maintain it.

This destructive combination of factors affecting manuscript collections has not arisen in Israeli circles, where, as in Western educational and cultural institutions, manuscripts are perceived as historical artefacts—like Roman mosaics, for example, or Mamluk glass. As such, their care has been entrusted to stable, well-funded institutions staffed by professionally trained scholars and curators. But the operative term here is 'artefact', as contrasted to a functioning element of a living culture, and the crucial question is whether the organisation and preservation of artefacts actually serves to preserve cultural heritage.

Given the proper conditions, facilities, expertise, and financing, it is always possible to make major progress in restoration of buildings and books and to organise the contents of a library collection. Thus, between 1986 and 1995 at the Khalidi Library it was possible to halt the damage to the manuscript collection, clean and box the manuscripts, conserve more than 100 of the most valuable works, undertake a partial survey of the fragments (Bish 1992: 179, 1996: 49-51), and complete cataloguing of about 90 percent of the manuscripts. But this does not touch upon what one might call the problem of intellectual fabric. One of the greatest problems facing efforts to record and preserve the Islamic heritage of Jerusalem is that monuments and manuscripts are only the venues and products of cultural heritage, and that for their future to be secured they need to be made relevant to the needs and priorities of contemporary society.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Here I would like to thank the colleagues and students who participated in the ten years of conservation, cataloguing and historical research work at the Khalidi Library. My colleague Tony Bish at the Wellcome Institute came every year as head of conservation beginning in 1987, and is personally responsible for saving the manuscript collection. Prof. Dr Barbara Kellner-Heinkele was in charge of Persian and Turkish cataloguing and provided much expertise and sound advice.

The results achieved would have been much reduced without the enthusiastic and dedicated work of our student assistants from Leiden University who worked long hours under often quite adverse conditions: Ingrid Schroeder (1990), Dirry Oostdam (1992, 1994, 1995), Noor van Beers (1993, 1994), Petra Sijpesteijn (1993, 1994, 1995), Hans van der Meulin (1994, 1995), Siti Wurian Hutomo (1994), and Mauritz van der Boogert (1995). Ali Zeyadeh and Robert Hoyland also joined us for part of the 1990 season. David Carradine and Mark Clark joined the conservation team in 1994, and Helen Loveday in 1995. To all I offer my heart-felt thanks.

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Chapter 14

THE URBAN STRUCTURE AND PHYSICAL ORGANISATION OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM IN THE CONTEXT OF OTTOMAN URBANISM

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The four centuries of more or less direct Ottoman rule over most of the North African and Near Eastern Arab countries are still considered, despite recent contributions to a general reappraisal of the period, as an era of general decline in terms of urban life and architectural activity.¹

What has been shown in an authoritative way for the great metropolises and other big cities could be extended to some of the cities of lesser size, and Jerusalem, despite the millenary story of its Holy Places and its multi-confessional pilgrimages, has always belonged to the class of 'medium cities', a term used by urban geographers and town planners when the population amounts to only a few tens of thousands. Indeed throughout the whole Islamic era (and until very recently) Jerusalem no longer played the role of capital as it had done before the Roman occupation and under the Latin Kingdom. Under the Ottomans it was, alternating with Gaza, merely the centre of the small *pashalik* of Palestine, ruled by local *pashas* dependent on the chief *pashas* of Damascus, which was the official and actual capital of the *vilayet* (province) to which Jerusalem and other small towns belonged.

Despite its reduced political significance, at the time of the Ottoman conquest Jerusalem possessed a fairly well-defined structure and organisation, the outcome of its long history and specifically of the intense building activity conducted by its Mamluk governors and élite in the 14th and 15th centuries. The urban structure of its Islamic quarter was characterised by a system of monumental

madrasas, convents and hospices with related buildings, similar to, though on smaller scale, the parallel development of the central capital, Cairo, and the main regional towns such as Damascus and Aleppo. This system, together with the two venerable religious complexes dating from earlier periods—the Holy Sepulchre and the Haram al-Sharif—shaped most of the 'definitive' urban townscape of the Holy City still visible today.

Nevertheless Ottoman rule left its own quite legible traces, additions which mainly overlapped with pre-existing structures without erasing them. The whole period, lasting exactly four centuries, from the conquest of 1517 (by Sultan Selim I Yavuz 'the Grim') up to the British occupation of 1917 (led by General Allenby), can be subdivided into three main phases.

First Phase: the earlier 16th century

The first phase largely corresponds to the long reign (1520-66) of Sulaiman the Magnificent, a sultan whose interest in the history and culture of conquered countries paralleled that of his philhellene ancestor, Mehmed II Fatih 'the Conqueror', and who was also pleased to think of himself as the 'Great Builder', a role which in both Jewish and Arab tradition belonged to the homonymous King Solomon who had reigned some 2,500 years before. Sulaiman loved Jerusalem and aspired to make it rival Mecca and Medina as a religio-cultural centre. He planned and executed a

* Sadly, the author died before he could read his proofs.

¹ See Raymond 1984: 5, quoting the understated comments on Cairo by M Clerget in the 1930s, and those on Aleppo by J Sauvaget in the 1940s.

general programme of works vast in conception and scale, aimed at preserving, fortifying and embellishing the town (Sharon 1973: 28-9; Meinecke 1988).

According to the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, who visited Jerusalem in 1648-50 and described the town in his books, Sultan Sulaiman had been inspired by an apparition of the Prophet who ordered him to spend part of the booty from his conquests on 'the fortification of the Citadel of Jerusalem ... embellish his Sanctuary ... and the Rock of Gold and rebuild Jerusalem', so 'he dispatched the master architect Khoja Sinan and transferred Lala Mustafa Pasha' who, 'having been ordered to carry out the restoration of Jerusalem, gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo and sent them to Jerusalem to rebuild and embellish the Holy Rock.'²

The City Walls

Among the very first tasks undertaken was the complete rebuilding of the wall of the conquered city, achieved in the brief span of the four years from 1538 to 1542. The purpose was to endow the Holy City with a 'modern' defensive system to replace and reinforce the medieval enclosure, enlarging it to the scale of the squarish perimeter we still see today. The wall embodied the evident significance of protection, boundary, limit and sacred enclosure: a 'masonry casket' expressing its function of shielding the many treasures of faith, memory and art it contained, and 'the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world' (Grabar 1980: 344).

In fact, however, 'for many years (previously) the walls surrounding the city were too dilapidated to provide any significant protection, but the Mamluk authorities did nothing to repair them. The Ottoman administration knew that providing elementary safety to life and property would have an immediate effect on the flagging economy and dwindling demography of Jerusalem' (Cohen 1989: 2).

The wall enclosure took the shape of an irregular quadrilateral formed of a tall masonry curtain punctuated by salients and thirty-five square towers, and pierced by several crenellated gates, mostly at points corresponding to openings created in Roman and even earlier times. A series of sixteen inscriptions over the main gates giving the dates for the building of 'the walls of Sulaiman' hymn the praises

of the sultan (van Berchem 1927: 431-49).

Against what threat, one might ask, was the wall built? First of all 'surrounding Jerusalem with strong walls was ... a means to defend the Muslims and their Holy Shrines from the covetous eyes of the Christians' (Cohen 1989: 4), since, despite its inland position, Jerusalem was subject to possible attacks from the sea, being similar in this to the coastal towns of Syria and Palestine (Tartous, Tripoli, Sidon, Acre, Jaffa, Gaza): such attacks could come from a Venetian army (the Venetians were lords of Cyprus until 1570), trying in the 16th century to repeat the military exploits of the Crusaders. Another reason, not less important, could have been 'the defence from inroads by marauding Beduins of the surrounding areas' who made periodic attempts to scale the obstacle, to climb the walls at night with ropes (Cohen 1989: 120; Bahat 1986: 66).

The Jerusalem wall enclosure, one of the most complete of its kind to have survived intact from the 16th century, has to be considered 'a major feat since there are not many places where the Turks built fortifications of this kind and took pains to embellish them with all manner of adornments.'³

A major feature of the town walls were the gates. The best known of them and the largest is the Damascus Gate, also known as the Nablus Gate (Bab al-'Amud or 'Gate of the Pillar' in Arabic) on the north, which was given a façade topped with pinnacled battlements and decorated with flowered and geometric reliefs, and where entrance was made difficult by stairs and winding passages.⁴

This device can be observed also in the Sion Gate (Bab Nabi Da'ud) on the south, and in the Jaffa Gate, also known as the Hebron Gate (Bab al-Khalil in Arabic) on the west, and existed too in the Lions' Gate (the medieval Josaphat Gate, also known as St Stephen's or St Mary's Gate) on the east, where it was later done away with to allow the passage of vehicular traffic.

In terms of design, one is struck by a sort of stylistic continuity and even neo-medieval (Crusader and

² E Çelebi, *Seyatname* ('Travels'), quoted in Peters 1985: 482-3. Sinan is not, however, considered to have played an important role in the renewal of Jerusalem, since the three projects generally attributed to him (the restoration of the Dome of the Rock, and a *madrasa* and *'imaret* complex; see Kuran 1987: 283) did not change the general structure of the Holy City.

³ Bahat 1986: 66. In fact the situation of Jerusalem was different from that of many Anatolian towns (Bursa, Ankara, Konya), Middle Eastern ones (Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo) and even Maghribi examples (Tunis, Algiers) around which 'vast unprotected suburbs' (Raymond 1984: 2) developed outside the medieval walls, since the majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem lived inside and 'the gates to Jerusalem were locked from sunset to daybreak' (Cohen 1989: 2). Only a few of them were in use. 'Presumably it was in this time that the Golden Gate, the Single Gate and the Triple Gate were sealed' (Bahat 1986: 64).

⁴ This well-known defensive device, already present in the remotest Middle Eastern fortified settlements, was adopted by early Islamic architects, beginning with the 'Round City' of Baghdad built by the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur in the mid-8th century, and there are more recent examples in Ayyubid citadels from the end of 12th century, e.g. in Cairo and Bosra.

Ayyubid) revival both in the conception of the gate, meant more as a façade to intimidate those approaching the town from outside, than as a triumphal entrance, and because the architecture relies on compact surfaces, small openings, machicolation and crenellated parapets.

Before starting on the city wall, Sulaiman's architects renovated the citadel (the so-called Tower of David), the only defensive structure in the town that still had some Ayyubid and Mamluk walling. They reinforced it and brought it up to date with contemporary progress in warfare, and by order of the governor it was occupied by a small garrison armed with thirty cannon.⁵

The Water System

After seeing to security 'the Ottomans addressed themselves to satisfy another basic requirement: water supply' (Cohen 1989: 3), something that had been 'always a topline challenge to the rulers of the city' (Bahat 1983: 66).

In its improvement of the city water system, the Turkish administration entirely repaired or rebuilt the aqueduct bringing water from the spring of Irtas (some ten miles to the south), dating back to Roman times but considerably damaged in the course of the centuries. From Solomon's pool, near Bethlehem, the water was brought to an old reservoir at the western foot of Mount Sion. The reservoir was also restored and thereafter was known as Birkat al-Sultan (the Sultan's Pool).

Out of this initiative in hydraulic engineering came a comprehensive system of public fountains, which probably incorporated various pre-existing ones.⁶ Most of the fountains were built within the wall, in the Muslim quarter: five around the Temple Mount, three within its precincts, including the Sabil al-Haram (1537), and only one outside the town wall on the edge of the Birkat

al-Sultan itself.⁷

Two baths were also given additional outlets (al-'Asali 1982: 163-216), the Hammam al-Asbat in the vicinity of al-Salahiyya Madrasa at the north-eastern corner of the town, and the other, Hammam Da'ud, built in 1589 beside the tomb of David on Mount Sion.

Religious Image

The provision of walls and water supply was merely the first step towards enhancing the character and embellishing the religious image of the city. Other works of construction concerned the image of the town as an Islamic religious centre and place of pilgrimage—a multi-faceted task that centred first and foremost on the condition and the appearance of the Haram al-Sharif (the Arab name for the Temple Mount or Mount Moriah), from its exterior wall inwards.

The setting, shape and function were not changed, obviously, but were enriched and embellished by work on each of the main elements set in their concentric gradation—enclosure, platform and the Holy Qubba itself. Of the variety of improvements carried out on different sections of the sacred precinct, it is enough to mention the restoration of the Qubbat al-Sakhra, including the replacement of mosaic decoration with coloured tiles and marble (see St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992).

In its efforts to improve the conditions of life in the newly-conquered territory, the Ottoman administration was not without 'concern for the lower strata of local society' and encouraged the religious, charitable and teaching establishments which 'proliferated during the early years of Ottoman rule' (Cohen 1986: 8-9). The

⁵ The Turkish governors resided, like the Mamluks, in the area called Jauliyya, the former Herodian Antonia Fortress, at the north west corner of the Haram al-Sharif, in a palace which 'continued to be the seat of government in Ottoman times until 1870, when the *pasha* moved to the new *sarai* in 'Aqabat al-Sitt' (Burgoyne 1987: 203-4).

⁶ Van Berchem 1927: 412-17. According to al-'Asali (1982: 218-96) there were nine: Sabil Zahir al-Quds, Sabil Bab al-Silsila, one ablution fountain for the Hanafites and another for the Shafi'ites near the Aqsa Mosque, Sabil Bab al-Qattanin, Sabil Bab al-Nazir, Sabil Bab al-Da'dariyya, Sabil Bab al-Asbat (or Bab Hatta). All these were built by Muhammad Jalbi al-Naqqash, who was in charge of the treasury. The author gives his source as an article by Shaikh Muhammad As'ad al-Imam al-Hussaini, '*Birkat Sulaiman waqf islami khairi sahih*' ('The pool of Sulayman, an Islamic charitable foundation for proper benefit') published in the newspaper *Jardat al-Jihad al-Maqdisiyya* of 17 March 1955.

⁷ It is worth remarking that the façades of some of these fountains reveal interesting instances of a hybrid or eclectic style, an effort at the imitation and sometimes re-use of medieval-Crusader architectural elements, perhaps the result of a continuity of taste and style in the craftsmen and designers. Some of these façades bring together *muqarnas* (stalactite) vaulting, classical rectangular frames ending in spirals similar to those in some early Christian churches of upper Syria, rose or wheel windows reminiscent of Romanesque façades, round and ogee arches including chevrons (a kind of zig-zag moulding known under the French term *bâtons rompus*) of Normano-Crusader-Romanesque design. The latter motif (also found in some 12th-13th-century English, central Italian and Sicilian architecture) was part of the architectural language of the Anatolian Menteshid Amirate (Firuz Beg Mosque of 1398 at Milas) and had been known in Islamic Jerusalem since Ayyubid times, where it can be found in the main arch of the portico of al-Aqsa Mosque (1227) and in a few Mamluk portals, such as Habs al-Ribat or Ribat al-Mansuri (1282-3) (see Burgoyne 1987: 133; Burgoyne 1971: pl. Vb), and in the Turba of Barakat Khan (see the so-called 'Romanesque doorway' in Walls 1974: figs. 4, 6, pl. VIIIA, and also Burgoyne 1987: 112-15), where it is accompanied by 'gadroned voussoirs'.

largest and the best known was the one linked to the enterprise and name of Sulaiman's beloved favourite, who had become the only wife and 'trusted adviser' of the sultan—the Christian-born Roxelana, also called Khassaki Hurram (in Turkish Haseki Hürrem),⁸ who personally backed the setting-up of a considerable charitable endowment, the al-Sara'iyya Kitchen, a large building complex incorporating and expanding the pre-existing Palace of Lady Tunshuq, turning it into 'a soup kitchen for poor people and students', a *sufi* monastery and a caravanserai with stables which continued to function up to 1870.⁹

The sultan lent support to other pious (religious, charitable and teaching) establishments in the Muslim quarter of the Old City, among them the *ribat* with *kuttab* (convent with primary school) built in 947/1540 by the Amir Bairam Jawish as a hospice for pilgrims, also known as Madrasa Risasiyya or Rasasiyya (van Berchem 1927: 430-1; Grabar 1980: 343), which was in close proximity to the Sara'iyya Kitchen, with the result that together they formed a sort of small specialised section of the town, devoted to the public assistance of the poor, of foreigners, pilgrims, and students.

Mention should also be made of the foundation of some dervish monasteries, which supplemented the system of Islamic brotherhoods already existing—the Maulawiyya or Mevlevi Zawiya-Mosque, for example, adapted out of the Crusader Church of St Agnes.

The urban role of these institutions was certainly crucial, but less important than that of analogous institutions set up in areas of other Ottoman towns not yet urbanised. These gave rise to ample complexes (better known under their Turkish name of *küllîye*) rich in open spaces and porticoed buildings often surrounded by unplanned clusters of dwelling units, and functioning as nuclei around which new districts could develop.¹⁰

The urban vision of Sulaiman included a policy of appropriation to the Islamic community of various shrines located outside the city walls. A first sign of his concern in this respect can be seen in the taking over of the important

Christian sanctuary built on the site of the tomb of the Prophet David (a site venerated by Jews also) and the Coenaculum of the Last Supper on Mount Sion. This was made possible by the conversion of the Coenaculum Church into a mosque in 930/1524,¹¹ the building of another mosque over the tomb of David, and later the expulsion, in 936/1530, of the Franciscans who had been taking care of the place since the time of the Crusaders.¹² The site was claimed as an Ottoman possession by the addition of a simple cylindrical minaret, a feature rare in the city.¹³ Expelled from Mount Sion, the Franciscans and their establishment were relocated from 1588-60 onwards in the Christian quarter.

Another example of Ottoman interest in Christian sites strategically located on hills was the refurbishment of the Mosque of the Ascension (Jami' al-Mas'ud) on the Mount of Olives. Built within a roundish enclosure with a minaret, it stood on the foundations of the round Crusader Chapel marking the traditional spot of the Ascension of Jesus (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 79).

The urban role of the Holy Sepulchre and the surrounding area, however, saw little change throughout the whole of the first Ottoman phase, even though in 1545, during Sulaiman's reign, an earthquake brought down the dome of the small bell-tower of the Anastasis Rotunda, and the entire building had to be replaced. In 1555 the Sublime Porte granted permission for rebuilding to Charles V and his son Philip II. It became a Latin possession from then on (Buhl 1913: 1168; St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 77), but, as a result of the mutual antagonisms of the different Christian communities, restoration did not begin until 1719.

The Four Quarters

Another important feature of the Holy City, existing from earlier times, was its subdivision into four quadrants or quarters, roughly separated by two main NS and EW streets corresponding to the *cardo* and the *decumanus* of

⁸ Her name is also linked with similar charitable institutions in Istanbul, Edirne and Mecca (Stephan 1944: 172-73).

⁹ After which it housed local government offices, then the residence of the *pasha*, and the civil court. To-day it is partly used as an orphanage with dependent workshops (Burgoyne 1987: 486-7).

¹⁰ Indeed the unique historical and topographical character of the Holy City imported changes into the principles and practices in use in other Ottoman-ruled Arab and Balkan towns, where the *waqf* system and the public services they provided usually led to demographic growth and an intensification of urban life. Sometimes these factors succeeded in making up for the lack of any form of deliberate town planning and 'local urban organization' (Kark 1981: 99). On this subject see chiefly Raymond 1969: 370; and Cuneo 1986: 363 note 1.

¹¹ Van Berchem 1927: 403-11; Burgoyne 1987: 417. The change of cult required the simple addition of a *mihrab* to the southern wall. The place was further 'Ottomanised' by the later (1589) building in the vicinity of a Turkish bath, the Hammam al-Da'ud (al-'Asali 1982: 212).

¹² This event is extensively investigated in Cohen 1986: 147-57.

¹³ All the other cylindrical minarets in Jerusalem are in strategic positions: Bab al-Asbat Minaret (perhaps of Mamluk origin but more probably rebuilt in Ottoman times; Burgoyne 1987: 417) stands out near the north east corner of the Haram al-Sharif; one similar to it, that of the Jami' al-Maulawiyya not far from the Damascus Gate, marks the Islamisation of the former Crusader church of St Agnes; that built on the citadel in 1655 (Johns 1950: 173) gives an evident Ottoman accent to an outstanding monument named after the Hebrew King David.

Ælia Capitolina. The quarters took their character from the main ethnic and religious groups settled there for many centuries—Jews, Arabs, Christians of different rites, groupings and provenance, and Christian Armenians—each of which had its dominant architectural structures and religious focal centre (Hopkins 1971). But, as opposed to the others who had set up their homes and activities close to their relative sanctuaries, the Islamic population did not settle in close proximity to the Dome of the Rock, which was thus destined to preserve its isolated position in the middle of the large unbuilt terraced space of the Haram al-Sharif right up to the present day.

This cruciform pattern, an expression of the persistence of the ancient (Herodian, Hellenistic, Roman) plan, its subsequent modifications during the various post-classical (Byzantine, Umayyad, Fatimid, Crusader, Ayyubid, Mamluk) periods, and its resistance to change, upheaval and fire, was adopted by the Ottoman rulers. After all, the co-existence and physical separation of national groupings suited their system of governing and controlling conquered towns, and became one of the general principles of their urban planning. Poly-ethnicity was in fact considered the most apt way of stimulating production and trade (and consequently tax revenue), and of engaging the experience, traditions and skills of the different communities in competition and specialisation. Like other Ottoman Mediterranean cities, Jerusalem offered a haven to minorities and hospitality to refugees from less tolerant countries.¹⁴

The Jews, for instance, were freer than in most contemporary European cities and their community was to increase in numbers because many of them, immigrants from Italy, Greece and Turkey (where they had previously settled after their expulsion from the Iberian peninsula) were received and allowed to settle in the town, and they gave life to a Sephardic community which prospered and built its own places of worship. The first of these was the Synagogue of the Prophet Eliyahu Hanavi, inaugurated in 1586 (Wager 1988: 58).

The Muslims occupied the north eastern quadrant (marked by the trio of streets forking from the Damascus Gate),¹⁵ flanking the Haram al-Sharif on two sides and dominating the whole city from its hilltop site.

The Christians were mostly settled in the western area, which included the north-west quadrant around Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, and the south-west quadrant where the Armenians lived. The four

communities were separated and united at the same time by a typical urban element, the cruciform bazaar which had developed out of the original colonnaded streets into a network of vaulted alleys similar to those in many Near Eastern towns, but differing in that it was not adjacent to the religious and political centres. It continued to form the hub of the commercial street system which is still vibrant today, performing a function that demands and provides (along with religious life) the conditions of ethnic co-existence and tolerance necessary to the peaceful exchanges of goods and services.

Another feature in the rehabilitation of the city was the creation of new commercial opportunities, necessary 'after the long years of Mamluk neglect' to 'compensate the town for its lack of natural resources'; as a result 'Jerusalem's markets became increasingly specialised during the second half of the sixteenth century' (Cohen 1989: 6, 8) and new sections were created or renovated. The Suq and Khan al-Qattanin (the cotton-weavers' market and warehouses) forming part of the Dome of the Rock endowment, already in place during Mamluk times but later neglected, were restored and enlarged; the related building work began in 1544, and 'between 1564 and 1566 the number of shops grew from 28 to 32.' The same thing was to happen with the new Suq al-'Attarin (the spice-dealers' market) from 1565.¹⁶

Second Phase: 17th-18th century

A second and longer phase was that of the 17th and 18th centuries, a period lacking in large urban programmes and building activity, with only a few monuments constructed. It is looked on by many historians as a period of inertia and decay, the outcome of the rapacious rule of local *pashas* under pressure from their chief *pashas* in Damascus. Indeed, some travellers comment on the city as a ghost town, describing late medieval Jerusalem as dusty and dilapidated, the existing public facilities neglected and in disrepair, the streets labyrinthine and chaotic. Jerusalem, thus, did not enjoy that accumulation of monumental building typical of Istanbul, Cairo and Damascus—a building boom financed by tax revenue from the provinces. Indeed, by the end of the 18th century the population had dropped to just 11,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 were Jews from Spain, Morocco and Egypt.

Notwithstanding this contraction, urban development during this particular phase of the Ottoman period needs thorough re-investigation and re-appraisal uncontaminated by the prejudiced notion of 'Ottoman

¹⁴ Not unlike other Arab cities during the Ottoman era, Jerusalem became more cosmopolitan than it had ever been before (Raymond 1984: 69).

¹⁵ This typical topographical feature, very probably belonging to the 2nd-century plan of the Emperor Hadrian, consisted of porticoed streets, as shown in the 5th-century Byzantine mosaic of Madaba (Wilkinson 1975).

¹⁶ Cohen 1989: 119. The development of trade has been viewed as one of the causes of the 'impressive demographic growth throughout the first 50 years of Ottoman rule' (*ibid.* 124).

decline¹⁷ (a phrase chiefly used in reference to town building and architecture), in line with what modern historiography has been doing for other Mediterranean Islamic towns.¹⁸ Despite some minor changes in urban features and the few new monuments whose dates are known, we can assume that it was precisely during this long period that the main lineaments of the urban fabric as we know it from 19th-century engravings, and still in existence today, were established and consolidated. Each of the quarters acquired the 'final' organisation (not always closed to infiltration by ethnic enclaves from the neighbouring quarters) we see at present (Hopkins 1971).

The various descriptions and maps dating up to the first decades of the 19th century (i.e. before the modern changes) clearly indicate the different roles of the system of main streets and religious centres, showing their character as planned entities, and the irregular topography of back streets and residential units filling the quadrants. Alongside the wall inside the city ran a broad green belt free of buildings (this was, however, to be completely covered with new construction in the 19th century).

Among the few changes relevant to the city as a whole was the work carried out by Muhammad Pasha on the Citadel in 1635–55, which included crowning the south tower with an element now fundamental to the present day townscape—the remarkable cylindrical minaret, 'a prominent Jerusalem landmark' (Wager 1988: 129; Johns 1950: 173).

The four quarters were sub-divided into eighteen districts: eight inhabited by Christian Greeks, Latins, Copts (Harat al-Nasara); four by Christian Armenians, four by Muslims and two by Jews (Harat al-Yahud). As in all the cities of the vast empire, these groups were confirmed in their status of 'protected communities' (*dhimmi*).¹⁹

The Islamic quarter continued to discharge its role of protecting the Sacred Enclosure by flanking it on the two sides—north and west—facing the inhabited area, and of maintaining it through tax revenue from the *waqf*-owned commercial buildings concentrated in the overcrowded surrounding areas. For the 18th century we have evidence of four periods of restoration at the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosques—in 1721–2 under Ahmad III (1703–

30), then again in 1742, in 1753–4 and in 1780 (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 77, 84 n.12).

Neither did the Christian quarter undergo radical change, though the work begun in 1719 on restoring the dome and bell-tower of the Anastasis Rotunda had relevance for the townscape. As already noted, this work had been necessary for a long time but had always been delayed because of antagonisms and rivalries among the Christian communities.

The Armenian quarter remained the smallest of the four (about one sixth of the area inside the Old City walls), but given that its existence in Jerusalem can be traced back to the 5th century AD, and that for most of its history it occupied its present location in the south-eastern quarter of the Old City, it developed into a remarkable physical and social structure. A modern sociological study lists a series of specific characteristics, the roots of which can be looked for in the late Ottoman period.²⁰ We can speak of 'a city in miniature since it include(d) residential quarters, schools, library, and religious and cultural institutions for the community' (Wager 1988: 115), with an open space running along the local section of the town wall (the so-called 'Armenian Garden'), that was to remain entirely unbuilt on until 1879, when a seminary was constructed on part of it. Within this district the lay and monastic communities lived together in a very large monastery surrounded by walls, which remained unchanged in structure, while large-scale restoration was conducted during the 17th–18th centuries on the 11th-century Cathedral of Surb Hakop (Saint James). This work included the erection of a conical dome on six cross-over arches modelled on certain medieval Armenian antecedents,²¹ a monumental entrance built, according to an inscription, in 1636, and the panelling of the prayer hall with fine ceramic Kütahya tiles imported from Turkey.²²

The Jewish quarter in the south-eastern quadrant was logically located since the Jews will have been naturally 'drawn to their major religious centre, the Wailing Wall, but in fact it was not close to this site' (Ben-Arieh 1975: 225)

¹⁷ An old-established commonplace—see, for example, *les Turcs Ottomans qui étaient peu capables de conférer de la vigueur aux pays qu'ils dominaient* (Buhl 1913: 1167). It is still accepted in some cultural milieus.

¹⁸ I refer chiefly to the historical investigation and synthesis included in the works already quoted by André Raymond, especially for the 17th and 18th centuries.

¹⁹ The obvious motives for these regroupings (reinforcement of cohesion, ensuring security, tighter control) are neatly expressed in Raymond 1984: 59 (see also Hopkins 1971).

²⁰ Azarya 1984. The author states that a lay community of 1,500, out of an estimated Armenian community of 25,000 for the whole of Jerusalem, lives in the Armenian monastery with families and children. They have their own parish church, clubs and schools (*idem.*, 6) and form the overwhelming majority of the total monastery population (*idem.*, 20), while only fifty seminarians are being trained for the priesthood by twenty clergy (*idem.*, 7).

²¹ Similar domes are still visible in the Armenian 13th-century churches of Khoranashat and Neghutsivank (Cuneo 1988: 776).

²² Carswell 1972: 43–58. The main court of the Convent (which houses the Armenian Museum) was built at this date as well, following the model of the 13th-century Khatuniya Madrasa or Çifte Minareli in Erzurum, an outstanding Muslim monument in the very heart of historic Armenia.

because the zone adjacent to the Haram was forbidden to them for purposes of building. All they were allowed was access to it.²³

In this period Jewish dwellings grew up around the above-mentioned Sephardic nucleus, which developed into a complex of four synagogues, including (besides the already existing Eliyahu Synagogue) that of Yohanan Ben Zakkai, built at the beginning of 17th century, the Middle or Kehal Katan or Zion Synagogue, built in the mid-18th century, and the Stambuli Synagogue built in 1764 by immigrants from Istanbul.²⁴

The main Ashkenazi Temple was the Great Hurva ('Ruins') Synagogue founded at the beginning of the 18th century by the Ashkenazi Rabbi, Judah the Hassid, continued under Ibrahim Pasha in 1836 and completed after the fire of 1857.²⁵

Because of the prohibition on Jews building their homes in the vicinity of the Mount Wall (and particularly in the section of it known as the Wailing Place), a part of the SE quadrant of the town was occupied by the Magharibine Arabs, as testified by the toponymy of old maps—Bab al-Harat al-Maghariba (the medieval Tanners' Gate, also known as Bab al-Zibala the 'Dung Gate', or Silwan Gate) in the south wall of the town, Harat al-Maghariba in the partly built area then existing near the Mahakma²⁶ and the Wailing Wall, the Bab al-Maghariba in the same wall, and the Maghariba Mosque, built in 1871 inside the sacred enclosure.²⁷ A small Muslim enclave existed in Mamluk times around a mosque in the heart of the Jewish district close to the Ramban and Hurva Synagogues.²⁸

Third Phase: from the beginning of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century

A third and different phase, spanning the 19th century, includes the occupation of Palestine (in 1831, some years after the expedition of Napoleon to the Near East) by the ruler of Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali; the reign of his adoptive son Ibrahim Pasha from 1832 to 1841; direct Ottoman rule re-established by Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (1839-61), with growing European influence following the Tanzimat or 'capitulations'; continued westernising modernisation, chiefly under the 'enlightened' 'Abd al-Hamid (1876-1909); and the British conquest by General Allenby in 1917.

Even though these different rulers intended to put their stamp upon the city, there were no planned projects of ample vision during the whole period.²⁹ Nevertheless a series of initiatives carried out in the second half of the century led to an entire re-shaping of most of the walled town and the creation of the different *extra-muros* districts which now form the heart of modern Jerusalem.³⁰

The introduction of the system of 'capitulations' to the European powers resulted in territorial concessions to foreign institutions in the heart of the old city, beginning with the establishment in 1838 of a British consulate, then followed by others, while foreign companies were

²³ This area was severely damaged during the fighting of 1948 and by the fire of 1967, and was subject in the following decades to a comprehensive plan for clearing, excavation, restoration, re-shaping, and re-developing aimed at enhancing its residential, cultural, commercial and touristic functions.

²⁴ 'These synagogues were central to the life of the Jews of Jerusalem between 1721 and 1836, a period when the Ashkenazi compound lay in ruins' (Wager 1988: 57). But the Jewish places of worship in Jerusalem failed to become urban landmarks not least because the Ottomans 'forbade that synagogues be higher than mosques.'

²⁵ All that remains to be seen of this building, destroyed in 1948, is the lower level of the perimeter wall and one free-standing arch, symbolically reconstructed. Though it goes beyond the scope of the present study, it is worth mentioning that Louis Kahn conceived (1968 and 1974) some very handsome designs, never actually built, in the shape of a towering square fortress (Romer-Yahveri 1970: 362-7).

²⁶ The Courthouse, built in 1483 (Baedeker 1912: 61).

²⁷ Most of the built-up area facing the wall was also damaged during hostilities and was later partly demolished in order to extend the excavations for the 'Ophel Archaeological Gardens'. On the international debate to which this gave rise, see Goichon 1976: 213-55; Lawless 1980: 193-8.

²⁸ The existence of this mosque, now gone, is still recalled by the solitary square 'Sidi 'Umar Mosque minaret', restored after 1397 (Burgoyne 1987: 513), standing out from the archaeological ruins and the renewed areas of the Jewish district.

²⁹ At all events, the expansion of the city betrays western rather than Ottoman patterns. And, despite the Ottoman custom of dotting Mediterranean Arab townscapes with domed buildings, the presence of two venerable domes on the Jerusalem skyline (only in recent times challenged by competing structures) may have helped in this late phase, as perhaps over the centuries, to prevent the appearance of other domed structures. A tentative list of large domed structures of classical and late Ottoman religious architecture in Arab countries would include, geographically from west to east, the following mosques: the Pasha (1791) in Oran; the Safir (1533), 'Ali Bitchnin (1622), the New or Fishermen's (1659), the Katshawa (1794), the Qasba New (1818) in Algiers; the Salih Beg (1771) in Annaba; the Sidi Mahriz (1674) in Tunis; the Rashid Pasha (1883), Bu Ghillaz (1884) and Great Mosque (1892) in Benghazi; the Sinan Pasha (1571), the 'Abd al-Dahab (1774), and the Muhammad 'Ali (1848) in Cairo; the al-Jazzar Pasha (1781) in Acre; the Abu Nabbut (1810) in Jaffa; the Sulaiman Pasha Madrasa and Tekke (1553), the Darwish Pasha (1570) and the Sinan Pasha (1585) in Damascus; the Khalid ibn al-Walid (rebuilt in 1908) in Hims; the 'Adiliyya (1516), Khusrau Pasha (1545), 'Uthman Pasha (1585) and 'Uthmaniyya Madrasa (1750) in Aleppo; the Muradiyya (1576), Bakiriyya (1586), Talka (1619) and Mahdi 'Abbas (1750) and the Mutawakkil (rebuilt in 1903) in San'a'.

³⁰ The first part of this period was a mere continuation of the preceding one, with low population growth—8,000 in 1806 to 11,000 in 1838: in 1806 the Jewish minority constituted 25% (Bahat 1986).

authorised to invest in building projects, as they were throughout the whole Turkish empire.³¹ This growth of enterprise led to the building outside the wall of an increasing number of dwellings and to the provision of public utilities aimed at bringing the city more in line with modern ways of life.³²

The Holy City's great renaissance came around the mid-19th century with the re-establishment in 1848 of the Latin Patriarchate (abolished in 1291) and the activity resulting from the different attitude of the Ottoman authorities towards foreign investments. The Holy City largely kept the historical separation into ethnico-religious districts but the rigidity of division slackened as old or new enclaves of alien cultures were consolidated or created.³³

The Walled City

In the Islamic quarter, despite changes aimed at encouraging Muslim presence, such as the re-opening in 1875 of Herod's Gate (Bab al-Sahira or the Gate of the Plain; cf. Le Strange 1890: 216) in the northern wall, progressive 'Christianisation' of the area took place over the decades, chiefly because of the creation of the Via Dolorosa (Tariq Bab Sitti Maryam or St Stephen's Gate Street) crossing the Muslim quarter from Lions' Gate westwards, parallel to the northern side of the Haram al-Sharif (i.e. in close vicinity to several Ottoman institutions, including the headquarters of the governor of Jerusalem [Ben-Arieh 1975: 258], the Old Serai which became the State Prison and the Turkish Barracks built in 1835 on the site of the Antonia Fortress in the north-west corner of the Haram al-Sharif).³⁴

Christian infiltration into the quarter came about through the gradual admission of a series of religious institutions, such as that of the Church of the Flagellation in 1839, the re-opening to Christian worship of St Anne's Church in 1856,³⁵ the building of the massive Austrian Hospice in 1856-60, of the Monastery of the Sisters of Zion in 1868, of the Convent of the White Fathers in 1878, and of the Church of Our Lady of the Spasm in 1881 (Bahat 1986: 65). The various European consulates added

a Western character to the daily life of the district.

As for the Christian quarter, much of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by fire in 1808 and the western portion of the monument demolished. But the restoration, performed by Komnenos Kalfa,³⁶ a Greek architect from Mytilene, imposed no great change on the shape of the district, which maintained its character for many decades.³⁷

It was only after the Capitulations and the consequent building de-regulation that the Christian quarter underwent complete re-structuring—albeit without a general plan. The streets were systematically paved in 1864-5, and gas, water and sewage pipes were laid in 1868. The most visible transformation was engendered by the rapid installation of a series of Christian institutions and related commercial activities that eventually filled in all the unbuilt areas alongside the city walls,³⁸ and the medieval aura of the area around the Holy Sepulchre blended into a compact urban fabric.

The main phases of building are given by the following dates: 1876 Christian Brothers' School; 1885 Imperial Hotel; 1868 Greek Catholic Patriarchate and new see of the Latin Patriarchate; 1868-1905 Greek Market; 1889 Russian Hospice; 1898 German Church of the Redeemer.

The latter undertaking was the largest of the various works carried out for the official visit in 1898 of Kaiser William II, guardian of the rights of the German Lutheran Church. The massive building, occupying the site of the former Crusader Church of Saint Mary the Latin, was given a large bell-tower in German Romanesque style. A disturbing omnipresent intrusion on the skyline, built too close to the Holy Sepulchre, its bulk offends the eye considerably more than the two slender Mamluk minarets (those of the 'Umari Mosque and the Khanqah Salahiyya), built five centuries previously, supposedly to frame the dome of the Anastasis.

The neighbouring area of the former Roman forum (which in Crusader times had become a compound

³⁶ This restoration was considered '*malheureuse*' and given as the cause for the architect's '*célébrité hérostratique*', in Buhl 1913: 1168.

³⁷ The only new building of this period is the Coptic Khan of 1838.

³⁸ The extent of open unbuilt areas inside the town is quite legible in the 'original 1865 survey map of Jerusalem prepared by the British team led by Wilson and modified by Schick' (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 84 note 28). This plan shows the city before the large-scale changes in the last decades of the century, chiefly in the Christian quarter, and before any *extra-muros* settlement except that of the Russian Compound of 1858-60. Among the other topographical sources for this period there is the model in zinc of 1873, made by Stephan Elias, a Hungarian Catholic living in Jerusalem, commissioned by the Turkish rulers for an exhibition in Vienna, now in the Citadel Museum (Wager 1988: 130).

³¹ From this time on non-Muslims were admitted on municipal councils (Bahat 1986: 64).

³² In 1860 there was a Jewish majority (60-70 per cent) and the population was to reach 100,000 by 1898.

³³ 'The residential segregation was not absolute. The various groups intermingled and met in the economic sphere of life' (Kark 1981: 105).

³⁴ In fact, in this area the 'religious and administrative centres were close together: mosque, *madaris*, and Governor's Palace nearby' (Kark 1981: 100).

³⁵ This church, which had been confiscated by Salah al-Din and changed into the Madrasa al-Salahiyya, was given by the Turks to Napoleon III, as a reward for his help in the Crimean War (Ben-Arieh 1975: 259).

formed by Sainte Marie la Grande, Saint John the Baptist and the medieval Muristan, the hospital run by the Hospitallers of St John and then by the Ayyubids) was entirely razed in 1903-5 to make way for the Greek Market (also called Suq Aftimos or New Market), sponsored by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, which still enjoys a good commercial site next to the crowded approach to the Holy Sepulchre. It was built in the shape of a St Andrew's cross, with a baroque fountain in the centre celebrating the 25th anniversary of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid, and consisted of a series of low buildings, not disturbing in height but nevertheless conflicting with the surrounding urban fabric.³⁹

A nearby handicraft and shopping centre built in 1885, consisting of two covered streets meeting in a handsome oval-shaped space in late Baroque style, offers a contrasting example of a refined and modest inset of European stamp.⁴⁰

Another change in the Christian quarter was brought about in these same years by the opening in 1889 of Bab al-Jadid (the New Gate, also known as Bab 'Abd al-Hamid) in the northern wall, as a short cut between the institutions inside the wall and the ones just outside, such as the Hospice-Convent of Notre Dame de France and the St Louis Hospital, as well as the large Russian Compound (to be mentioned later) somewhat farther away.

The south-west quadrant, mostly taken up, as already mentioned, by the Armenian compound, also changed in this period through a parallel increase in the number of Christian institutions,⁴¹ in this case aimed at creating a 'Protestant nucleus'. It arose on various plots, mostly in the northern section of the area (Ben-Arieh 1975: 258) in a crescendo of construction: 1838 the British consulate; 1841 the Anglican Christ Church in front of the citadel; 1843 the English School; 1846 the Hospital of the German Deaconess Sisters.

This nucleus was to be further enlarged during the last decades of the century by the German Lutheran compound which occupied an adjoining area (the so-called Muristan) of the Christian district, just across the shopping street on the line of the Roman *decumanus*. In the same area the most important change to the surviving late medieval urban structure came with the opening of a section of the town wall adjoining the Jaffa Gate to allow for the passage

of carriages (and the mounted Prussian emperor), while a new road was built flanking the exterior of the old walls to link the Jaffa Gate to Mount Sion (Schick 1898: 116-18). On the Jaffa Gate itself a tall clock-tower was put up in 1907, a modern secular endowment in western classical style (defined by some, however, as an example of 'modern Arab style' because of its 'Islamic pointed arches'), facing, and to some extent mirroring, the Tower of David and the 17th-century cylindrical minaret surmounting the south tower of the citadel.⁴² The clock-tower, still existing in 1910,⁴³ was subjected to severe criticism and was demolished after 1917 (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 82), along with 'the orientalising fountain (that had) appeared in 1901 just beside the breach in the wall.'⁴⁴

The City outside the Walls

In this period some Christian communities started to build religious and educational institutions, not only hostels, outside the walled town, preferably 'near the sites associated to the history of their faith' (Bahat 1986: 70), thus marking the beginning of the growth of residential suburbs along lines that were to be followed in the future planning of modern and contemporary Jerusalem. In the second half of the century, and especially after the Crimean War of 1856 when the carriage road to Jaffa became established,⁴⁵ creating easier access to the gently sloping areas around it, a new city grew up in the north-western and northern areas between the ramparts and the Cross Valley. Among the first and largest new settlements was the 'Russian Compound', built in 1858-60, with its cathedral,

⁴² The Jerusalem clock-tower was built in the context of a general programme of construction carried out by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II, who in a period of a few short years provided most of the towns of the empire with similar utilitarian symbolic buildings set in dominant positions near the city centre, and functioning 'as icons of municipal modernization' (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 82). Recent well-illustrated surveys of such installations in Anatolian towns are to be found in Özdemir 1993; Acun 1994.

⁴³ See Schiller (ed.), photographs 52, 53, 57, from the archives of the American Colony Photographers.

⁴⁴ St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 82. This fountain, called Sabil Bab al-Khalil, was also built by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II (al-'Asali 1982: 289). After the British conquest of 1917, 'restoration works' were begun with the intention of recovering 'Medieval Jerusalem', (and archaeological excavation intended to bring to light the earliest strata of the Jerusalem settlement was also undertaken). Since work was carried out before the elaboration of the modern principle of preserving all the significant traces of building activity, including those of recent strata, the result was a partial destruction of Ottoman and late Ottoman features (so-called 'incrustations') in the historic territory of the Holy City.

⁴⁵ The Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway came only in 1892 (Goitein 1980: 336) and Jerusalem Station was inaugurated in 1905 (Chouraqui 1981: 77, photo from archives Zev Radvan).

³⁹ See Wager 1988: 110-11, and plan in Bahat 1986: 56. Among other works conducted under 'Abd al-Hamid mention can be made of the restorations at the Haram al-Sharif (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1992: 81) and those made in 1883 at the Sabil and the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya of Qa'itbai (Burgoyne 1987: 610-12; Walls 1993: 85).

⁴⁰ In a circle at the intersection of the four covered streets stands a column with an inscription in honour of the Roman prefect of Judaea in 70 AD, uncovered in 1885 (Wager 1988: 112).

⁴¹ With the sole exception of the Turkish Barracks (the *kishla*), built in 1845 adjoining the citadel.

three large hospices, hospital and consulate.⁴⁶

From 1875 to 1887 five new residential Jewish districts developed in the area of the present Agrippa's Way, designed with dwellings arranged around one or more courtyards.⁴⁷

In 1895 in the northern suburb outside Herod's Gate (re-opened, as mentioned above, in 1875) a small religious hilltop complex with mosque and octagonal minaret was built at the entrance of the Kedron Valley around the Ayyubid tomb of a noted *sufi* saint, Shaikh Jarrah, who had served in Saladin's army, and from whom it took its name.⁴⁸ There was further urban development in this area with the building of the German and American colonies in Wadi Jauz and the hills west of it (Goitein 1980: 336; Bahat 1986: 70). A less dense settlement was created in the eastern suburbs beyond the Jehosaphat Valley (the Kedron Valley, a place of lonely rock tombs and vast

cemeteries), on the hilly north-south range of Mount Scopus, the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence, and to the south of Siloa or Silwan village.

The religious settlements on the western slopes of the Mount of Olives facing the Old City (consisting mainly of the Russian Establishment, with a hospice, the Church of Mary Magdalene, a bell-tower and other buildings erected between 1870 and 1890 to the east of the Sanctuary of the Ascension at the behest of Tsar Alexander III [Meistermann 1907: 199-200; Bahat 1986: 68]) created yet another disturbance in the delicate balance of the landscape, but could not altogether cancel the romantic setting of sparse olive groves rich in archaeological remains, biblical and historical memories, made famous in the paintings and drawings of dozens of artists, the forerunners, contemporaries and successors of David Roberts.

⁴⁶ Already visible in the British map of 1865.

⁴⁷ Bahat 1986: 71; Goitein 1980: 336 reports that 'the Jews founded sixty suburbs'.

⁴⁸ This was the area where after 1925, under the saint's auspices as it were, 'the Muslim neighbourhood of Shaykh Jarrah will develop around the summer villas of leading Arab families' (Wager 1988: 214).

Chapter 15

INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN LATE OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Rashid I al-Khalidi

I

During the final half-century of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem, as elsewhere in the region, a momentous shift took place from a long-standing and stable Islamic system of justice and education, and the traditional intellectual pursuits and ways of thought that went with this system, to Western-based forms in all these domains. For centuries before this shift took place, the Islamic religious court, *al-mahkama al-shar'iyya*, near the Haram al-Sharif, had been the focus of legal affairs, and the venue for mediating many of the most important social, economic and political affairs of Jerusalem and the surrounding region. At the same time, the religious schools, the *madrasas* and *kuttabs*, around the Haram al-Sharif were the scene of the initial stages of training for a career within the Islamic legal and educational system which prevailed throughout the Ottoman empire. In the *shari'a* court, as in the schools and mosques, learned members of prominent urban families held positions of varying prestige, power and influence, often handing them down from father to son.

Within a period of a few decades, starting in the middle of the 12th/19th century, the locus of power shifted dramatically in Jerusalem and other provincial centres throughout the empire. New courts, administering laws based on Western models, and staffed by newly-trained personnel, were set up, and took over many of the legal tasks of the *shari'a* courts, which were gradually restricted to matters of personal status and inheritance. Similarly, secular schools were rapidly introduced, and became the path to positions in the new, European-style bureaucracy of the Ottoman state. As a result of these trends, the venue for

local politics, in Jerusalem and elsewhere, shifted from the courts, schools and religious institutions, which the old local élite had always dominated, to new arenas governed by a completely different set of rules. More importantly, the new dispensation decisively tipped the balance between the central government and local centres of power in favour of the former. In consequence, the influence of formerly semi-autonomous local élites in cities like Jerusalem rapidly became dependent on their relationship with the central authorities.

Given the material and other resources of these notable families, and their experience in adjusting to the realities of power over the centuries, it should not be surprising that they accommodated rapidly to this shift from a system which had been in place for many centuries, and from which they had benefited substantially, to a new one, and in doing so largely managed to preserve their standing and influence. Within a generation, most of the same families which had for centuries produced judges, teachers, officials and preachers for the old system had secured access to the modern educational institutions which were the path to positions in the new legal, administrative, educational and political order.

This chapter will trace the changes in the intellectual life of Jerusalem which resulted from these new circumstances, stressing both the important elements of continuity with the traditional order, and the rapid incorporation of components of the new one. Among the issues it will examine is how an élite, whose prestige and position had for centuries been a function of the centrality of religion in public life, reacted to the decline in the importance of religion as an organising principle of

government which followed on the administrative upheavals of the mid-13th/19th century. It will conclude by assessing how these developments, which occurred within a relatively restricted circle of the élite in Jerusalem, affected the broader populace in the city and beyond, and how they contributed to the shaping of political and cultural identity in Palestine in the late Ottoman period and afterwards.

II

During the nearly eight decades between the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman empire and the end of the First World War, a profound change took place in the situation in the Arab provinces.¹ This was a function of momentous transformations in the structure and scope of government which resulted from the legal provisions of the Tanzimat, from successful efforts to strengthen the Ottoman central government, and from the intensive state-building activities of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II (1293-1327/1876-1909). These changes were both the culmination of a long-standing drive from within to reform and modernise the Ottoman state, and a response to external pressures which grew as the power of Western states in the Middle East grew apace. Among the spheres most affected by these sweeping changes were law and education. Both were areas where Arab notables had traditionally held a certain advantage in the Ottoman system (as they had under the Mamluks and Ayyubids before that), largely because of their command of the Arabic language. Arabic was naturally instrumental in both the mastery of all the branches of the *shari'a*, and in education, which before the 19th-century reforms was almost entirely religiously based.

Under the rapidly evolving new dispensation of the Tanzimat, education was largely secularised and brought under control of the government, which established throughout the provinces a network of state schools which taught many subjects in Turkish. Even the remaining religious schools followed the lead of government and private schools in introducing modern methods and teaching foreign languages and other non-traditional subjects. Ottoman legal institutions were transformed as well, leading to the gradual circumscription of the role of the *shari'a* courts, which had governed virtually all aspects of dispute-resolution in traditional Islamic societies (and usually also played a much broader role), as a new network of courts grew up to administer the growing system of secular, Western-influenced laws.

¹ The best analysis of the Arab notables before these changes took place remains the seminal article by Albert Hourani (1968: 41-68).

Alongside these developments, the rest of the state bureaucracy grew in size and changed radically in composition, absorbing more personnel, notably the graduates of the expanded and modernised educational system. The creation of a more powerful, pervasive and thoroughly centralised administrative system, and of an expanded and strengthened army, both benefiting from the greatly improved communications made possible by the railway, the steamship and the telegraph, enabled the central government to extend its control over broader areas of Ottoman society, and in particular over the far-flung provinces, many of which had long enjoyed a great degree of autonomy.

The impact of these measures on the Arab provinces and other remote areas of the empire in the latter half of the 13th/19th century was revolutionary. Earlier, many outlying districts had been beyond the effective control of the Ottoman government, and such law and order as existed was in the hands of local tribal, sectarian and feudal leaders. Even in provincial capitals, where the central government had always retained a presence, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Baghdad, local notables had enjoyed a dominating position in local society, with their influence often barely mediated by representatives of the central government. As a result, their freedom of action was great, at times shading into overt insubordination, in which they might be joined by military officers and provincial officials.²

However, the new capabilities, which the development of modern state structures put at the disposal of the central Ottoman authorities, changed all of this. And with these profound changes in power relationships came a change in intellectual outlook. Under the old Ottoman order, which privileged religious learning, Arab notables were in many cases at the cutting edge of scholarship, and had great prestige because of their mastery of the traditional Islamic sciences. Arabs often reached the highest levels of the Ottoman judicial bureaucracy, serving in positions such as *Shaiikh al-Islam* and *Qadi 'Askar* of Rumelia or Anatolia, which were the pinnacle of achievement within the Ottoman religious bureaucracy.³ Centres of Islamic learning such as Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem were visited by scholars from all over the Islamic world in search of great libraries, respected teachers, and the prestigious *ijazas* which the latter could confirm on worthy students.

After the Tanzimat, these intellectual pursuits

² For illustrations of this autonomy in several major Arab centres see Rafeq 1970; Kemp 1982; Marcus 1989; and Creclius 1981.

³ Zilfi 1988. Among them was the Jerusalemite Musa Efendi al-Khalidi, *Qadi 'Askar* of Anatolia in 1248/1832, whose daughter bequeathed the sum with which the Khalidi Library, al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya, was established in 1318/1900.

continued, and many Arab provincial notables with an Islamic education continued to enter the Ottoman religious bureaucracy and to rise within it. However, this bureaucracy rapidly ceased to be a locus of power, and Islamic learning gradually ceased to confer prestige and status in society as it once had. Instead, Western-based scholarship was increasingly seen as the locus of true knowledge about Islam, while great prestige came to attach as well to disciplines which had been revolutionised by Western methods in the sciences and mathematics, the social sciences and the humanities, all of which were accessible only in foreign languages, or in translation into Turkish and Arabic. This in itself was a major change: heretofore, throughout Islamic history, Arabic had been the medium of scholarly interaction in many fields of intellectual endeavour in the Islamic world, notably religion and law, with Persian paramount in literature and *belles-lettres*, and Turkish in government. Suddenly, a new situation obtained, in which it was not Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, but rather French, English, and German which were the languages in which the vital intellectual issues of the day were being pursued.

This situation on the intellectual plane changed as the balance of power between the Ottoman empire and the European states changed, as the latter encroached ever more aggressively on the Ottoman dominions. Previously, it had been possible for Arab and other Ottoman notables to look down on Europeans, and to assume that while the latter had benefited from certain material advances, on the cultural plane they remained inferior, and indeed objects of contempt. An example of this traditional attitude can be found in the message sent by the governor of Gaza to the *qadi*, the military commanders and the notables of Jerusalem, warning them that Napoleon's army had reached the outskirts of Palestine in 1213/1799. The contemptuous language used to describe the French is revealing: they are called: *kuffar al-faransa al-mala'in, damarrahum Allah ajma'in* ('the damned French infidels, may God destroy them all').⁴

This attitude was modified as time wore on, with Europe's achievement of a decisive ascendancy over the Ottoman empire, and the attendant shifts on the intellectual plane. As members of notable families acquired Western educations or were trained in Western-influenced state, missionary and private schools, they came to value Western intellectual traditions. Thus we see a member of one of these Jerusalem families, Yusuf Diya' al-Din al-Khalidi, lamenting in the conclusion to his 1298/1880 edition of the verse of the *jahili* poet Labid ibn Rabi'a that not one Arab scholar answered an appeal he published in the leading Arabic-language journals of the time,

al-Jawwa'ib, al-Finan, and Hadiqat al-Akhbar, asking for help in collecting the poetry of Labid (1880: 148-9). By contrast, foreign scholars of oriental languages had been generous in providing him with material. Although he concludes with the hope that the Arabs would soon regain their former glory, it is clear that for al-Khalidi, and many of his contemporaries, it was now towards Europe and European science that one had to look for true scholarship.

There was, however, a continuity between the old and new scholarship, as can be seen from an examination of the holdings of family libraries in Jerusalem such as al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya and al-Maktaba al-Budairiyya, and the Aqsa library, which groups together a large number of formerly private collections.⁵ Catalogues of the latter two libraries show continued copying of religious, historical and literary manuscripts into late in the 13th/19th century, at a time when printed books were first being introduced. It is clear from such an examination that traditional Islamic scholarly pursuits still retained at least some of their vitality. Thus of the 255 manuscripts of the Aqsa Library which have been catalogued and bear a date of copying, 39 were copied in this period, the majority of them after 1267/1850.⁶ Similar results are emerging from the ongoing cataloguing of over 1,200 manuscripts of al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya.⁷

Also revealing in this context is the appearance of printed editions of classic texts in these libraries. An examination of the contents of al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya shows that even while the copying and collection of manuscripts continued, the members of the family whose personal libraries went to make up this collection were also buying copies of the printed texts of the major works of the traditional Islamic sciences.⁸ In the field of history, the oldest printed edition in this collection is a single copy of the 1274/1857 Cairo edition of Ibn Khaldun's *al-Muqaddima*.⁹ More significantly, the library contains five

⁵ The Aqsa Library includes three main collections: that of Dar Kutub al-Masjid al-Aqsa; part of the library of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili; and part of the library of al-Shaikh Khalil al-Khalidi. The author examined it and both family libraries mentioned during research in Jerusalem in 1991-93.

⁶ This can be deduced from the two-volume work edited by Khadr Ibrahim Salameh, Director of the Library, in 1980 and 1983.

⁷ Undertaken by Dr Nazmi al-Ju'beh, this was completed in 1998, and will soon be published. The manuscripts in al-Maktaba al-Budairiyya were mainly collected by Shaikh Muhammad ibn Budair ibn Hubaish (d. 1220/1805), and only a few were added after his death; many of these additions, however, date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, according to the two-volume catalogue compiled by K I Salama (1987).

⁸ The printed books in this library have not yet been catalogued.

⁹ This was a one-volume edition of *al-Muqaddima*, without the remaining volumes of the author's *Kitab al-I'bar*. There are many older Arabic and Turkish-language printed books in the library in other fields.

⁴ The original document is located in the Khalidi Library and is dated 27 Rajab 1213/4 January 1799.

sets of the 7-volume 1284/1867 Bulaq edition of Ibn Khaldun's *Kitab al-I'bar* in its entirety, including the *Muqaddima*; three sets of the 1283/1866 Bulaq edition of al-Kutubi's *Fawat al-Wafayat*; two of the 1284/1867 Cairo edition of al-Muhibbi's *Khulasat al-Athar*; four of the 1286/1869 Istanbul edition of Abu 'l-Fida's *Ta'rikh*; three of the 1291/1874 Bulaq edition of al-Muradi's *Silk al-Durar*; two copies of the 1297/1879 Cairo edition of al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar*; four of the 1299/1881 Bulaq edition of Ibn Khallikan's *Wafayat al-A'yan*; and four of the 1303/1885 Cairo edition of Ibn al-Athir's *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*.

The significance of the existence of multiple copies of these earliest locally printed editions of major Islamic historical works is clear: several members of the al-Khalidi family considered it important to obtain printed versions of works, which in many cases they owned in manuscript, in order to benefit from the relatively modern scholarship which these new editions represented. This is a striking example of the shift in the intellectual sphere which this period witnessed. Even as some members of this family continued to pursue the traditional religious sciences (the library contains numerous multiple copies of printed editions of basic reference works in the religious sciences by authors such as al-Bukhari, Muslim, Qastalani, and al-Tabari, which constitute a far larger proportion of its total holdings than the historical works), others were becoming interested in history and other subjects which, although traditional in some respects, were increasingly influenced by Western scholarship and methodologies. This can be seen not only from the large number of standard Islamic history works in new editions, but also from the many works of contemporary European orientalist scholars in the library, ranging from Renan, Dozy, Carra de Vaux, Muir, and de Goeje, to E G Browne, Margoliouth, E J W Gibb and Massignon.¹⁰

Perhaps linked to this renewed interest in Islamic history, whether based on traditional sources or more recent European scholarship, was an involvement in the *salafi* tendency, with its concern for the revival of Islam, a return to the original sources of religion, and the modernisation of Islamic society.¹¹ All of these interests are apparent in the holdings of printed books, periodicals and pamphlets in the Khalidi library. One of the most important leaders of the *salafi* movement in Syria, al-Shaikh Tahir al-Jaza'iri, who founded the Zahiriyya Library in Damascus, played an instrumental role in helping to found al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya, and was present at its

formal opening, as is evidenced by a contemporary photograph.¹² Several of his books, some in multiple copies, are found in the library, together with the writings of other *salafis* such as al-Sayyid Rashid Rida, fourteen volumes of whose periodical *al-Manar* are among its holdings.

Numerous other Islamic reformers were also close to several of the men whose collections went into the library, notably Muhammad 'Abdu, one of whose autographed works is in the collection, and al-Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, whose photograph, with a warm autograph to his close friend Yusuf Diya' Pasha al-Khalidi, is in the library collection.¹³ The brother of Yusuf Diya', al-Shaikh Yasin, was also a friend of the leading Tripoli *salafi shaiikh* and reformer, Husain al-Jisr, founder of al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya in Tripoli, whom Yasin met when he was *qadi* there. Several of al-Jisr's books are in the library, which has three copies of one of them; these originally belonged to different members of the family.¹⁴

Linked to this *salafi* tendency was an apparent interest in the writings of European positivist authors, especially the popularisers among them. One of those who caught the fancy of the generation which came to maturity in the late Ottoman period was the prolific French writer Dr Gustave le Bon. His books on the development of civilisations, the evolution of peoples, and political psychology found a wide audience in the Middle East, and were translated into Arabic by such literary figures as Taha Husain, Ahmad Fathi Zaghlul Pasha, and 'Abd al-Ghani al-'Uraisi, and into Turkish by 'Abdullah Jevdet. It is therefore not surprising to find six of le Bon's works in the Khalidi Library, five in translation and one a lavishly bound French-language volume, *La Civilisation des Arabes* (1884).¹⁵

III

Whatever the importance of the books in such libraries and the scholarship which went into them, these things were restricted to a limited segment of society, even if there was

¹⁰ In 1918, Louis Massignon visited the library and donated an inscribed copy of his edition of al-Hallaj 1913. The names of 'ulama' and Western scholars listed in the visitors' book of the library indicate the role it played in the intellectual life of the city in the first decades after its establishment.

¹¹ Perhaps the best work on the *salafi* movement in a specific context is Commins 1990.

¹² On al-Jaza'iri, see the article by Joseph Escovitz (1986: 293-310).

¹³ The work by 'Abdu, one of many in the library, is his report on the reform of the *shari'a* courts in Egypt, with an introduction by Rashid Rida (1317/1900). It is inscribed by 'Abdu to Yusuf Diya' Pasha al-Khalidi. Al-Afghani's inscription (he signs himself 'Jamal al-Din al-Asadabadi') on the reverse of his photograph is very complimentary to Yusuf Diya'.

¹⁴ Al-Jisr, n.d. Multiple copies also exist of al-Jisr, 1305/1890.

¹⁵ This volume was dedicated to Yusuf Diya' Pasha al-Khalidi in Istanbul in 1888 by a former student with the inscription 'Resurgat Arabia!' The other works by le Bon in the library are: 1908; 1909a; 1909b; 1341/1923; 1925.

the likelihood of a certain 'trickle-down' effect over time. The crucial elements in the shift, from a well-established intellectual pattern restricted to a small élite to a new one influenced by European models and involving larger numbers of people, were the steady growth of new social formations, classes and professional groups, and the impact of major new institutions established after the Tanzimat began. The new schools founded to teach foreign languages and modern science and mathematics, as well as some traditional subjects, were particularly important, partly because they had an influence far beyond the narrow bounds of the existing élite.

Unlike the new courts and administrative structures, which were in large measure initially filled with personnel brought in from the outside and followed a fixed pattern set by the centre, the new schools were mainly staffed with local teachers, frequently differed from one locality to another, and were often established as a result of local initiative. This was not initially true of missionary schools, although they did eventually have local as well as foreign teachers, but it was the case for state schools and the many private schools which were set up all over the Arab provinces in response to the desire for access to education of those Muslim families wary of missionary schools, and whose needs could not be met even by the rapid expansion of the state system.¹⁶

The need for such schools can be seen from figures provided in the Ottoman *salnama* for 1288/1871 for the *vilayet* of Syria, which at this time included Jerusalem. For a Muslim population of the city listed as 1,025 households, there were seven schools with 341 students, while the Christian and Jewish populations of 738 and 630 households respectively had between them nineteen schools with a total of 1,242 students.¹⁷ If one assumes that there were six children per household, half of them of school age, it follows that while only about one tenth of Muslim children in the city of Jerusalem had access to schools, over one quarter of non-Muslim children had such access. According to another source, around the turn of the century there were 35 local Christian and missionary

schools in Jerusalem with over 2,200 students and more than 150 teachers (Landman 1984: 93-5).¹⁸

Although the Ottoman state established many schools towards the end of the 13th/19th century, there were never enough places in them to meet the demand for education.¹⁹ Numerous private schools were eventually set up in Jerusalem to meet this deficiency. One of them was Raudat al-Ma'arif al-Wataniyya al-'Uthmaniyya al-Islamiyya, founded in 1324/1906 (*Barnamij* 1331/1912). It was typical of such schools in a number of respects, having been founded by a cleric, Shaikh Muhammad al-Salih, but also in having a number of young men with Western educations from well-known families as teachers of modern subjects: thus we find the names al-'Alami, Dajani, Husaini and Nusaibeh among the teachers (as well as four foreign women who taught languages). The school was also typical in having leading notables as members of its board of directors, in this case the *mufti*, Muhammad Kamil Efendi al-Husaini, and the parliamentary deputy for the city, Sa'id Beg al-Husaini. The name of the school indicates the different cultural tendencies which the school embodied: patriotic, Ottoman and Islamic. In this too it was characteristic of many such schools.

A similar response to the growing demands of the population of Jerusalem for more and better education can be seen in the expansion and transformation of the school of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1322/1904 from a free school, established about 30 years earlier to teach religion and train missionaries, into a fee-paying preparatory school designed to feed students into the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut (later renamed the American University of Beirut), the most prestigious of the Protestant missionary institutions in the Arab world. The pamphlet which announces these changes in the structure and syllabus of the CMS school stresses in its introduction that circumstances had changed in the country: 'These days in the eyes of the citizens knowledge is given greater importance and its benefits are more appreciated. As a result, parents of every class are more eager to educate their children in the most modern ways, and want the doors to be

¹⁶ These included institutions such as al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya established by Butrus al-Bustani in 1285/1868, the schools set up by Jam'iyyat al-Maqasid al-Khairiyya, which was established in Beirut in 1295/1878, al-Madrasa al-Hamidiyya, set up in Tripoli in 1313/1895, the famous Maktab 'Anbar in Damascus, and many others. Some were short-lived, and others came under state control, but there was a constant proliferation of such schools during the last half century of Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces.

¹⁷ These figures are from *salnama* 1288/1871: 149-50 which does not give a break-down of the non-Muslim schools or students. This volume is nevertheless a very valuable source on Palestine and other parts of Syria for this period, containing much more data than do most other provincial *salnamas*.

¹⁸ Tibawi notes (1956: 20) that for all of Palestine in 1914 there were 95 elementary and three secondary schools with a total of 234 teachers and 8,248 pupils, 1,480 of them girls. He adds that according to Ottoman government estimates, there were also 379 private Muslim schools with 417 teachers and 8,705 pupils (only 131 of whom were girls).

¹⁹ This was a constant problem: according to Raqiyya al-Khalidi, who started school at the end of the Ottoman period, there were never enough places in the government or private schools for girls in Jerusalem. She herself attended both types of school in this period (interview, Jerusalem, October 7, 1993). An article in a Jerusalem paper (*al-Munadi* 1912: 1-2) paints a fascinating picture of the educational system in Palestine, calling for the implementation of the Ottoman constitution's promise of free universal primary education.

opened for them to learn foreign languages and science ...' (*Jam'iyyat al-Tabshir al-Kanisiyya* 1904: 2).

Of the other loci for the intellectual life of the last few decades of Ottoman rule, perhaps the most widespread in its impact on society was the press, both periodicals and daily newspapers. It has been argued that one cannot deduce too much from the press: we can read what is written in it, but we cannot be sure who was reading it, or what impact it had.²⁰ Whatever the merits of this argument, we can deduce certain things if we find how widely distributed a given organ of the press was. Ideally this would mean circulation figures, and even lists of subscribers, to establish a full picture of the range and scope of the newspaper or periodical. Such luxuries are unfortunately rarely available to the modern historian of the Middle East, but there is a substitute in our case: this is the holdings of periodicals in private libraries.

What can be deduced from the three libraries which have been examined in Jerusalem, two of them grouping together at least three separate collections, is clear. In al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya, for example, we find copies, usually bound and often multiple, of late Ottoman periodicals, such as Ahmad Faris Shidyaq's *al-Jawa'ib* (founded in Istanbul in 1277/1860); Butrus Bustani's *Finan* (Beirut, 1286/1870); Ya'qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr's *al-Muqtataf* (Cairo, 1294/1877) and later publications such as Jurji Zeidan's *al-Hilal* (Cairo, 1309/1892); al-Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Rida's *al-Manar* (Cairo, 1315/1897); and Muhammad Kurd 'Ali's *al-Muqtabas* (founded in Cairo in 1324/1906 and two years later moved to Damascus).²¹ While each of these periodicals had a different focus—that of *al-Jawa'ib* and *al-Manar* tended to be religious, while the other four were more secular in orientation—all attempted to describe and interpret for their readers the latest developments in science and industry, to reassess Islamic and Arab history, and to examine the reasons for the rise of the West and the relative weakness of the Islamic world.

That this collection is not exceptional can be seen from the periodical holdings of the Aqsa Library, which contains runs of most of the same publications as in the Khalidi Library, like them frequently in fine old leather bindings and often carrying an indication of who the original owner was. It contains a forty-year run of *al-Muqtataf*, a thirty-year run of *al-Hilal* from the first issue, and similar runs to those in the Khalidi library of *al-Manar*

and *al-Muqtabas*.²² These two collections of the most important of the first Arabic-language periodicals, made up of volumes which largely predate the formation of both of the libraries in question, were both established out of the private collections of several different individuals. They constitute evidence of a deep interest on the part of these individuals, and presumably others like them, in the newest writings on both Western science, history and politics, and Islam, Arab history and Middle East politics.²³

This interest can be followed in a different manner in the daily press, which in turn broadcast it to a wider audience than had access to such periodicals. Through serialisation in daily newspapers, much of what was published in *al-Hilal* and *al-Muqtabas* in particular, was thus accessible to a broader readership, together with the news of the day. Such papers as *al-Mufid* in Beirut, published by 'Abd al-Ghani al-'Uraisi, *al-Muqtabas* in Damascus (the daily newspaper, with the same name as the periodical, and also published by Muhammad Kurd 'Ali), *al-Karmil*, published in Haifa by Najib Nassar, and *Tarablus al-Sham*, published in Tripoli by Muhammad Kamil al-Buhairi, regularly reproduced over a number of issues periodical articles by leading *salafi* thinkers, as well as historical, literary and scientific pieces. Like many newspaper and periodical editors, Kurd 'Ali, Nassar and al-Buhairi each owned a press which published books by some of these same authors.²⁴ Rashid Rida had the same arrangement in Cairo with the press of his periodical *al-Manar*.

This practice was also followed by some publishers of newspapers and periodicals in Jerusalem. Two years before he began to publish the newspaper *al-Quds* in 1326/1908, Jurji Hananiyya had established a printing press and publishing house. Khalil Baidas, the publisher of the periodical *al-Nafa'is al-'Asriyya*, also published pamphlets and the occasional book (he used the printing presses of Jerusalem's Dar al-Aitam), while Muhammad Hasan al-Budairi, publisher of the short-lived newspaper *Suriyya al-Janubiyya*, and his cousin Muhammad Kamil al-Budairi, publisher of another daily, *al-Sabah*, used to publish books and pamphlets on the press their papers were printed on, which was located in a room adjacent to

²² Library holdings of *al-Muqtataf* are continuous from vol. 5-57; *al-Hilal* from 1-31; *al-Manar* from 1-22; and of the shorter-lived *al-Muqtabas* from 2-7.

²³ Ruhi Beg al-Khalidi was a contributor, under the pseudonym 'al-Maqdisi', to *al-Hilal* and a number of other periodicals and newspapers, while he was Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux. In 1320/1902-1321/1903, for example, he published a series of studies of Victor Hugo and European and Arab literature in *al-Hilal*. The standard work on Ruhi al-Khalidi is al-Asad 1970.

²⁴ Al-Buhairi's press was *Matba'at al-Balagha*, where among other things he printed collections of articles from his newspaper.

²⁰ This refers notably to comments made at a 1986 Columbia University conference on early Arab nationalism (Khalidi 1991: ix).

²¹ The Khalidi library has seven years of *al-Jawa'ib*; eight years of *al-Finan*; 26 years of *al-Muqtataf*; eight years of *al-Hilal*; 14 years of *al-Manar*; and six years of *al-Muqtabas*. All are bound, and are additional to a large number of incomplete volumes of these and other periodicals.

the Haram al-Sharif which today houses al-Maktaba al-Budairiyya.²⁵ On balance, however, Jerusalem in the late Ottoman period was too small a market, and too provincial a city, to be a major publishing centre, and instead largely depended on the newspapers, periodicals and book publishers of the cities of the Palestinian coast, Jaffa and Haifa, those of the Syrian littoral and interior like Beirut and Damascus, and the major regional centres, Cairo and Istanbul.

There were nevertheless several newspapers published in Jerusalem during this period, although many of them were relatively short-lived. Notable among them were the official *al-Quds al-Sharif/Quds Serif*, Jurji Hananiyya's *al-Quds*, Iliya Zakka's *al-Nafir*, Sa'id Jarallah's *al-Munadi*, Jamil al-Khalidi's *al-Dustur*, and Bandali Mushahwar's *Bait al-Maqdis*.²⁶ We can assume that, owing to the limitations of their printing facilities, the press runs of most daily newspapers in the region were small, and that their readership was limited. Indeed, most of them only came out once, twice, or three times a week, and we know that the size of the newspaper-reading public was severely restricted by widespread illiteracy and poor transportation outside the urban centres.

Nevertheless, a number of factors have to be weighed against these constraints in measuring the influence of the press in this early period. The first is that newspapers were commonly circulated from hand to hand, or posted in public places. The Khalidi Library subscribed to a number of them, and we can assume that they were available to all those who used it. We know from a number of sources, moreover, that people were accustomed to having the newspapers read aloud to them at home and in public places, meaning that, while the low level of literacy was a barrier to the influence of the press, it was not an impermeable one. In addition, people in this era were accustomed to news reaching them after a delay, particularly outside the cities. Thus, news in a paper which reached a distant town or village days late was still

devoured eagerly by the reading and listening public.

There are in addition various indications in the press itself and elsewhere of its growing influence in Palestine and other parts of the Arab world as time went on, particularly in the larger cities. One of them was the tendency of those in authority to close down newspapers when they published articles which offended them, a step which surely would only have been taken because these papers had some effect on their readers. One of the most forceful instances of the impact of the Palestinian and Arab press was the role newspapers played in the opposition to the Zionist movement, a fact recognised by both Zionists and Palestinians at the time, and amply demonstrated in the available issues of the pre-First World War Jerusalem daily press.²⁷

There were other important centres for intellectual life in Jerusalem at the end of the Ottoman period, such as political parties and organisations, and religious and social clubs. We can follow some of their activities through the press, and it is clear from even a superficial examination of its coverage of these domains that while Jerusalem was by no means as active a centre as were larger cities in the Ottoman Arab provinces, previously unheard-of types of political and social organisations there were growing apace.

It remains to mention the circles around foreign diplomats, scholars, and missionaries, and the growing institutions of the Jewish *Yishuv* in Palestine, which were also the foci of much intellectual activity. However, it appears that these were largely isolated from most of the rest of society, and thus had a relatively limited impact on the intellectual and cultural life of most of the indigenous inhabitants of Jerusalem (except via the medium of schools run by Christian missionaries and the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which attracted many Christian and Muslim students), although some members of the élite were undoubtedly influenced in some measure by their contacts with both foreigners and Jewish settlers in this period.²⁸

IV

As we have seen, Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine were in a nearly constant process of transition during the last half-century of the Ottoman period. As these

²⁵ *Suriyya al-Janubiyya* began publication in 1338/1919, and lasted for under two years; after it was closed by the British authorities, *al-Sabah* was founded in 1340/1921. The same press may have been used to publish a paper in the Ottoman period, but the evidence is unclear.

²⁶ *Al-Quds al-Sharif/Quds Serif*, which was printed in Arabic and Turkish on opposite sides of the page, was first published from 1320-5/1902-7, and then resumed publication in 1332/1913. *Al-Quds* was founded in 1326/1908 and continued publishing through the rest of the Ottoman period. *Al-Nafir*, founded in Alexandria by Ibrahim Zakka, was moved to Jerusalem in 1326/1908, and then to Haifa in 1332/1913. *Al-Munadi*, founded in 1331/1912, published until the outbreak of the war, as did *al-Dustur*, founded in 1332/1913. *Bait al-Maqdis*, founded in 1326/1908, seems to have appeared irregularly thereafter, only to reappear after the war, together with the papers mentioned in n. 25 above. For more on the Palestinian press during this period, see Khuri 1976.

²⁷ Not all papers were anti-Zionist. While *al-Munadi* frequently attacked the Zionist movement fiercely, *al-Quds* was generally silent on the subject. Most other Palestinian papers, notably *Filastin* and *al-Karmil*, were strongly opposed to Zionism. For more on this subject see Khalidi 1982.

²⁸ The Khalidi Library contains a number of elementary Hebrew language books, most of them belonging to Yusuf Diya' Pasha and his nephew Ruhi Beg al-Khalidi. See Khalidi 1994 for details on both men.

transformations in government, administration, education, justice, communications and transportation took place, and as the security situation in the country improved, the population grew, and the economy responded positively to these changes and to the blessings of the last lengthy period of uninterrupted peace in the country's modern history. Although the first signs of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, which was to consume the country for most of this century, were already apparent, notably in the press and in those parts of the countryside where Zionist settlements founded in the wake of the second *'aliya* had expanded at the expense of the indigenous peasantry (see Khalidi 1988), it is unlikely that more than a few prescient contemporary observers would have pointed to this as the issue which would completely dominate the future of Palestine.²⁹ Most others would probably have looked to the momentous changes on which we have focused for clues to the future.

In the intellectual realm, much had changed, although some things stayed the same. While under the Tanzimat, religion had lost much of its centrality to the processes of governance, and the religious institution was marginalised as a pillar of the daily administration of justice and much else, in the period of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid popular religion was perceived by the Ottoman authorities as a useful tool of legitimacy and control (Schölch 1994). On the local level in Jerusalem, this shift back towards religion, albeit a religion robbed of much of the substance of power, meant a shift by the state away from favouring the families, such as the Khalidis, associated with reform in government and liberal *salafi* thought in religion, and towards favouring those like the Husainis with a more conservative intellectual and political bent, and an involvement with popular religion. After the 1326/1908 Constitutional Revolution, this trend of state reliance on more conservative notables was temporarily halted, but it was to be resumed during the British mandatory period.

One of the other crucial changes of this period, however, was that these issues of infighting among the notables mattered less, as the intellectual sphere was no longer the exclusive preserve of such families, although they were adept in maintaining much of their old influence in the very different new circumstances. Now, hundreds of educated individuals were needed as teachers, government officials, military officers, journalists, telegraph operators and railway employees, all professions which either did not exist before or had changed and expanded greatly: thus, as we have seen, in Jerusalem around 1318/1900, Christian and missionary schools employed over 150 teachers, most of them locals. Elsewhere, in Beirut, the Syrian Protestant College alone in 1330/1912 employed 34 local instructors, exclusive of foreigners (Syrian Protestant College 1913). This massive expansion of opportunities for access to prestigious positions gave scope to individuals of both non-notable and non-Muslim backgrounds to achieve status.

At the same time, the economic expansion, which half a century of peace, rapid population growth and improvements in security, communications, and transportation had made possible, opened up opportunities for many individuals of these and other backgrounds to prosper. Not surprisingly, Jerusalem and the rest of the country were as a result in a state of ferment which increased in the years leading up to the First World War. As the Ottoman era in Palestine ended with the capture of Jerusalem by Allenby's troops in 1337/1917, there passed with it not only sovereign dominion—transferred from one power to another—but also possibilities of autonomous development for the indigenous population, and of untrammelled economic, social and intellectual interaction between Palestine and other parts of the region. These possibilities were not to be replicated for many decades, and indeed perhaps not until the present day have they even been approximated.

²⁹ There were those who clearly foresaw the struggle to come. Among the first was Negib Azoury 1904. Others who looked with foreboding to the growth of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine included a number of Palestinian writers and political leaders, such as the journalists Najib Nassar and 'Isa al-'Isa, editors of *al-Karmil* and *Filastin* respectively, and the deputies Ruhi al-Khalidi and Sa'id al-Husaini.

Chapter 16

THE COMMERCIAL LIFE OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

George Hintlian

At no time in its long history can Jerusalem be described as a commercial centre of any significance, nor can it be said that, like Damascus or Cairo, it served as an entrepôt famous for its *dar al-wakalas* (warehouses). Its importance has always lain rather in its constellation of holy sites, mushrooming over the generations in every direction, and as a focus of pilgrimage. The life of the inhabitants has always revolved around these holy places, and they have seen their primary task as catering to the needs of the visitors. The Ottoman period was no exception, and towards the end of the 19th century the city saw the transformation of the sacred 'duty' of pilgrimage into the 'industry' of tourism.

In the first period of Ottoman domination, in the 16th century—the age of Selim and Sulaiman—the Porte accorded greater importance to Jerusalem by virtue of the fact that it was a holy city. The city walls were rebuilt and renovations were carried out at the Dome of the Rock, and a whole hierarchy of Ottoman officials was instituted with titles similar to those in the capital. In the same way, there was more human traffic to the Holy Land and increased commercial activity. The study undertaken by Cohen and Lewis (1978) elaborates on this aspect. The authors include mention of Suq al-Dawab (the animal market), the *dar al-wakalas* of *ghalla* (huge warehouses for grain), and agricultural produce, which was primarily olive products and cotton. They devote an entire section to olive-oil and soap production, writing of an 'active export of soap from Jerusalem to Egypt through the port of Gaza' (Cohen and Lewis 1978: 55).

In the following centuries (17th–18th), the Ottomans paid scant attention to Jerusalem in its status of

a remote province. There were fewer visitors to the holy city, and a marked deterioration in security on the roads, with a consequent decline in commerce and income. Jerusalem survived as a modest city, its agricultural needs catered for by the surrounding villages, while, for the immediate needs of the inhabitants, there were the local craftsmen. Despite this economic decline, we find a smoothly-functioning guild-system, which continued well into the 19th century.

In a two-volume publication, Atallah (1991) has examined the documents from different guilds in 17th-century Jerusalem. For the first time, we have an insight into these craft corporations and associations, which had extensive powers to police prices as well as quality, to take individual members to court, and to supervise and tax the craftsmen. Equipped with full guild regulations, the associations created a system which had its own rewards and penalties. The *shaikh*, chief or elder, of the guild was responsible for the initiation ceremonies by which new masters were inducted. Guilds grouped craftsmen and shopkeepers who practised the same trade in the same locality, irrespective of religion.

It will be useful to compile an inventory of some of the guilds which functioned in Jerusalem around 1688—the guild of *attiba' wa jarrahin bi salahiyya bimaristan*: doctors and surgeons; *bayatira*: veterinary surgeons; *dabbaghin*: tanners; *iskafiyya*: shoemakers; *haiyakin*: weavers; *tahhanin*: millers; *khaiyatin*: tailors; *dallalin*: public criers; *qazzazin*: glassmakers; *muza'inat*: women's hairdressers; *hammali mauta*: porters of corpses; *tarrabin*: carriers of earth; *saqqa'in*: water-carriers; *sallakhin*: sheep-skinners; *shamma'in*: candle-makers; *sabbaghin*: dyers;

suyyagh: goldsmiths; *sakakiniyya wa suyufiyya*: knife-makers and swordsmiths.

The documents in Dr Atallah's book furnish a wealth of information on other aspects of commercial life. For example, Document no. 26, dated 27 July 1604, indicates the cost of the production of soap and its transport from Jerusalem to Egypt. Seven soapmen of Jerusalem complained of losses incurred by them in the transport of soap by camel to Egypt via Gaza, and they requested an equitable solution (Atallah 1991 1: 41-4). In Document 408, dated 28 November 1642, the names of mills and millers in Jerusalem are mentioned (Atallah 1991 2: 26-7), while in Document 444, dated 1 November 1632, two merchants of Jerusalem—Shahin ibn 'Abd al-Rahman and Mahmud ibn al-Hajj Alawan—are mentioned by name; they went to Saida to buy wool and brought it back to Jerusalem where it was sold (Atallah 1991 2: 61).

Let us now take an imaginary stroll through the markets of late 19th-century Jerusalem. If we approach the Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil), we find villagers selling their produce in the trench or moat of the Citadel, which was popularly known as the *khandaq*. Later the municipality was obliged to clean up the 'trench' and move the vendors on. On the street in the open air, we find peasant charcoal merchants. As we descend the Suwaiqat Allun we find shops filled with choice fruits and sweets. Further down on the same street the polyglot money-changers (*sarrafs*) are stationed, sitting with their small tables and with boxes covered with wire-netting and filled with coins. There was no constant rate of exchange and the *sarrafs* dealt in all currencies, whether the Ottoman *majidi* or the English sovereign, and they would accept a Russian imperial, an Austrian ducat, or Maria Teresa gold coin. Then, before continuing on to the main bazaar, let us turn left into Christian Quarter Road where the first section is known as the Mar Yuhanna Maqtu' al-Ra's (St John the Beheaded). Here they sold, among other things, buttons, threads and colourful ribbons. New brides did their shopping here.

A little further, on the staircase leading to the Coptic Khan, was the site of the saddlers (*sarraj*). Turning right on Christian Quarter Road, we come to the Suq Aphtimos, named after the Greek Archimandrite, which was also known as Suq al-Jadid, or the New Market. Towards the end of the 19th century, Aphtimos founded this huge commercial centre, where the first-class tailors and cloth merchants were located. It was common practice for many cloth merchants to hire pedlars to sell clothes by transporting them on their shoulders. The shops leading to the Holy Sepulchre and the square before it were the province of vendors of Christian pious objects, like crucifixes, rosaries and incense.

At the end of Suwaiqat Allun, we come to the main vegetable and fruit bazaar (Suq al-Khudra'). The *khudarji* (greengrocer) had to rise early to waylay farmers bringing

their produce into the city. The place teemed with villagers in colourful, embroidered dresses. The *simsars* or middlemen—in this case acting for the *khudarji*—would meet the villagers on their way to the bazaar and complete the wholesale transaction.

Behind the bazaar lay the Suq al-Dabbagha, or the Market of the Tanners and the *sabbaghs* (dyers), who were easily identified by their blue hands. After 1860 the tanners were moved out to another location, beyond the walls near the Silwan spring, because the foul smell from the tannery polluted the heart of the city. Turning right off Suwaiqat Allun, we find ourselves in the Street of the Chain, a section of which was called Tariq al-Dallal, the Street of the Public Criers. When something was advertised, or the loss of an animal or object was announced, the crier was known as *munadi* or *munnabih*. The term *dallal* referred to his work as a commission agent, broker. One well-known *dallal* of the 19th century was called Abu 'Id al-Dallal.

To the east of the main vegetable bazaar lay the most famous of the markets—the renowned triple market reputed to have been founded in the 12th century by Queen Mélisande. It is a remarkable fact that the location and function of the main *suqs* in Jerusalem have not altered since the time of the Crusaders. For example, exactly the same type of trade takes place now in the triple market as during the previous eight hundred years of its existence. These three covered markets are intercommunicating and run parallel to each other. The first was (and is) Suq al-Lahhamin (the Butchers' Market); at its northern extremity was the line of shops of the *nahhasin* and *tanakjiyya* (coppersmiths and tinsmiths), and those of the *jawalda* (leather-workers). The middle street was known as Suq al-'Attarin, the Market of the Apothecaries or druggists, who sold spices, saddlery, herbs, ropes, gunpowder and hunting materials. Suq al-Khawajat, sometimes also known as Suq al-Tujjar, was where goldsmiths, drapers and *hallajs* (cotton-carders) were found. Yet another name for this market was the Suq al-Munjidin (Market of the Cotton-threshers).

As we emerge from the northern end of the herb market, we enter one of the longest streets of the Old City, leading to the Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate). This is the street known as Khan al-Zait on account of its oil-presses and soap factories. In 1847 there were ten workshops making soap in Jerusalem; later this figure was reduced to only seven, employing a total of sixty-seven workers, because Nablus developed into a more important centre for the production of soap. At Bab al-'Amud, we find the grain-merchants with their camels, bringing produce to the city from Transjordan. The *najjars* (joiners or carpenters), *skafiliskafiyya* (shoemakers) who made shoes of red and yellow tanned sheep-skin, and the *sammans* (grocers) were dispersed throughout all the streets. The coffee-shops (*qahwas*) were to be found usually at the corner of one of

the more important streets, or, above all, near the city gates.

After 1860, many of the activities previously contained within the Old City spilled out beyond the city walls, and the centre of commercial activity moved to outside the Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate). Just beyond the gate were the *arabajiis* (carriage-drivers). In the summer of 1910, the municipal authorities required the carriage-drivers to display copper plates on their coats. It is recorded that ninety of these plates were prepared for Jerusalem, thirty for Bethlehem, and ten for Ramallah (Yehoshua 1977: 84-5). There were three popular coffee-houses just outside Bab al-Khalil—the Bristol (against the city wall), Qahwat al-Ma'araf and Qahwat al-Bank. Along the length of the wall and facing it were two long lines of shops—photographers, rug-dealers, and the European market, where it was possible to find alcohol, quality cheeses, biscuits and other delicatessen items. Certain of these grocers were known as *baqqal al-ifranji*. Near Bab al-Khalil stood the biggest banks—the Anglo-Palestine Bank, Banque Crédit Lyonnaise, Anglo-Egyptian Bank and, opposite the Citadel, the Banco di Roma.

Before the 19th century, Jerusalem served as the market town for the region, and its population was never higher than ten thousand. It was a city with modest needs and potential, and anything produced there was intended for local consumption. It had no adequate medical services or printing presses. As Baedeker recorded in 1876 '... Jerusalem possesses neither manufactories nor wholesale trade worthy of mention' (Baedeker 1876/1973: 96). It was an isolated city with almost no trading or cultural links with the outside world. At times, the city's government was dependent on the governor of a larger city like Gaza, Acre or Saida. Water shortages were chronic and this, compounded by the absence of proper hygienic conditions, led to frequent outbreaks of disease. There was, for example, a major cholera epidemic in 1865, which claimed at least 2,000 lives. It was so frightening that according to the report of the Austrian consul 'the Pasha of Jerusalem escaped to the mountains with his army for fear of cholera, leaving behind forty soldiers within the walls in order to guard [it]' (Eliav 1985: 135-42). Most of the streets were unpaved, including the roadway inside the Bab al-Khalil. In 1864, prisoners were brought from the common jail and set to paving the roadway (Hanauer 1910: 5)

A visitor to the city in the 19th century has left a vivid description:

As the sun goes down over Soba, four of the five gates now used by the people of Jerusalem are closed and barred. These are: the Damascus Gate on the north, St Stephen's Gate, Dung Gate, Zion Gate, lying between the lepers' sheds and the tomb of David. But

the Bethlehem (Jaffa Gate), the inlet of trade and travel from Egypt and from the sea, stands open for half an hour after gun-fire, a sentinel turns the key, and no man has the right to pass that portal until another morning shall have dawned. The streets of the Holy City should be trod by day, business of life suspends itself from sunset to sunrise. No gas, no oil, no torch, no wax lights up the streets of Jerusalem by night. The alleys of Jerusalem reek with decaying fruit, dead animals, and human filth, and in the midst of which fertilizing garbage innumerable armies of rats race and fight. Except in the souks, the streets are all unpaved, an open sewer runs down each lane ...' (Dixon 1867: 215).

The military campaign of Ibrahim Pasha (son of Muhammad 'Ali) and the Crimean War proved to be the catalysts engendering a chain of events which allowed Jerusalem to emerge from its isolation. Ibrahim Pasha introduced many changes, abolished some arbitrary taxes and took measures to enhance public security in Palestine. For the first time this allowed European merchants to trade within the whole country rather than only at the ports, as before. The military setbacks which the Ottoman sultan suffered at the hands of Ibrahim Pasha obliged him to make concessions to the European powers. The sultan agreed that foreign consuls were to be posted to Jerusalem. Ibrahim Pasha had already allowed the British consul to settle in the city as early as 1838. Protestant churches—Anglican and Lutheran—were also allowed to be established in Jerusalem. More changes were to follow after 1856 in the wake of the Crimean War. This proved to be a major turning point as far as Ottoman official attitudes were concerned, for Turkey consented to further concessions to Europeans in return for military help against Russia. These were embodied in two reform edicts known as the *Khatta Sharif* (1839) and *Khatta Humayun* (1856), the significance of which is best summarised by Yapp:

The Tanzimat edicts of 1839 and 1856 should be seen primarily as statements of principles which should govern reforms rather than as decisions to be implemented forthwith. The main principles were equality and security for all citizens, the removal of administrative abuses and, in 1856, the notion of administrative and economic development (Yapp 1993: 113).

For the first time, according to the Ordinance of 1858, foreigners could purchase land and set up banks

within Palestine. The subsequent influx of European missions meant extensive construction activity in Jerusalem. According to Alexander Schölch 'in the decade after 1856, twenty-four construction projects were carried out inside and outside the walls of Jerusalem' (Schölch 1993: 121). By the 1890s, half the labour force of Bethlehem was employed in construction works. For example, during the building of the Austrian hospice, 300 labourers and 50 animals of burden were employed daily for months. Apart from eight consuls and their vice-consuls in Jaffa, who usually dealt with commerce, and scores of religious orders, European postal services were established which were involved in financial transactions, acting as a sort of postal bank. A report in the periodical *Levanon* in 1910 reads 'It was learnt that the Austrian Post Office is selling stamps for a quarter of a million francs per year. The Russian Post Office sells for 100,000 francs a year, and the Turkish Post Office 15,000 francs a year' (Sliva and Amotz 1973: 189).

Maritime traffic reached unprecedented dimensions according to the port report of 1895. A total of 457 ships disembarked at Jaffa. 101 ships belonged to Austro-Hungarian Lloyds, 101 ships to the Khedive, 54 to the Messageries Maritimes Françaises, 48 to the Russians, 32 to the Mahsoussa, 28 to the English, 9 to the Fabre and 84 others were miscellaneous (Cuinet 1896: 623). European banks began opening branches in Palestine—Crédit Lyonnaise in Jaffa and Jerusalem in 1892, the Deutsche Palästinische Bank in Jaffa and Palestine in 1896, as well as the Ottoman Bank which was controlled by shareholders from France and Britain. There were minor bankers like Bergheim and Valero (Jewish-owned) and Frutiger and Co. In 1894, commercial activity at the port of Jaffa amounted to 554,231 tons (Cuinet 1896: 623). In order to stimulate exports, in 1861 the Ottoman authorities reduced the export custom rates by a considerable percentage (from 12 per cent to 8 per cent), and again in 1869 by a further 1 per cent a year (Whiting n. d.). The principal Palestinian export items were (in order of importance): oranges, soap, sesame, melons and wine. Around the end of the 19th century, there were five hundred orange orchards in Jaffa alone. The annual production reached 60 million oranges, 20 million of which were exported to France, Austria, and England, and a further 30 million oranges were exported to Constantinople, Bulgaria, Rumania and Russia (Cuinet 1896: 592). On the other hand, Palestine imported coal, iron, cotton and textiles from England, petroleum from America and Russia, porcelain and glass from France and Belgium, flour from Russia, and rice from Egypt. A new local Arab entrepreneurial class emerged, which sometimes worked in partnership with Europeans (Divine 1994: 118-26).

In effect, Palestine was becoming a typical

commercial area, subject to all the usual economic vicissitudes of inflation, depression, wars and the resulting fluctuations in prices. Halevanon reports in 1913 'the price of petrol, olive oil, meat and coal have risen, the local currency rates dropped. The villagers are upset that town merchants are not accepting Ottoman currency' (Sliva and Amotz 1973: 191). Commerce and tourism could not expand without basic amenities like roads, improved hygiene and facilities for the urban dweller. The upgrading of the *sanjak* of Jerusalem into a *mutasarrافیyya* with the concomitant establishment of a municipality was a timely development, which created conditions in the city that were conducive to relatively comfortable living conditions by the standards of the day.

The main source of income remained tourism. The improved physical conditions in Palestine and modern transport by sea and rail contributed enormously to its growth. In 1909, 34,492 foreigners used the train between Jaffa and Jerusalem. In 1910, this figure had risen to 40,702 visitors. The figure had dropped again by 1912 to 29,462 visitors, and again in 1913 to 24,428 (*Jerusalem* (monthly periodical) 1912: 478). This decline was due to the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War, which repeated the pattern of the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-78. John Whiting, the American vice-consul of Jerusalem, commented in his report dated 9 February 1912:

The general business of Jerusalem cannot be dealt with separately from the tourist business, for when the latter is good or bad the general business is sure to follow. The Turko-Italian war at the outset upset business considerably. Quite a quantity of various goods used to be imported from Italy which now are not admitted and the impression that travelling in Turkey is now unsafe has been considerably prevalent, which has hurt the prospects for the season this year, which just now has commenced (Whiting n. d.).

With the constant flow of the new type of tourism, the Christian institutions—which traditionally had acted as hosts to pilgrims and foreign visitors—could not cope, although there were by this time forty-eight hospices. Thomas Cook, among others, handled tourism from America and the West. The Thomas Cook groups were small but Frank Clark brought in 600-700 American tourists at a time in his huge liners. The American Colony, which had started as a religious commune, began to take an interest in tourism. They opened a Vester souvenir shop at Bab al-Khalil, and began to put part of their Shaikh Jarrah facilities at the disposal of the new type of visitor, who found it to their taste. Herbert Clark, who lived in

Jerusalem, was responsible for the intricate details of the Frank Clark tours. Clark built himself a beautiful mansion on Mamilla Street, facing the city wall, with the intention of providing a congenial Oriental ambiance for the western visitors. Every afternoon Mrs Clarinda Clark acted as hostess for Clark passengers for 'afternoon tea'.

Accommodation remained a primary problem for the modern tourist. The first grand project was the Notre Dame de France (1886), which had several hundred rooms. The first building to look like a hotel was the Howard Hotel put up by the Armenian Convent in 1898 on the lower Jaffa Road. The name was later to change to the Fast Hotel. The Clark Tours used this as a first choice. Opposite the Municipal Gardens, the Armenian Convent then erected in 1902 a long building known as the Hughes Hotel. After this came the Kaminetz Hotel and Amdursky Hotel, situated inside the Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil). The New Grand Hotel built in 1889 and run by Marcos Brothers was the one mainly used by the Cook's tours (Yehoushua 1977: 73).

These profound changes were only possible because of the goodwill of the Ottoman authorities. It is true that the Ottoman Treasury did not invest much in the way of capital funds, but the positive attitude of the authorities in Constantinople was vital. It is also true that there was an expansion of European presence and influence—European investment and goods were flowing into the Palestinian towns, but the Turkish governors were very accommodating and took their own initiatives. The only disruptive factor that interrupted the policy of continuity was the frequent and recurrent removal of Ottoman governors from the city. New officials, whose term of office was on average only two to three years, did not have sufficient time to adapt to the changing conditions of the country.

The physical look of the city was also changing. New Arab and Jewish neighbourhoods were springing up in every direction outside the city walls. The New Gate (Bab al-Jadid) was opened in 1889, and Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra) was enlarged in 1875. The road between Jerusalem and Nablus was built in 1870, and one between Jerusalem and Hebron in 1889. The lepers' village, which had been inside the Zion Gate (Bab al-Nabi Da'ud), was removed to a hill surrounded by olive trees near Bi'r Ayyub. The authorities moved the cattle market from Mount Zion to the Pool of Sulaiman (Birkat al-Sultan) outside the walls. In 1863-4, the authorities ordered the removal of all *mastabas* (raised benches), which had previously lined the streets, to make room for pedestrians within the narrow thoroughfares of the Old City. The only ones that still remain are to be found in the Suq al-Khwaja.

By 1874, by imperial order, the *sanjak* of Jerusalem became one of the privileged *mutasarrافیyyas* of the empire. It had three *kaimakams* (sub-governors) of Jaffa, Gaza and

Hebron, assisted by an administrative council (*majlis 'idara*). There was a municipality with a municipal council (*majlis baladi*) which had a separate budget. Members were nominated by a sort of popular election. The municipality took over responsibility for most of the public services, education, health issues, water installation, and social welfare. At the beginning of the establishment of the municipality, the revenue did not exceed 500 Turkish *liras*, but by 1913 the figure was as high as 11,000 *liras* (Namura 1994: 134; al-'Arif 1961: 330-33). The municipality offices moved from the second floor of the Sarai in the Old City to Mamilla Street, opposite Bab al-Khalil, where extensive infrastructural work was carried out. In 1870 they installed and expanded the sewage system. In 1895 they paved most of the streets of Jerusalem. In 1892 they built a municipal garden where the Turkish military band played twice a week, on Fridays and Sundays. They also constructed a bridge over the River Jordan. In addition, the municipality was in charge of order and security, and in 1886 they set up a Jerusalem police force, consisting of fourteen gendarmes. In 1891 the municipality established a hospital with thirty beds and an outside infirmary. In 1882, a doctors' union was founded with twelve doctors, all resident in Jerusalem (Sliva and Amotz 1973: 111). This new municipal hospital was in addition to half a dozen hospitals run by Christian orders as well as a newly-opened English ophthalmic hospital. Four of these Christian-run hospitals are still in operation—St Joseph's, St Louis', St John's Ophthalmic Hospital and Spafford's Children's Hospital. There were official programmes for inoculation against smallpox. Public health and hygiene were now even adequate to contain successfully an outbreak of cholera in 1902, for in 1901 it was realised that there was a severe shortage of water, which was then brought in 4-inch pipes from Wadi Artas to the city.

The courtyard in front of the Bab al-'Amud was paved, and warehouses were built for storing grain. In 1911, negotiations were already under way to introduce electricity to the city, but the plans were interrupted by the outbreak of the Great War. The municipality was increasingly becoming a recognisable form of administrative apparatus—municipal councils took care of the roads, water-system and the cleanliness of the streets; they were responsible for lighting, building parks, taxing carriage drivers, and monitoring weights and measures. They even issued rules governing the number of passengers who were allowed to be transported in each carriage, which had to have two lanterns attached to the side after sunset.

There were also improvements in the legal system. In 1874, Sultan 'Abd al-Majid issued a new ordinance separating the executive from the legislative branch, which resulted in *nizami* (reformed) courts. In 1901, a commercial court was installed in Jaffa, whose remit was to resolve business disputes. With regard to taxation, the

municipality had imposed ten different kinds of tax, while taxation of the farmers was still handled through *iltizam*, or tax farming, although this had been officially abrogated by the Edict of 1839.

In the field of education too there was some progress. Some new schools were established but the introduction of compulsory education was not successful. However, on the other hand, as Divine (1994: 119) has recently written, 'by century's end, notables in Jaffa, Haifa and even Jerusalem had degrees in law, public administration, and engineering from universities in Beirut, Istanbul, and various European capitals.'

To sum up, Palestine in the period post-1840 bore little resemblance to its state before 1830. Jerusalem had grown from a small town into a trading city with an agriculture that was export-oriented. The substantial improvement in public security and in hygienic conditions,

as well as the demographic changes—which saw figures of 9,000 in 1820 rise to 51,000 inhabitants by 1896—all resulted in attracting tourists, and investments, into Jerusalem (McCarthy 1990: 15). Changes were not resisted but, on the contrary, were welcomed and absorbed, for they meant new opportunities, new horizons, international trade and growth. Very few other cities in the Middle East underwent such drastic growth or experienced so profound a transformation in such a short period of time as was the case of Jerusalem from the 1840s onwards. After being an economic backwater for three centuries, Jerusalem had become a vibrant and populous city. Western capital and Western institutions, coupled with Ottoman goodwill and co-operation, as well as the formation of new Arab bureaucratic cadres and a new trading class, all made possible for Jerusalem the transition from anonymity and insignificance to prominence and importance.



Pl. 16.1 An old man with tools for mattress stuffing. Bonfils 633 (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library).



Pl. 16.2 Jerusalem. Steps leading to the Holy Sepulchre. Bonfils 848 (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library).

Chapter 17

REALITY, IMAGINATION AND BELIEF: JERUSALEM IN 19TH- AND EARLY 20TH-CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS (1839-1917)

Ruth Victor Hummel

Truly, neither the head nor the heart of that person is to be envied that manifest no interest in such a place as the Holy City! that feels for it no yearning of heart, and derives no pleasure from even the inspection of its faithful photographic and topographic portraiture (Barclay 1858: xx).

In his introduction to *The City of the Great King*, Dr Barclay, a missionary and probably the first American to photograph in Jerusalem, set out the basic themes and attitudes of the 19th-century Westerner approaching the holy terrain of Palestine. The assumption was that one would, of course, be naturally drawn to Jerusalem and that photographic images vivified the sacred topography because they were '*fac similes* of nature' (Barclay 1958: 4). These 'sun-pictures' seemed to possess a verisimilitude and undeniable veracity which gave the Westerner a comforting certitude that this was reality itself, untainted and available for observation.¹

The aim here is to provide the reader with some guidelines for approaching and interpreting the photographs of 19th-century Jerusalem, rather than

presenting a comprehensive or chronological survey. These images were taken by Western or Western-trained photographers initially for a European or American audience. As cultural critic Roland Barthes notes:

The photograph clearly only signifies because of the existence of a store of stereotypical attitudes which forms ready-made elements of signification ... a 'historical grammar' of iconographic connotation ought thus to look for its material in painting, theatre, associations of ideas, stock metaphors etc., that is to say, precisely in 'culture' (Barthes 1977: 22).

To make their work compelling and marketable to their audience, the Westerners, who were photographing Jerusalem, used a shared canon of visual images taken from previous artistic renditions and from cultural presuppositions of Western imagination steeped in the biblical narrative. They gave their audience the selected reality they wanted and expected to see. The photograph operates on various levels of signification and meaning and what the 19th-century viewer 'saw' might be quite different from how his late 20th-century counterpart deciphers the same image. Although these photographs reveal to us the *Weltanschauung* of the 19th-century Western mind, this visual record can also be decoded to provide information about Jerusalem that was not perhaps part of the original intention of the photographer, for:

the very fact that people are photographed is

¹ Gavin 1982: 4. Gavin relates the following tradition: 'King Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud convinced the *ulema* that a cameraman differs from every other artist because he is not making images himself but rather "recording the shadows cast by God's sunlight ..."; this argument is quite possibly based upon the literal explication and logical deduction of an early Arabic term for photographer (to be found in graffiti in an 1875 Bonfils photography): *musawwir shamsi*—one who makes pictures by the sun.'

part of their history, their changing existence in a broadening world. Photographs can, with close contextual examination, be read as broad texts which reveal ... 'hidden histories' rather than as individual descriptive documents (Edwards 1992: 12).

After issuing the warning *caveat spectator!* we need to investigate some of the attitudes which motivated the photographer (both the visiting Westerner and the local Jerusalemite) and the visual syntax and rhetoric employed to depict the landscape and indigenous inhabitants of Jerusalem—that is, to understand the 'historical grammar' used to communicate a visual reality of the city.

The birth of photography is intimately intertwined with the history of 19th-century Jerusalem. A few months after Daguerre announced his photographic breakthrough in 1839, the first daguerreotypes produced outside Europe were taken in the Middle East and the Holy Land by Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet and the painter Horace Vernet, who had been dispatched by the Parisian optician, Lerebours, as part of a commercial enterprise to photograph the most outstanding views in the world.² The engravings made from their photographic efforts and published in *Excursions Daguerriennes* included three scenes from the Holy Land (Jerusalem, Nazareth and the Crusader's fortress in Acre). The photograph of Jerusalem was the first ever to be taken and published (Nir 1985: 29).

When the calotype process (1840) and then the wet collodion technique (1851) provided the means of producing a negative and therefore the possibility of printing numerous positive images, which (as footnote 2 explains) was impossible with the unique image of the daguerreotype, photographers continued to flock to Jerusalem to document the sites and the terrain as archaeological artefacts (Du Camp 1851), to support a specifically stated ideological argument (Bridges 1858) or to extract a livelihood from sale of the sought-after images (Frith 1859). Photographing Jerusalem was good business, both for its ideological benefits and/or its lucrative rewards.

The political opening up of the Holy Land in 1830 under Muhammad 'Ali and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, and the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 made it possible for Westerners to penetrate more easily and safely into Palestine. So the explorer, missionary, scholar, romantic, ecclesiastic, archaeologist, imperialist, entrepreneur and pilgrim (or various combinations of all of the above), descended on Jerusalem with the desire to make the city

the handmaiden of his ideological proclivity. In the first half of the 19th century, the West became captive to the relentless currents of social, religious and political dislocations flowing from the urbanisation and mechanisation bred by the Industrial Revolution. The Orient, the East, entranced and captivated the Westerner with its exotic, romantic, pre-industrial society and—in the case of the Holy Land—with the hallowed origins of its religious tradition. It was the epitome of 19th-century technology, the ever-evolving photographic process, which provided the West with the means to impose the reality it required on the Holy Land.

Edward Said argues that Orientalism is a Western practical intellectual network 'for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said 1991: 3).³ He also posits that the 'Orient ... is corrected, even penalized for lying outside the boundaries of European society, "our" world; the Orient is thus Orientalized' in order to make it conform to some aspect of the West (Said 1991: 67). In the case of Jerusalem we can say that the West not only orientalised but biblicalised the landscape and people of Jerusalem in order to vivify the scriptural narrative and to lay terrestrial claim to the celestial city.

The European and American relationship to Jerusalem and the Holy Land was unlike that with any other geographical location. The classical world of Greece and Rome was the intellectual and philosophical homeland of Western culture; but Jerusalem was the sacred hearth. His intimate knowledge of the biblical narrative shaped the Westerner's expectations as he approached this *locus sacer*. Of course, the Bible itself was a product of the hills, valleys and plains of Palestine. An intense dialogic relationship between the image of what one expected to see and the reality as described in the scriptures lay deeply embedded in the Western psyche. In 1869 the imperial pilgrim, the Hapsburg Emperor Franz-Joseph, simply stated a feeling of familiarity which so many pilgrims and visitors routinely mention: 'It struck us all how everything, especially the Mount of Olives and the Josephat valley, seemed to be just like one imagined it from one's childhood stories and its description in the Bible' (Nostitz-Rieneck 1966: 111-12).

Those Christian clerics and laymen who wished to counter the assault of biblical criticism on the veracity of the scriptures looked to archaeology and the land of Palestine to vivify and validate the biblical narrative. The landscape itself could assume a revelatory if not a sacramental quality (Hummel 1995: 28). An American pilgrim, J M P Otts, explained to his readers in 1893 that:

² A daguerreotype was a copper-plate coated with a very thin layer of silver which was treated with an iodine bath, exposed, and then developed by treatment with vapours of mercury. The reversed (positive-negative) mirror image produced was unique, since the process did not create a negative that could be reproduced.

³ For an interesting and informative critique of the legacy of Said's theory, especially as it relates to the interpretation of 19th-century popular culture, see MacKenzie 1995.

This is not a 'book of travels', though it never could have been written if the author had not travelled in Palestine, for it is the result of the careful reading of the Gospels in the lights and shades of the land where Jesus lived and taught. When so read it is found that the land of Jesus so harmonizes with the four written Gospels, and so unfolds and enlarges their meaning, that it forms around them a Fifth Gospel (Otts 1893: 5).

Photography with its possibilities of the mass production of images became the common man's means not only for 'photo-voyaging' but, in the case of the Holy Land, for 'photo-pilgrimage'.⁴ Thus it is not surprising that the wildly popular painted panoramas of the first half of the 19th century, which made available to the masses an intimate knowledge of the Holy Land until then only accessible to the 'cultural élite', were replicated in early photographic 'fac-similes' of Jerusalem (Davis 1996: 59). The early (1850s to early 1860s) commercial landscape photographers—men like Frith, Bergheim and Diness—consciously tapped into a visual vernacular when they photographed Jerusalem from angles and vantage points known to their prospective audience from panoramas, dioramas, paintings and engravings (pls. 17.1-17.15).⁵ Even the theatrical positioning of token 'natives' in the foreground to provide human scale to sacred space can be traced from painting to photography (pls. 17.16-17.18).

Most of the panoramic landscapes of Jerusalem produced in the 19th century depict a vast, desolate and unpopulated land. But to the Western imagination the valleys and hills were not lifeless—rather it gazed on a landscape *vivant*, saturated with biblical significance and above all with intimations of Jesus himself. Views of or from the Mount of Olives were particularly popular since one could be certain that, unlike unauthenticated sites, Olivet was indeed *terra sancta* (pl. 17.19). As Sir Frederick Treves in his book, *The Land That is Desolate*, mused :

It is, I think, the least beautiful hill I can call to mind. [But] this Olivet, this path to the village of Bethany, this way leading down to the Jordan, are all sacred sites of unquestioned genuineness. This is the country that was transversed by the feet of Christ. This is the very view that, in every dip

and knoll, was familiar to His eyes (Treves 1913: 86).⁶

Each technological advance in the photographic process increasingly put in the grasp of every 'common man' the opportunity to possess images of Jerusalem. In the first half of the 19th century, the painted panorama was the 'highly successful bridge between high art and mass entertainment' (MacKenzie 1995:190). In the latter half of the century the hand-held stereoscope, invented by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1861, provided cultural enrichment and religious edification as well as popular amusement.⁷ An average family in Europe, or more probably in America, sitting at home, could pick up its stereoscope which transformed an almost identical pair of photographs pasted on cardboard backing (a stereograph) into a three-dimensional image '... the aim ... [was] to lose all consciousness of one's immediate bodily surroundings and to gain a distinct experience of being in the place [biblical land] itself' (Kent 1900: 10)—the 19th-century equivalent of a virtual reality experience! Now it was possible—as Professor Charles Kent of Yale University continues in his introduction (1900), '... in every class and in every home, not only to read about biblical lands, but also to travel through them'⁸ (pls. 17.20-17.21).

⁶ Although this is not the place for a lengthy discourse on various strands of 19th-century theology, it is important to note that American and English Protestant religious writing and travel literature often discussed the Holy Land as 'cursed' (and thus desolate, stagnant and suffering) and in need of redemption, because the Jews, and subsequently the Muslims, rejected the Gospel of Jesus (see Hummel 1995: 33-5). This belief, perhaps, helps to explain why Protestant photographers in particular are more oriented towards portraying a desolate landscape. Although he does not elaborate on the theological *raison d'être* for this theme of desolation, Nir (1985: 103-7) speculates on 'the difference in nuance in terms of subject matter and composition' in the work of Protestant and Catholic photographers, especially the British emphasis on photographing 'more of the surrounding natural environment'.

⁷ Davis (1996: 74) states that in the United States 'over five million stereographic negatives' were produced (a figure found in Darrah 1977: 6) and that '... one of the most enduring subjects, repeatedly featured in numbered sets issued by individual photographers and larger companies alike, was the Holy Land.'

⁸ In the introduction to *Palestine through the Stereoscope: a Tour conducted by Lesse Lyman Hurlbut* (New York 1914: xiii-xiv), Kent explains to his reader the *modus operandi* of the stereograph, which '... consists of two single photographs, taken from two points of view, between two or three inches apart, the normal distance between our eyes. When seen in a stereoscope these two flat surface photographs are reunited as in the natural vision, and become a *space*—a space of three dimensions, breadth, height and *depth*. The two small, flat prints, 3 x 3 inches in size, about six inches in front of the eyes, serve as two windows *through* which we look, and *beyond* which we see representation of the object or place, standing out as large as the original object or place would appear to the eyes of one looking from the place where the camera stood.'

⁴ In his article 'Photography and the Social Sciences—in Light from Ancient Lands' (Gavin 1989: 49), Carney Gavin uses the term 'photo-voyaging' which inspired my coinage of the term 'photo-pilgrimage' used here.

⁵ See Wahrman 1993: 26-7 for a discussion of how early photographs 'copied' each other's angles, etc., which sometimes led to conflict and recriminations.

The marriage of text and image transformed photographs of Jerusalem into frozen, timeless moments of the sacred. Jerusalem was not to be sensually exotic and titillating like the 'Oriental' Beirut, Cairo or the Mahgrib.⁹ The Westerner desired to tread the hills of Palestine and the streets of Jerusalem 'in the earthly footsteps of the Man of Galilee'.¹⁰ The terrestrial Holy City should reflect the spiritual splendour of its heavenly template—and this necessitated an earthly hallowed topography permeated with the transcendental. The living, decidedly 'mundane' 19th-century men and women of Jerusalem proved to be obstacles to implementing this religious agenda. The solution for most Western photographers was to biblicalise the indigenous inhabitants into icons or allegorical ciphers of an unaltered, atemporal biblical way of life.

In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund stated in its original prospectus that a series of photographs urgently needed to be taken of the 'Manners and Customs' of Palestine. The reason for this scientific task-force was that '... many of the ancient and peculiar customs of Palestine are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of Western manners, and in a short time the exact meaning of many things which find their correspondence in the Bible will have perished' (Conder and Kitchener 1881 1: 8).¹¹ Earlier individual portraits had been produced (pls. 17.22-17.23) but under this mandate Sergeant Phillips produced the first series of portraits of the indigenous people of Palestine. As Nir states (1985: 137-8), these twenty-seven photographs, one-third of which were of Samaritans or Armenians, were 'in no sense a representative sample' of the population.¹²

The invention of the half-tone process (c. 1880) revolutionised the printing of photographs in books and newspapers by dramatically reducing costs and the labour

required to merge text and images.¹³ This technological breakthrough made it possible for the average citizen to purchase one of the most extensive photographic surveys of the Holy Land, *The Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee: Being Five Hundred Original Photographic Views and Descriptions of the Places connected with the Earthly Life of Our Lord and His Apostles* (1894). In the introduction John H Vincent, a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church and founder of the Chautauqua movement, clearly set forth the perceived *raison d'être* of the contemporary occupants of Palestine. It merits quoting at length as it provides a manifesto of Western attitudes towards the people of Palestine and a key to interpreting this enormously popular genre of photograph:

The manners and customs of this Eastern country have not been changed. People dress and eat and sleep and live and labor as they did two thousand years ago. The scenes of the Bible are reproduced with startling fidelity to the old record. One may find feasting and funeral, seed-sowing and harvest, elders in the gate and veiled women, grass on the housetops, sparrows seeking their nests in holy places, the grass of the field that today is and tomorrow is cast into the oven. The old customs and costumes remain.

The general scenic features of Palestine render it interpretative of Biblical events and shed light upon difficulties which, but for the perpetuity of its features, would have been unsolvable problems. Every traveler through Palestine discovers and makes report of these features and finds his faith in the Book confirmed. It is this feature which renders so valuable the contribution of the present volume to the illustration of Biblical history. The perfection of photographic art is reached in the production of this book. The land is brought within the purview of every reader' (Vincent 1894 : unpaginated Introduction).

Clearly the importance of the inhabitants was the extent to which their biblical ethnographic authenticity and 'purity' could further the cause of Christian scriptural exegesis. The enormous size of the photographs (8ins x 10ins) by R E M Bain coupled with extensive captions

⁹ Issam Nassar, 'The Image of Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography' (manuscript 15-16), published as *Photographing Jerusalem: A study in Colonial Imagination* by Boulder (East European Monographs 1997). Nassar states that it is difficult to find photographs of nude women who are identified as being indigenous to Jerusalem, although this does not extend to the rest of Palestine. For example, Bonfils' photograph entitled *Bédouine de Jéricho vendant de l'herbe à Jérusalem* depicts a woman with one breast exposed.

¹⁰ The phrase is taken from the title of Bishop John H Vincent's *Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee* published in New York in 1894.

¹¹ The original prospectus from 1865 is printed in Conder and Kitchener 1881 Vol.I.

¹² The six photographs of Arabs were of a Kavass, and of 'picturesque' Bedouins rather than 'peasants in the hill country and the majority of Moslem townspeople.' Nir also notes that a caption for a photograph entitled *Two Women Grinding Corn* was followed by the biblical reference *Illustrating the prophecy: 'Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, the other left'*.

¹³ Before the invention of the half-tone process, the woodburytype method was commonly used to reproduce photographs in books, etc. This required the photograph to be printed as an insert plate—the half-tone process rendered this laborious method obsolete. See Daval 1982: 173 for more on the revolutionary nature of the half-tone process.

under each expounding its biblical significance greatly facilitated the reader's ability to photo-pilgrimage in the Man of Galilee's footsteps. The indigenous men, women and children who appear could be read as allegorical figures of the Holy Family or biblical characters, but more frequently they represented the Bedouin (nomads), *fallahin* (farmers, shepherds and villagers) and *madaniyya* (town and city dwellers) whom Jesus would have seen and interacted with during his 'earthly life' as he transversed Palestine (pl. 17.24).

Sometimes the local inhabitants are acknowledged as such, as in the photograph *A Fence at Dotham* in which the man 'with white head dress' (*kaffiya*) is identified as the dragoman of Bain's 'photographic company of 1894' (pl. 17.25). This dragoman stands with a *fallah* in front of a magnificent twelve-foot wall of Palestinian *sabr* (cactus) which clearly captivated Bain and his pilgrimage companion, the Reverend James Lee, who describes it in the accompanying text. But as this scene cannot stand on its own merits as a vignette of contemporary Palestinian life, Lee continues 'We linger at Dotham because, besides the memories of Joseph and his brethren, there is an Old Testament picture which must have been recalled by Mary on her pilgrimage to Bethlehem.' In the next fifteen lines, Lee explicates the Elisha story from II Kings V: 13-18, relates it to the 'doctrines which the Man of Galilee came to proclaim' and—in a breath-taking exegetical leap—finally states 'These are the doctrines which gave strength and comfort to Mary in her pilgrimage from Nazareth to Bethlehem' (Vincent 1984: 86).

The assigned role of the indigenous inhabitants was participation in a scriptural *tableau vivant* supervised and controlled by the Western eye. The demand for photographs elucidating the biblical narrative was virtually limitless. As we shall see below, the photographic studio of the American Colony produced many striking images of Ottoman Jerusalem, but they also serviced a tourist trade hungry for items like its photographic series on the Twenty-Third Psalm ('The Lord is my Shepherd') which depicts sheep and shepherds posed in a Palestine untouched by the passage of two millennia (pl. 17.26). Stereographs, mentioned above, also catered to this desire for biblical correspondence. Underwood and Underwood's stereographic series on Jerusalem, which are keyed to scriptural passages, include an image of crowded Christian Street with the note that 'through a street not unlike this, Jesus was walking one day when He saw the blind man begging (John IX: 1-7)' (pl. 17.27). *The Cattle Market Day in the Lower Pool of Gihon, Valley of Hinnom* simply refers the viewer to Isaiah XXII: 9 (pl. 17.28).

Frequently there was no reference made to the indigenous inhabitant posed in the photograph—he, she or they functioned as part of a constructed photographic reality which relied on the synergistic relationship of

landscape, text and their silent witness as nameless biblical mannequins (pls. 17.29-17.30). The Western viewer easily merged all three elements mentally into the reality that was Jerusalem for the 19th-century psyche. Of course there was always the occasion when the 'native' was useful to provide scale and a bit of local colour (pl. 17.31).

Let us now turn to local Jerusalem photographers and those who were resident in the Levant. What were their agendas? Some of the best-known photographs of the Middle East were produced by the Maison Bonfils, a family of prolific commercial photographers based in Beirut from 1867 to 1918.¹⁴ Félix, Adrien and Marie-Lydie Bonfils were not particularly interested in providing a biblicised version of the Holy Land (although they did produce a small number). Most of their studio portraits and genre scenes were posed and the participants paid for their services, some assuming a variety of personas.¹⁵ These images represent another strand of photography in Jerusalem—one which targeted an audience intrigued by an exotic Orient. So Jerusalem was orientalist and romanticised without direct reference to the biblical narrative—although the scriptural significance is always a cultural *sub rosa* text—in images which are evidence of a variation of the overpowering manipulation and construction of reality discussed above in relation to the photographs.

Adrien Bonfils clearly articulated his family's romantic longing to preserve 'the pristine character and special *cachet*' of the beloved region they had made their home:

In this century of steam and electricity everything is being transformed ... even places: already in the ancient Plain of Sharon is heard the whistle of the locomotive ... The moment is probably not far off, when the holy Mount of Olives and Tabor will each possess its funicular like Mt Righi [outside Lucerne]! Before that happens, before Progress has completed its destructive work, before this present—which is still the past—has disappeared forever, we have tried, so to speak, to fix and immobilize it in a series of photographic views ... (Gavin 1982: 1).¹⁶

¹⁴ In 1970, during student demonstrations at Harvard University against the United States of America's incursion into Cambodia, two female protesters planted a bomb which blew the roof off the Semitic Museum and revealed a forgotten cache of photographs stored there. Amongst the hundreds of photographs thus 'resurrected' from oblivion, there were a substantial number by the family Bonfils.

¹⁵ See Micklewright, Ch. 20, pls. 20.4 and 20.6.

¹⁶ Gavin is quoting from the unpublished manuscript *Nouveau Testament* by Adrien Bonfils (Beirut 1898).

Here is the romantic's melancholic musings on the unsettling and dark face of industrialisation and urbanisation, and the desire to seek refuge in the past and what was perceived as the 'immutable Orient'. But the Bonfils' desire 'to fix and immobilize' produced landscapes and *vues* of the streets and buildings which indeed preserved and documented Ottoman Jerusalem. These were of interest *per se* and not only for their religious significance (pls. 17.32-17.36).

How did the resident and indigenous population perceive and practice photography? The debate continues on the extent to which anti-iconic religious prohibitions affected the acceptance of photography in Jerusalem by Jews and Muslims (see Nir 1985: 163-84; Gavin 1989: 50-1; Cisgen 1989: 15-16). Economic factors, a complex array of local traditions and customs reinforced by anti-iconic attitudes provide a cluster of reasons why Jewish and Muslim photographers did not appear on the scene until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Although Muslim and Jewish inhabitants allowed themselves to be photographed, it was the local Christians who first practised the art of photography (Hummel 1995: 182-3).

About 1856, M J Diness, Peter Bergheim—both converted Jews—and Yessayi Garabedian, then the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, experimented with photographic technology. All acquired their skills from Westerners or Western-trained photographers, and each embraced the Western conventions and *modus operandi* of photographing landscape and people (see Wahrman 1993: 15-19 and Hummel 1995: 185-7). Yessayi realised the enormous potential of photography to educate its viewers, to record cultural monuments and to disseminate information. In his autobiography, Patriarch Yessayi stated that one of his ultimate goals in establishing a photographic atelier (1865-85) within the Armenian Convent of St James, was 'familiarizing the nation [Armenian] with the Holy Places through photographs' (Garabedian 1938: 45) (pls. 17.37-17.38).

The clergy who were apprenticed at the convent mastered not only the art of producing panoramas, images of the 'Holy Places', and stereoscopes but also the *carte de visite* (2.25ins x 3.5ins) and the cabinet portraits (4.5ins x 5ins) which were so popular in the West. Now in addition to the mother-of-pearl or olive-wood *objet de pitié*, the pilgrim could commission a portrait of himself as both souvenir and documentation of his newly-acquired 'hajji' status. Pilgrims, indigenous inhabitants and resident Westerners passed through the portals of St James Convent to be photographed in a Western-style studio complete with backdrops of columns, drapery and foliage—all the trappings of Western bourgeois decorum (pls. 17.39-17.41).

The work of the Armenian atelier was carried on by Yessayi's photographic disciple, Garabed Krikorian, who in

1885 created his own photographic studio which survived outside Jaffa Gate until 1948 (pl. 17.42). Kaiser Wilhelm II's visit to Jerusalem in 1898 was memorable for many reasons, one of them being that it provided the impetus for the launch of the photographic successes of Krikorian and the struggling American/Swedish religious enclave, the American Colony. Krikorian proudly proclaimed on his colophon (verso of a *carte de visite*) that he was now 'Königl. Preuss. Hof-Photograf'—the Prussian Emperor's Court Photographer (pls. 17.43-17.44). In 1898 Krikorian was commissioned to provide photographs for 'Abd al-Hamid's private photographic collection in Istanbul (Landau 1979: 3). It was at Krikorian's atelier that Khalil Raad, an Arab Lebanese Christian, was apprenticed before opening his own studio on Jaffa Road (pl. 17.45). In addition to providing all the usual tourist and pilgrim services (which included 'dressing up' in Palestinian garb, especially the *kaffiya*—pl. 17.46), Krikorian, Raad and other local photographers were called upon to document local ceremonies and institutional events (pls. 17.47-17.50).

A tourist or pilgrim could visit the American Colony Store just inside Jaffa Gate and inspect eleven albums of over 5,000 photographs of Palestine and the Middle East. As George Hobart states in his introduction to *The Middle East in Pictures* by Eric Matson, who was the chief photographer for the Colony and later for its successor, the Matson Photo Service: 'Many of these photographs were carefully and artistically conceived examples of the photographic estheticism of that period [1898-1934], while many more were matter-of-fact documentation of persons, places, and events' (Hobart in Matson 1980 1: 1) (pls. 17.51-17.59). The members of the American Colony, which had been founded in Jerusalem in 1881 as a messianic commune, quickly integrated into the local scene where they freely mingled with Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities and, after 1898, roamed the city and countryside with their photographic equipment. They were even permitted to photograph Turkish, German and Austrian activities in Palestine during the First World War (pl. 17.60). Their stereographs, prints, lantern slides and postcards found their way into many a tourist's luggage, were sold via catalogue to customers around the world and illustrated articles written by members of the American Colony about the Holy Land.¹⁷

The resident and local photographers brought with them—or assimilated—the Western way of seeing, whether it was the positioning of the subject in *carte de visite* portraits or the framing of panoramas (pls. 17.61-17.63). Most importantly, the acceptance of the Western technology of photography entailed the adoption of

¹⁷ See, for example, 'Village Life in Palestine' by John Whiting, with photographs by Lewis Larsson, for *The National Geographic* (Washington, March 1914).

Western cultural presuppositions about perception and knowledge. The Western cultural imperative to capture people, places and events *in situ*, to replicate the empirical reality or, as Barclay stated, to provide '*fac-similes* of nature' entered the Orient with the camera. The epistemological tenet of the Western philosophy of positivism—that reality is reducible to discrete bits of information—found an evangelical medium in the photograph which presented the viewer with visual 'facts'.

Our goal here has not been to furnish a comprehensive chronological survey,¹⁸ but rather to make the reader sensitive to the necessity of approaching images of Ottoman Jerusalem as constructed realities, and to ask the appropriate questions about a photograph. Christopher Pinney of the Royal Anthropological Institute states that

... the notion of photography as the 'real thing' precludes any acknowledgement of the maker. And yet these images, because they are vital historical documents of anthropology and colonialism, have to enter the public domain and the problem then arises of deconstructing their original content. One

route to the deconstruction of the object is to introduce the figure of the objectifier ... the photographer ... either literally or by signalling and awareness that the object is a subject which has been objectified by ... the photographer (Pinney 1989 1: 59).

The modern viewer who does not accept the photograph as a Barclayian '*fac-simile*' is then obliged to ask questions about the context of the photograph. Who is the 'maker'? What is the nature of the relationship between the person being photographed and the photographer? Is there a disparity of power between the subject and objectifier? Why was the image made? Who was the intended audience? The West biblicalised, romanticised and finally 'imperialised' Jerusalem, and in the process unintentionally bequeathed to its inhabitants a visual legacy which still needs to be fully claimed. The late 20th-century spectator has the task of becoming conversant, if not fluent, in the 'historical grammar' and visual vernacular of the 19th century in order to have the possibility of utilising this legacy as an historical tool with which to reconstruct the city and people of Ottoman Jerusalem.

¹⁸ The numbers of photographers—individuals and institutional—was, to say the least, substantial. Perez (1988: 76) gives the number of photographers who were resident or travelling in the Middle East between 1839-1885 alone as two hundred and fifty.



Pl. 17.1 The Mount of Olives (1860). Note the absence both of the Russian Church of Mary Magdalene and of the Church of the Agony (Peter Berghem, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.2 Jaffa Gate from the Bethlehem Road (1860) from the crest of the Hinnom Valley with the *sabil* of Sulaiman the Magnificent at the mouth of the Gehenna Valley, commonly known today as Sultan's Pool (Peter Bergheim, Library of Congress).



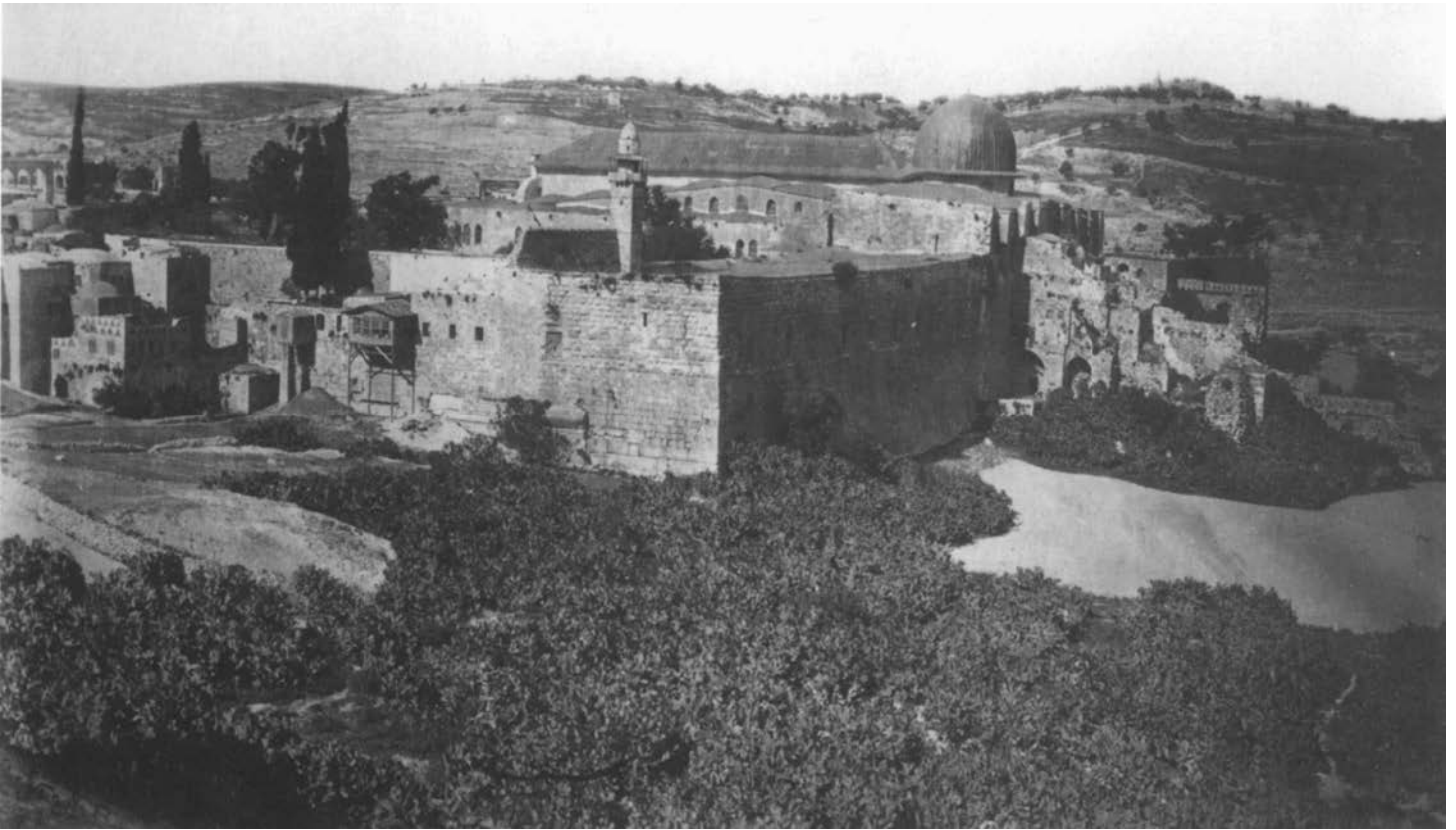
Pl. 17.3 View of the Pool of Hezekiah (1860) from what is now the Petra Hotel. Of special interest is the open plot of land to the south of the Holy Sepulchre called the Muristan or Dabagha. Today it is the site of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, and Suq Aftimos. The Dome of the Holy Sepulchre is shown in a state of disrepair (the renovations on the dome were completed in 1869). The hills of the Mount of Olives are still bare (Francis Frith, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.4 The Dome of the Rock taken from the city wall as it descends from the Gate of Nabi Da'ud (Zion Gate) towards the Maghribi Gate (Dung Gate) in 1858. Note the buildings of the Maghribi quarter to the west of the Haram al-Sharif and the banks of *sabr* (cactus) within the city walls (Francis Frith, Library of Congress).



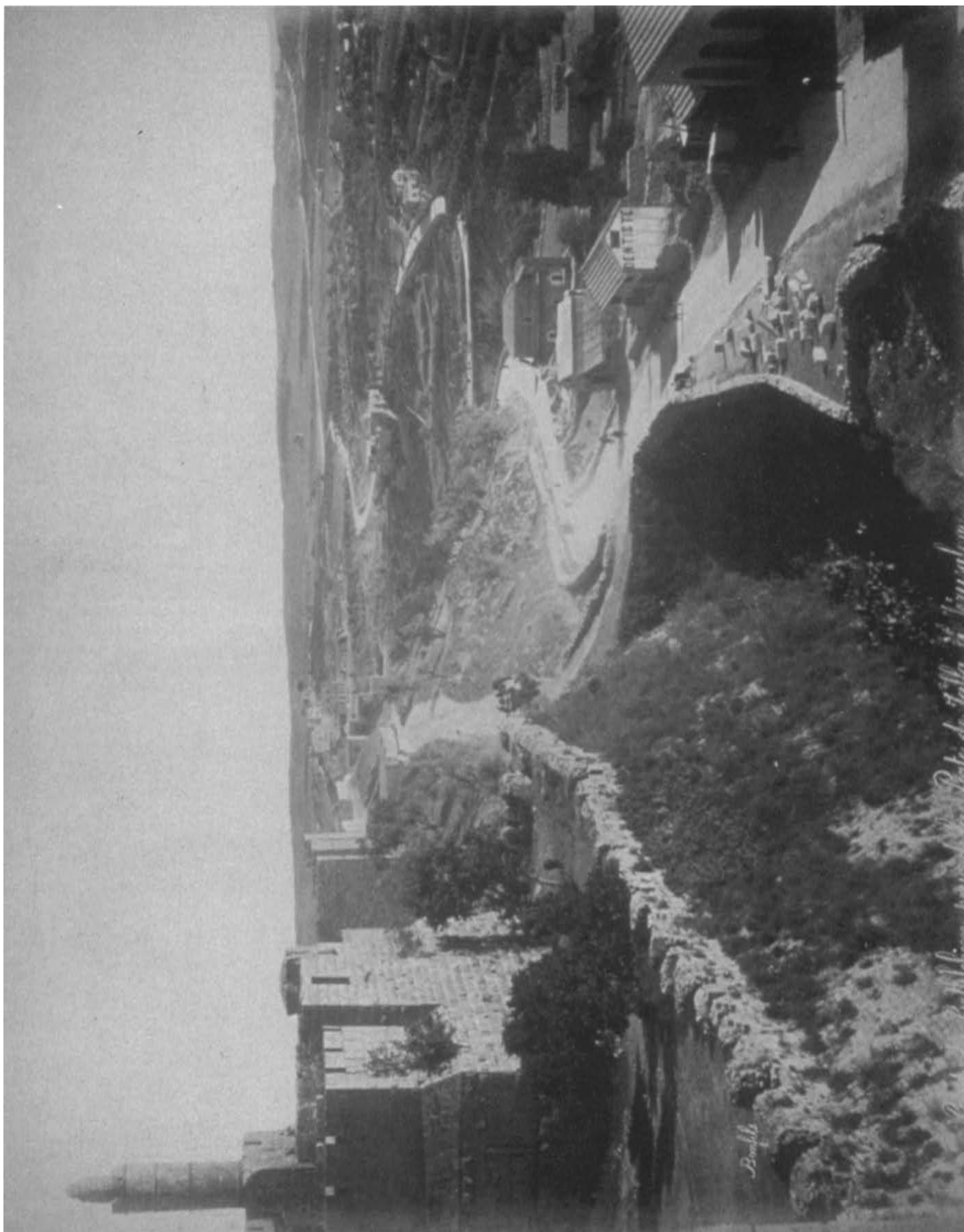
Pl. 17.5 Panoramic view of the Haram al Sharif (1858). This photograph by Diness offers a more comprehensive view of the Maghribi Quarter, demolished in 1967 (M J Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



Pl. 17.6 Al-Aqsa Mosque (1860) taken from the south west. In the foreground are the fields of *sabr*. The secondary roof-tops of the mosque which were destroyed in the earthquake of 1927 are clearly visible (Bergheim, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.7 Walls of the city from the Birkat Mamilla and cemetery in 1857. The mausoleum from the Mamluk period can be seen at the left of the pool (M J Diness, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh).



Pl. 17.8 The Citadel and the road leading to Bethlehem and Hebron c.1875 (Bonfils, Collection of Fouad Debbas, Paris).



Pl. 17.9 The St. Anne complex from the north-east corner of the walls of the city c.1860. Note the absence of the residential quarters and seminary of the Pères Blancs (Peter Berheim, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.10 A rare photograph (early 1860s) of the vacant space immediately to the left of the entrance of Jaffa Gate which is presently occupied by the Imperial Hotel and the Latin Patriarchate (Collection of the American Colony, Jerusalem).



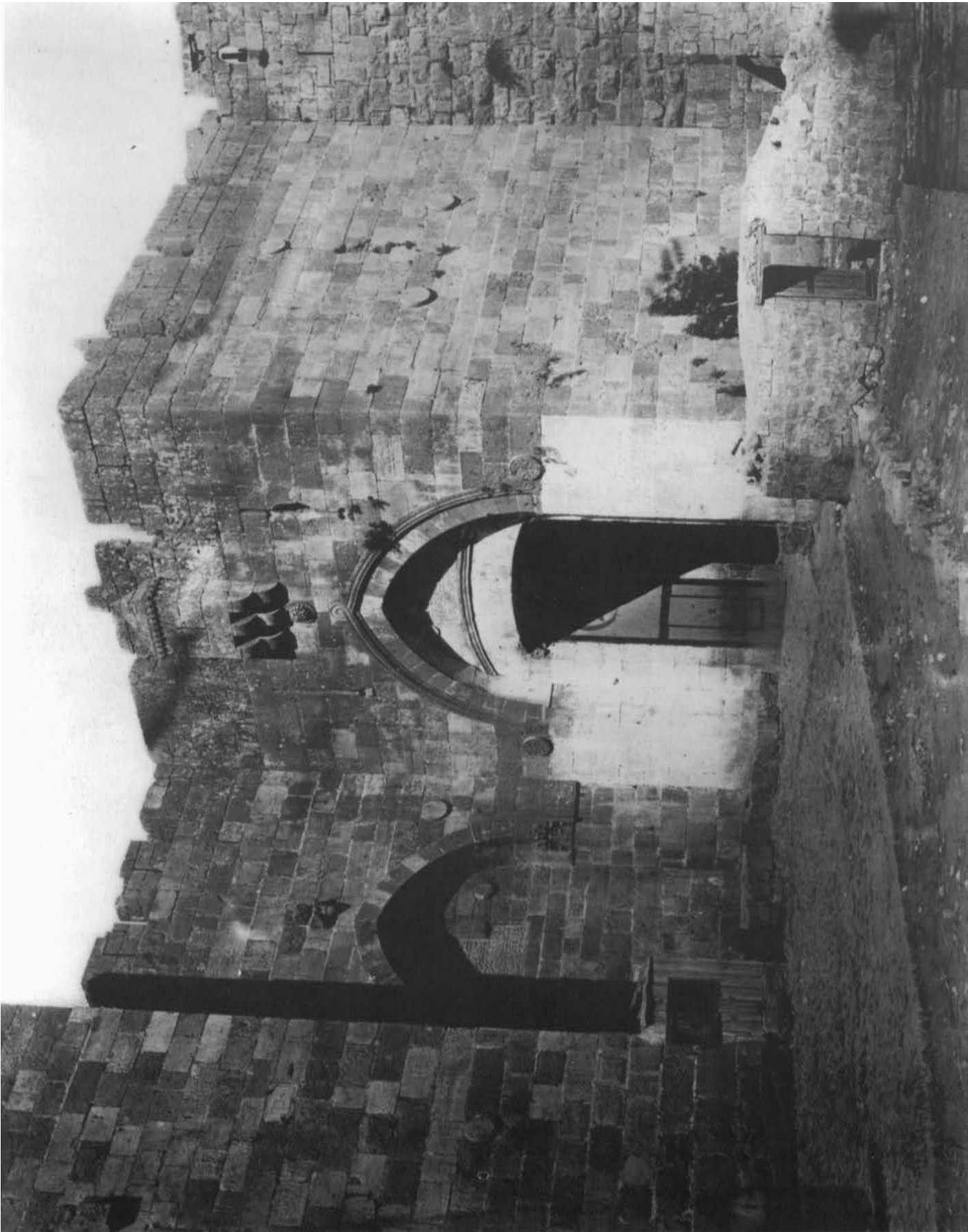
Pl. 17.11 Mount Zion c.1856 from the north with the Tomb of David (Nabi Da'ud), the Cenacle and the American Cemetery (behind the stone wall enclosure on the right). The space in the foreground, including the American cemetery, is now the site of the Dormition Abbey complex (M J Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



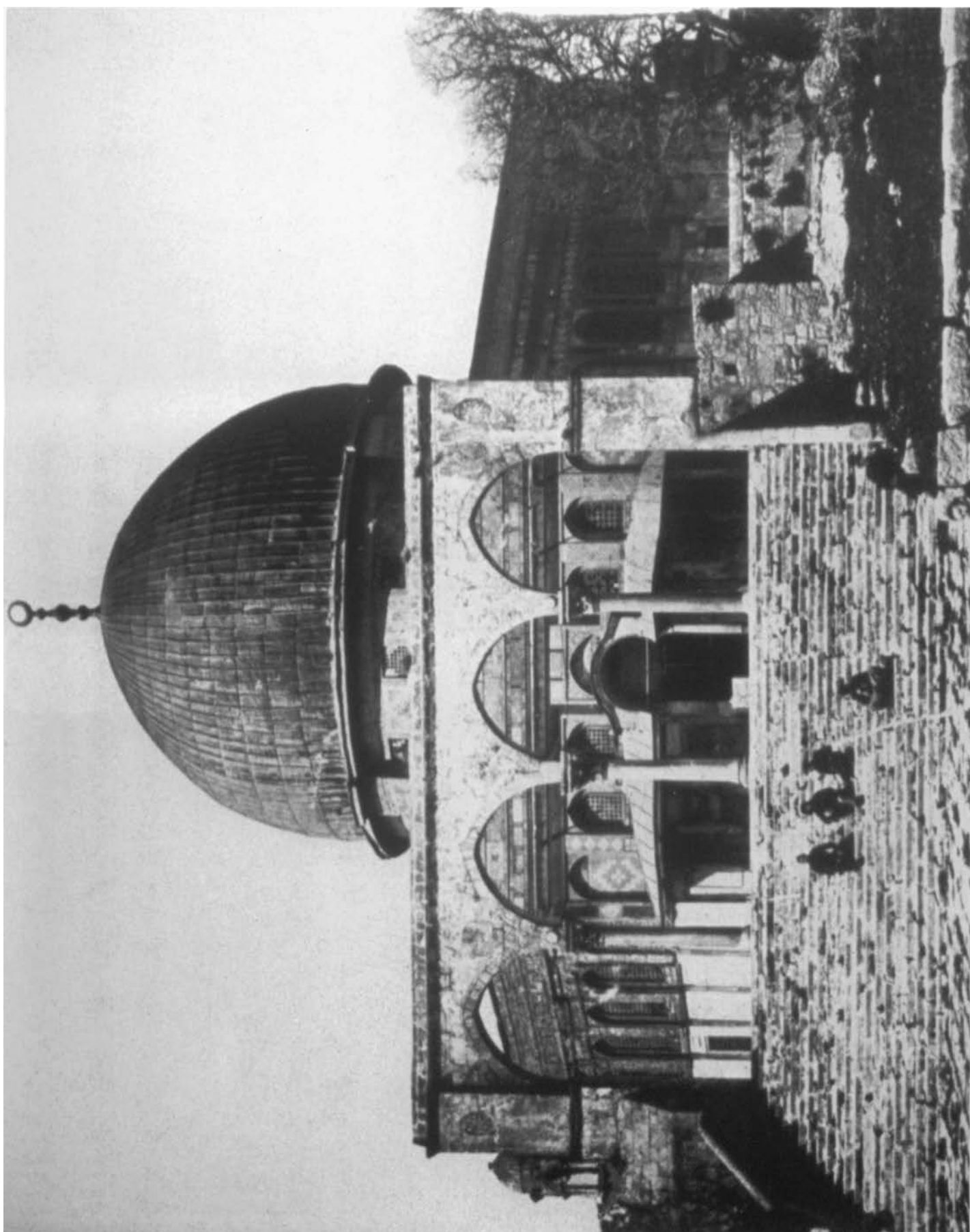
Pl. 17.12 The Damascus Gate, which was the only northern entrance to the Old City when Bonfils photographed it in the mid-1860s (Bonfils, Collection of Fouad Debbas, Paris).



Pl. 17.13 St Stephen's, or Lion's Gate, c.1860 with two cenotaphs visible behind the stone wall of the Muslim cemetery to the left (Peter Bergheim, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.14 Jaffa Gate c.1860 with its unpaved approach and unbreached wall to the left (Peter Bergheim, Library of Congress).



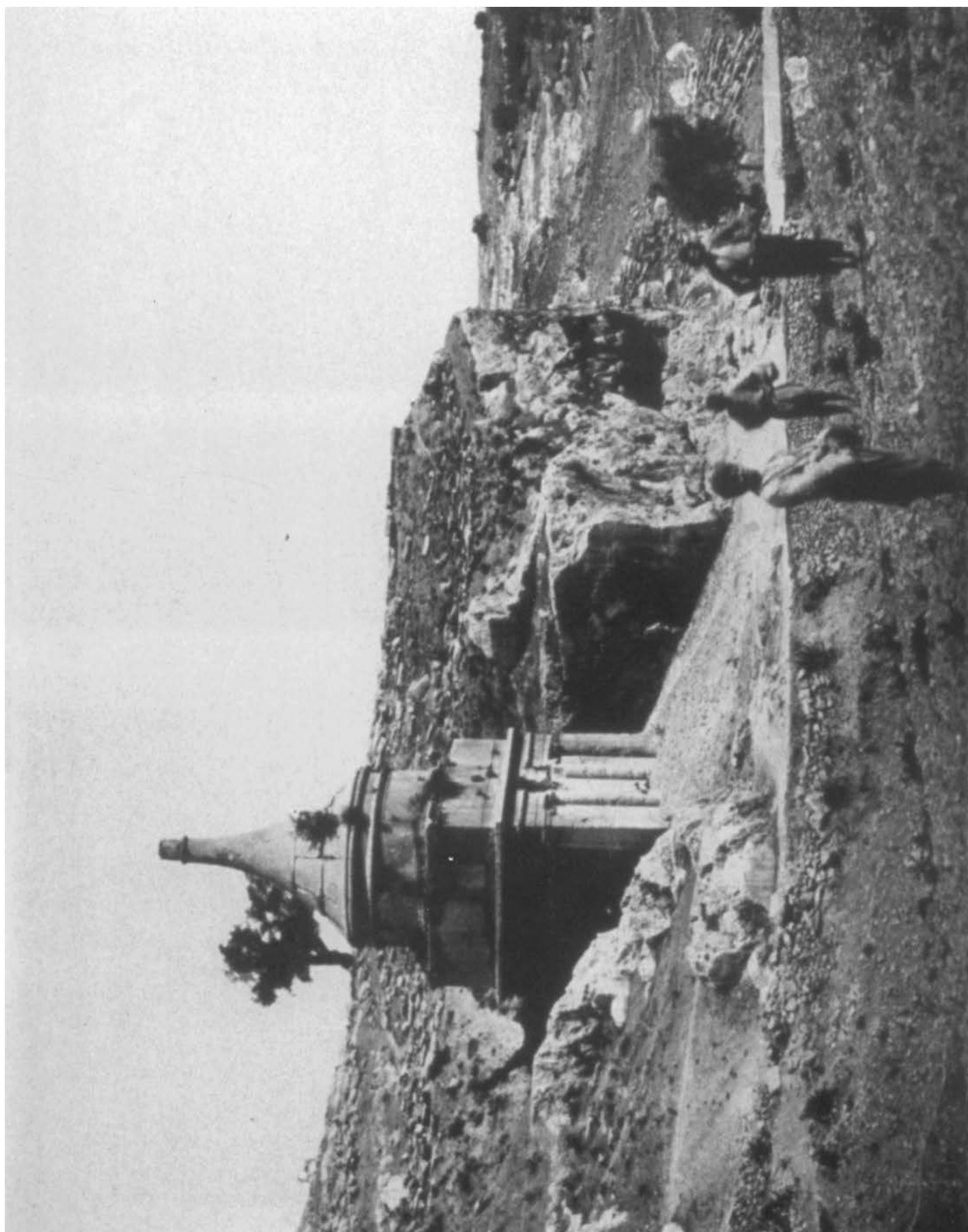
P1. 17.15 The western staircase leading into the Haram al Sharif c.1856 (M J Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



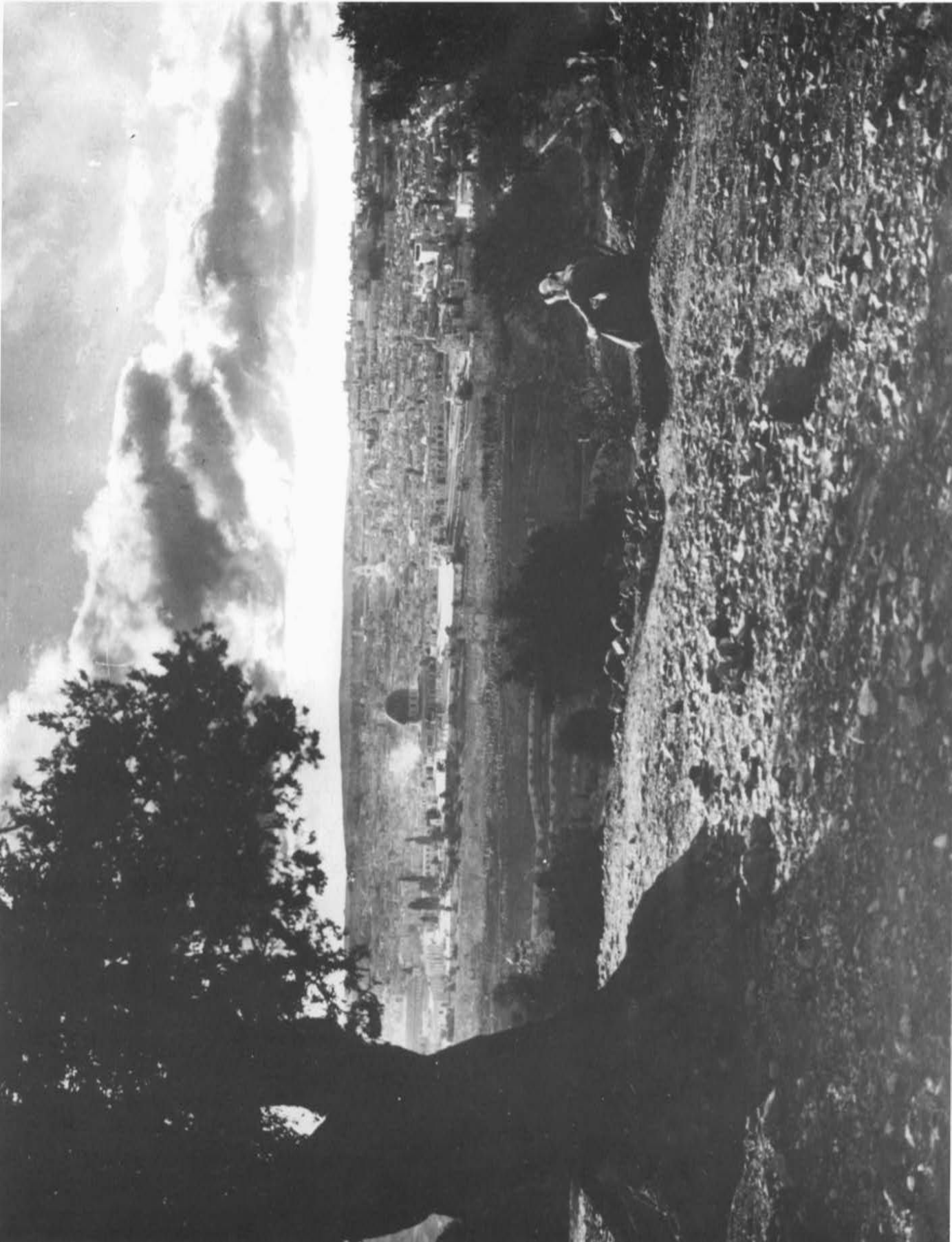
Pl. 17.16 The Tomb of Zachariah, a lithograph from a painting by David Roberts. Roberts' training as a theatrical designer is evident from his 'staging' of this painting with crucially-placed humans and an exaggerated out-cropping of rock behind the tomb. In pls. 17.17 and 17.18 it can be seen how the artists and photographers 'borrowed' angles and compositions from one another (David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Egypt*, 1st edition, 1842).



Pl. 17.17 Absalom's Tomb, a lithograph from a painting by W H Bartlett (W H Bartlett, *Walks about the Environs of Jerusalem*, 1842).



Pl. 17.18 Tomb of Absalom c.1857 (M.J. Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



Pl. 17.19. A shepherd contemplating the sunset over Jerusalem and an olive tree in the foreground create a biblicalised Holy City c.1910 (Lewis Larrson, John Larrson Collection).



Pl. 17.20 Lepers evoked biblical associations and thus were a popular subject among visiting photographers. The caption on this stereoscope (1896) reads 'Unclean! Unclean! Wretched Lepers Outside of Jerusalem' (*Works and Studios*, Hummel Collection).



Pl. 17.21 Bedouin tents pitched outside of Damascus Gate (c.1896 stereograph) and an accompanying flock of sheep vivify the biblical landscape (*Works and Studios*, photograph copyright of Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection).



Pl. 17.22 Man with a *narghila* c.1856 (J M Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



Pl. 17.23 The governor of Jerusalem, Surayya Pasha (1857-64), who gave permission to Diness to photograph in the Haram al-Sharif in 1859. Diness gave this photograph the title *Governor of Jerusalem with Secretary and Slave* (J M Diness, John Barnier Collection, Archives for Historical Documentation).



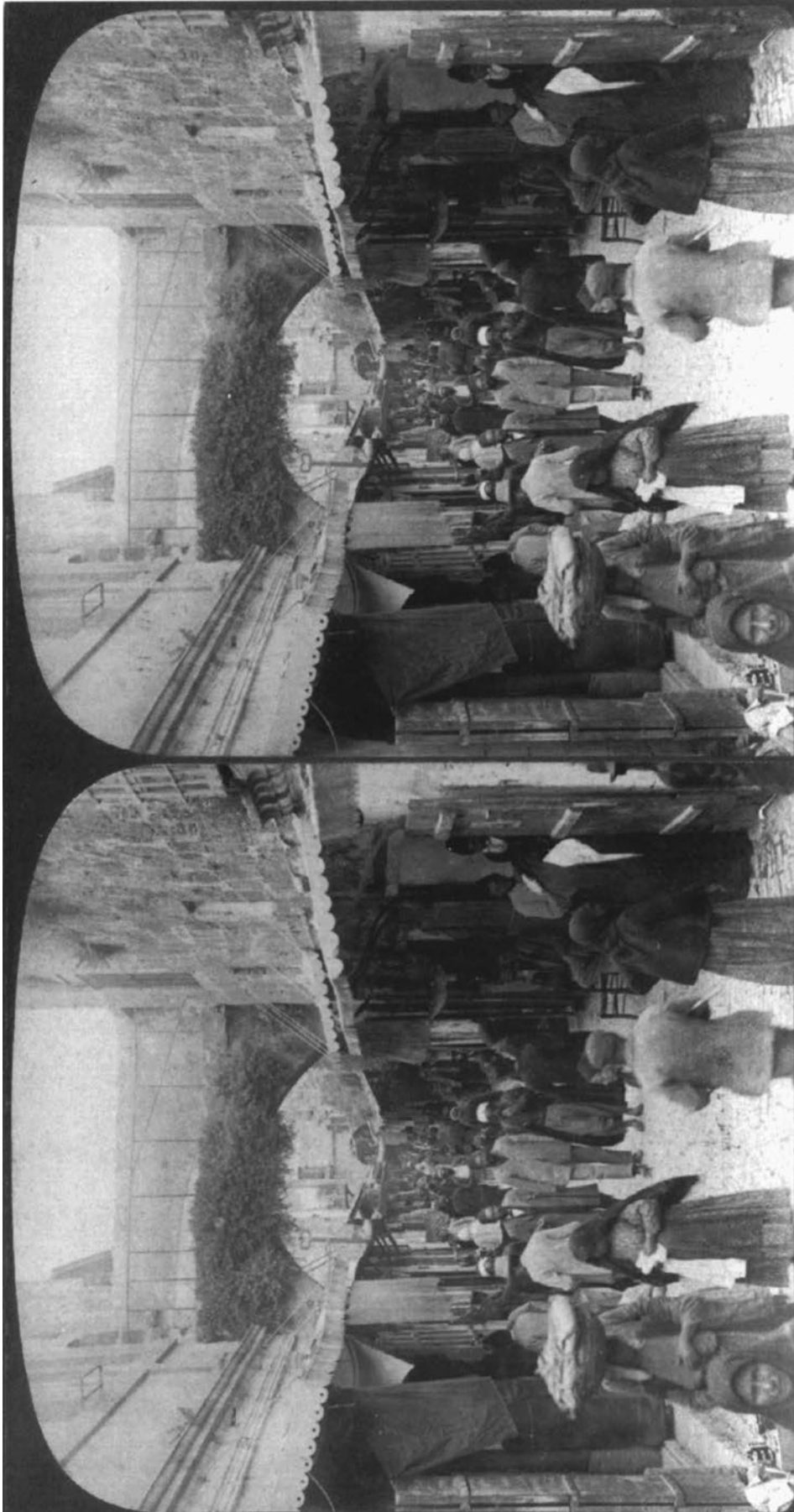
Pl. 17.25 Although the nearly twelve-foot high *sabr* depicted above (1894) intrigued the photographer *per se*, the author used it (see text) as an opportunity to discourse on the biblical narrative (R E M Bain, in *Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee*).



Pl. 17.24 Two *fallahin* posed at the southeast corner of the Old City overlooking the Kidron Valley and with the Garden of Gethsemane in the background c.1900 (*Works and Studios*, photograph copyright of Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection).



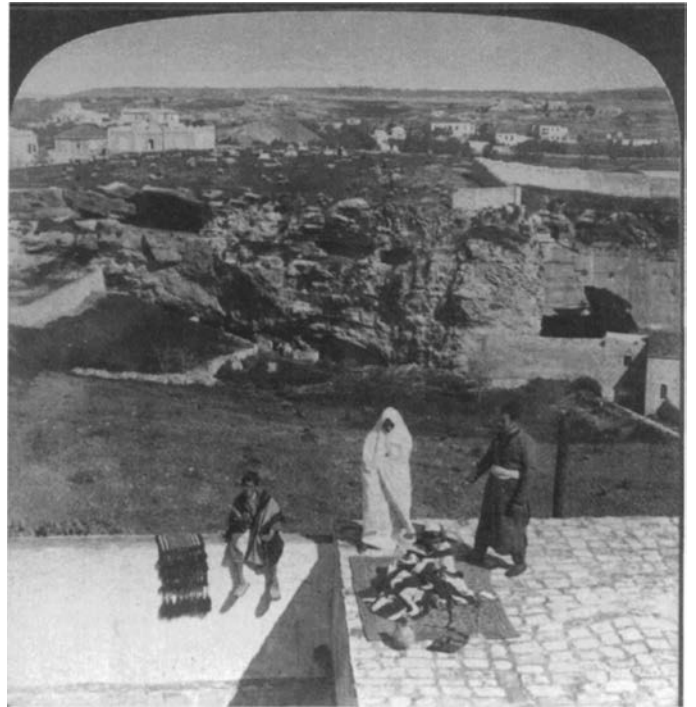
Pl. 17.26 This photograph (c.1900) entitled *The Lord is my Shepherd*, from a series on the Twenty-Third Psalm produced by the American Colony, depicts a Palestine as most tourists and pilgrims wished to it to be—untouched by the passage of two millennia (American Colony Studio, Matson Collection, Library of Congress).



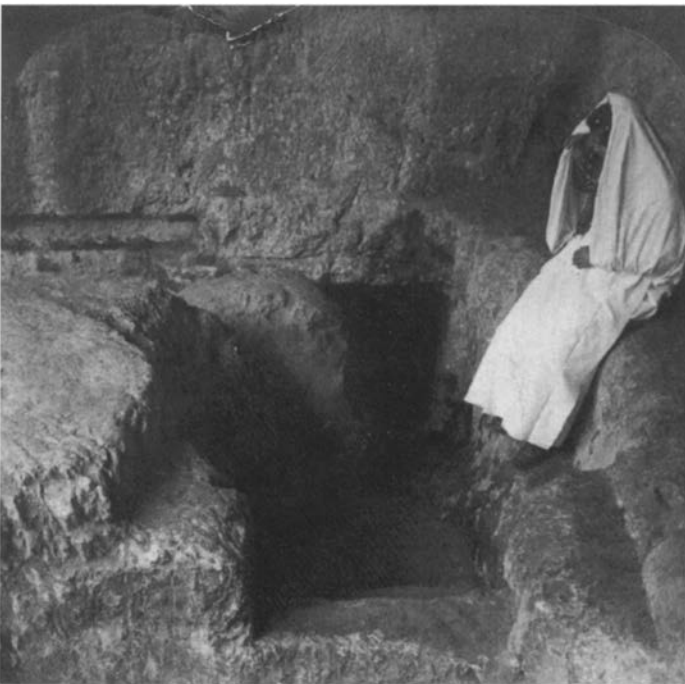
Pl. 17.27 A stereograph (c.1900), from the series *The Holy Land through the Stereoscope*, entitled *Christian Street—motley life in the Holy City's bazaar district (Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection)*. These two similar but not identical images were intended to be viewed superimposed one upon the other through a stereoscope, to produce a three-dimensional image.



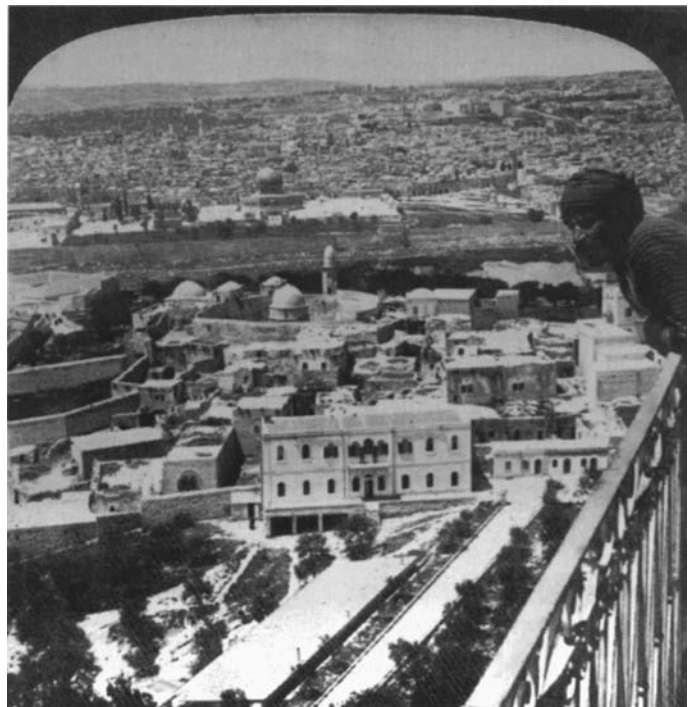
Pl. 17.28 *Cattle market day in the Lower Pool of Gihon, Valley of Hinnom (Isaiah XXII: 9)—a stereograph, c.1900 (Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection).*



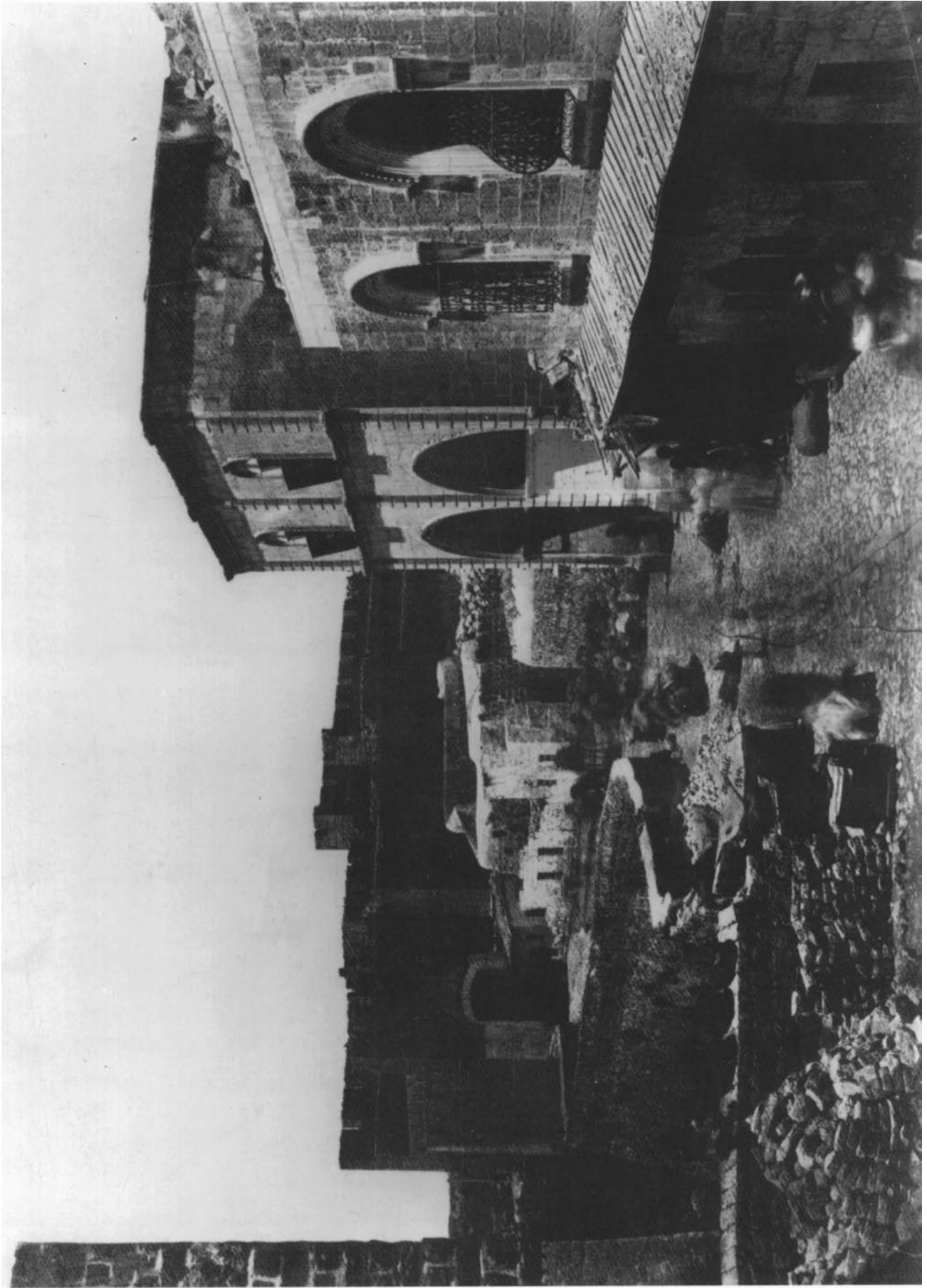
Pl. 17.29 *'The New Calvary' outside the Damascus Gate from the northern wall, stereograph c.1901. The four indigenous people are in this photograph to provide biblical overtones to Gordon's Tomb, considered by many Protestants to be the actual tomb of Christ. In the background are tombstones of the Bab al-Zahra cemetery and the newly established neighbourhood of Shaikh Jarrah (Works and Studios, photograph copyright of Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection).*



Pl. 17.30 *A Tomb with the Stone rolled away, stereograph c.1901. Although this is the Tomb of the Kings, north of St George's Cathedral, the woman in 'biblical' attire is placed next to the tomb by the photographer to evoke scriptural associations of Easter morning when the three women found Christ's tomb empty (Works and Studios, photograph copyright of Underwood and Underwood, Hummel Collection).*



Pl. 17.31 *Jerusalem . . . seen west from a tower on Olivet, Palestine, stereograph c.1900. The tower is the belfry of the Russian Convent on the summit of the Mount of Olives. The Church of the Ascension and the Dome of the Rock can be seen in the background (Underwood and Underwood).*



Pl. 17.32 An unusual photograph of Jaffa Gate in the early 1860s. None of the buildings in the photograph exist today. Note also the unbreached city wall with battlements to the left of the Gate (Bonfils, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.33 Jaffa Gate was the hub of commercial activity in the Old City. In the background of this photograph (late 1870s) can be seen Cook's Travel Office, the American Consulate (in the upper floor of the same building) and one wall of the Austrian Post Office to the extreme right (Bonfils, Collection of Fouad Debbas, Archives for Historical Documentation).



Pl. 17.34 Many hotels and souvenir shops were located inside Jaffa Gate to cater to the needs of the tourists and pilgrims. In the forefront to the right of this photograph (c.1881) the New Grand Hotel, which was built in 1881, is clearly visible. The souvenir shop of Boulos Meo, seen in the foreground, closed in 1997 after over 120 years in business (Bonfils, Collection of Fouad Debbas, Paris).



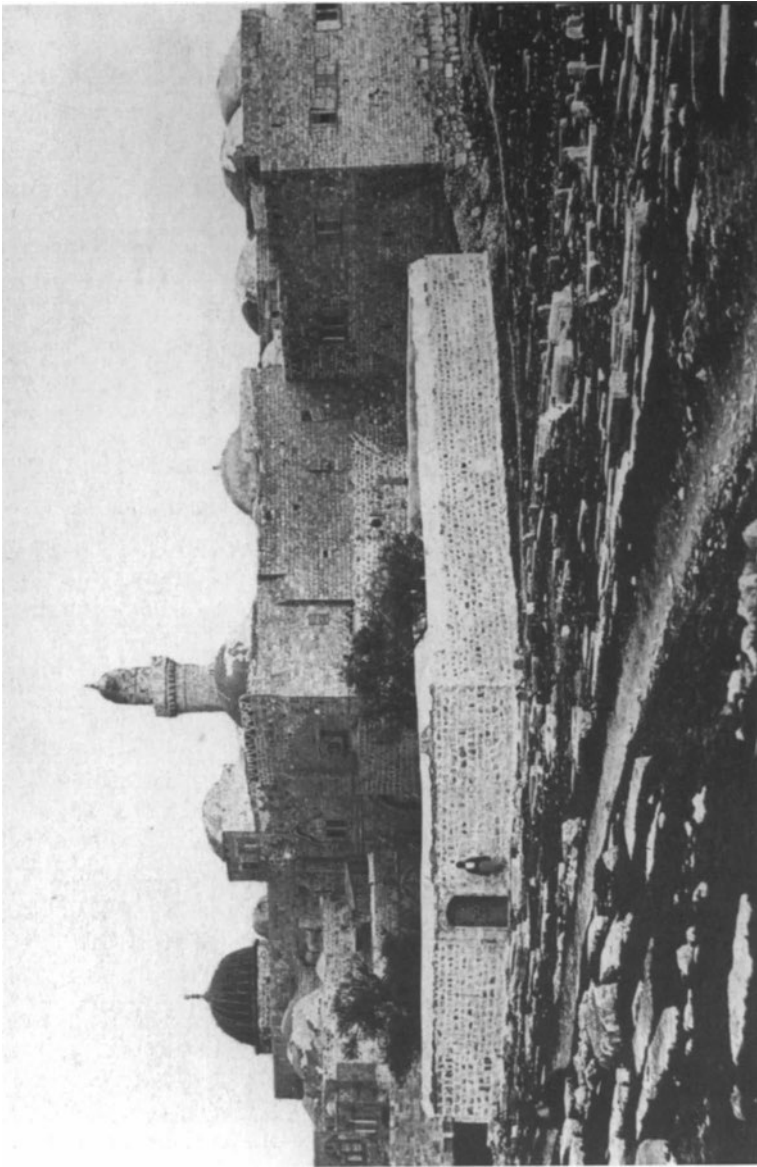
Pl. 17.35 In the early 1890s Jaffa Street, which ran north-south along the city wall, was the busiest commercial artery of the city and was lined with shops and coffee houses (Bonfils, Collection of Ralph Marcove, Archives for Historical Documentation).



Pl. 17.36 The newly-constructed Russian Compound in the background including Holy Trinity Church to the left, taken from the western slopes of Mt Zion c. 1870 (Bonfils, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.37 A photograph of the Holy Sepulchre signed and dated 1861 by Yessayi Garabedian. Note the vacant plot of land, today occupied by the Church of the Redeemer and the Aftimos commercial complex, to the west and south west of the Holy Sepulchre (Yessayi Garabedian, Armenian Patriarchate Archives, Jerusalem).



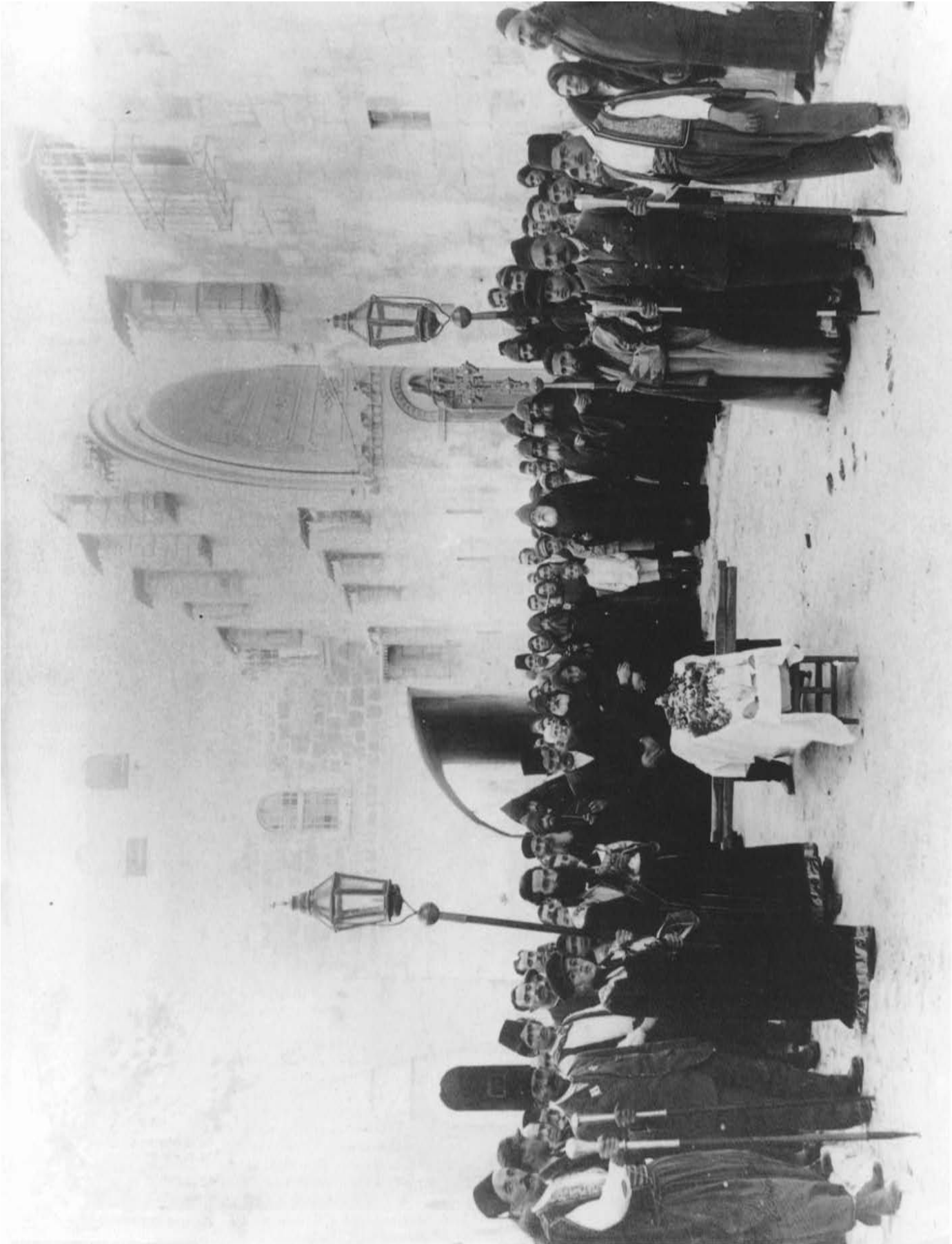
Pl. 17.38 The Tomb of David and the whole residential complex of al-Dajani family and the walled American cemetery is in the foreground. In 1897 the American tombs were moved to the Protestant Cemetery on Mt Zion (Yessayi Garabedian, Stepanian Family Collection, Cairo).



Pl. 17.39 A young Armenian pilgrim couple from the Caucasus in traditional dress, a *cabinet* portrait c.1880. Note the studio rocks and trees (Armenian Convent Studio, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.40 A major in the Ottoman army, a *cabinet* portrait c.1885 (Armenian Convent Studio, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.41 A funeral procession of an Armenian pilgrim girl photographed outside the convent of St James in the early 1880s (Armenian Convent Studio, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.42 Walking towards Jaffa Gate from the north, the pedestrian would pass a line of shops including the photograph studios of Garabed Krikorian (in the foreground to the left), Khalil Raad (on the right almost directly across from Krikorian) and the Greek, Miliadi Savvides. The insignia of the *kaiser*, Krikorian's royal patron (see pl. 17.43), can be seen above his name, c.1910 (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.43 and 44 Krikorian's colophon (on the verso of a cabinet or carte de visite) with Kaiser Wilhelm II's royal insignia and an advertisement highlighting patronage by the *Kaiser* and the sultan (American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.45 Khalil Raad (c.1890). After he served his apprenticeship with Krikorian, Ra'd open his own studio in 1897 (G Krikorian, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



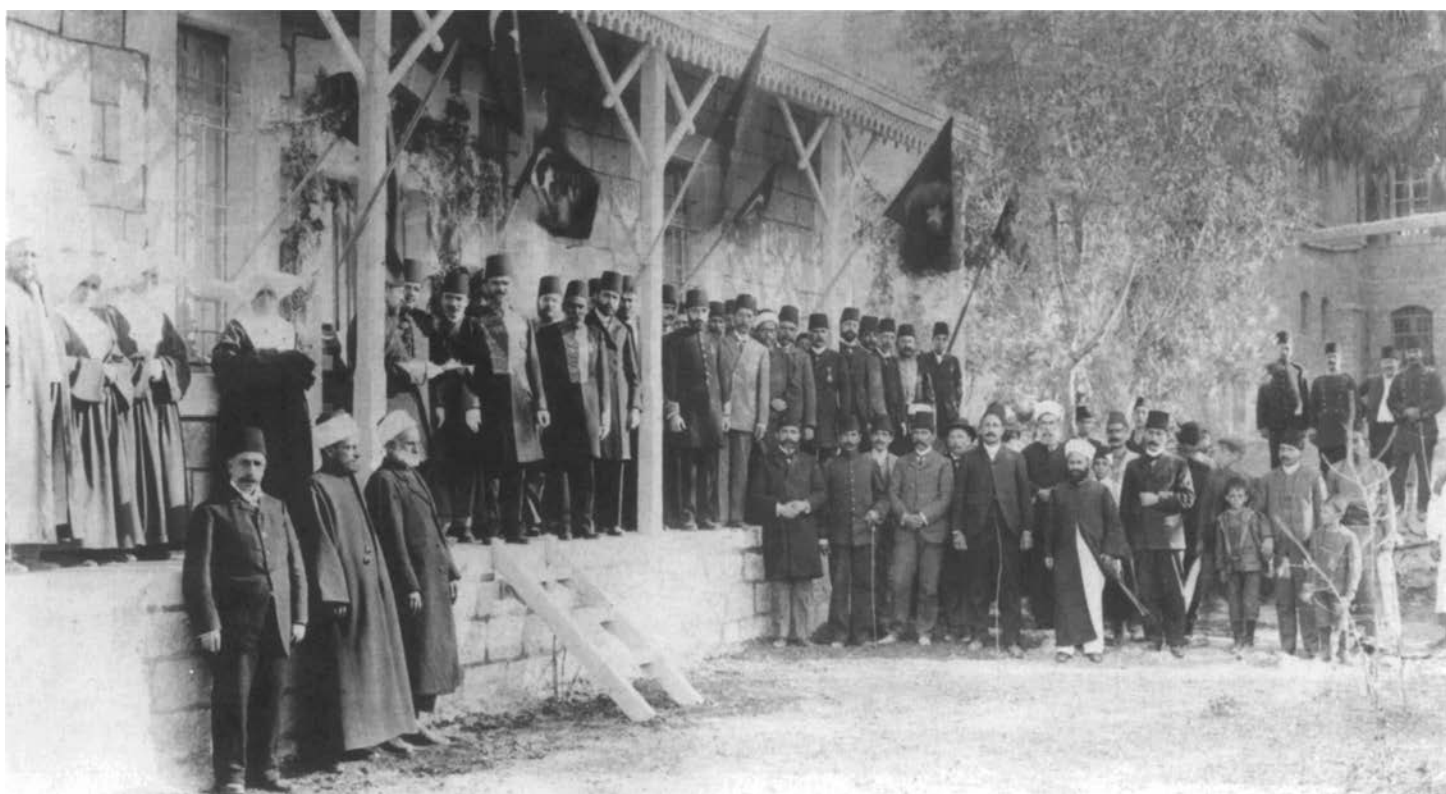
Pl. 17.46 A *carte de visite* portrait of a man who was most probably a tourist (c.1900). He is dressed in Bedouin attire with sword, handgun and rifle, against an unlikely fjord and mountain studio background (G Krikorian, Hummel Collection).



Pl. 17.47 The Jerusalem train station at the inauguration of the Jerusalem to Jaffa railway in 1892 (G Krikorian, Hummel Collection).



Pl. 17.48 A football match near the north-east corner of the Old City outside Bab al-Zahra, c.1910 (Krikorian or Raad, Institute for Palestine Studies).



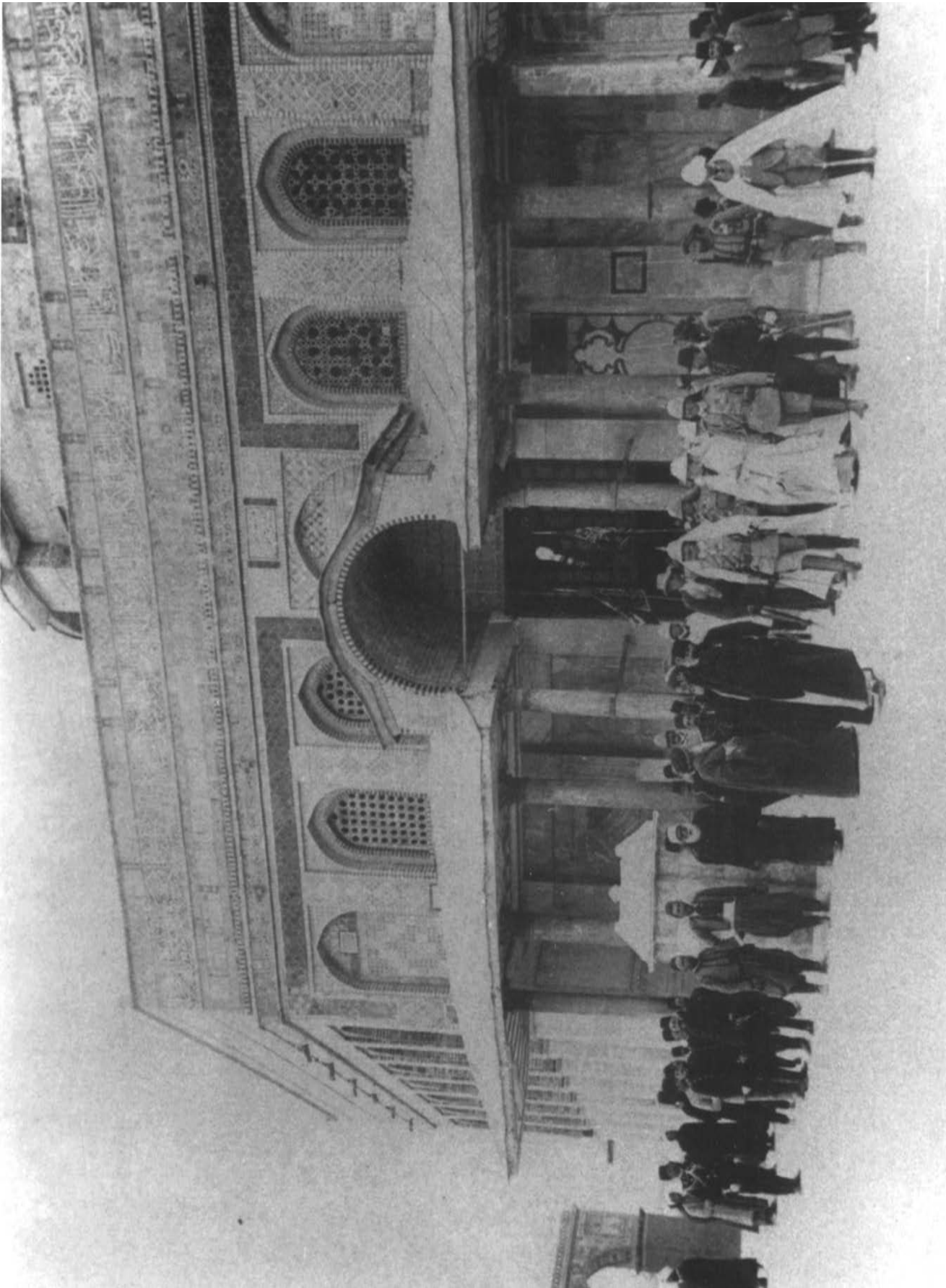
Pl. 17.49 The inauguration of a hospital at the village of Shaikh Badr (c.1910), located on the northern ridge of the Valley of the Cross (Musallaba), attended by Palestinian notables, civil servants and Ottoman officials (Krikorian or Raad, Institute for Palestine Studies).



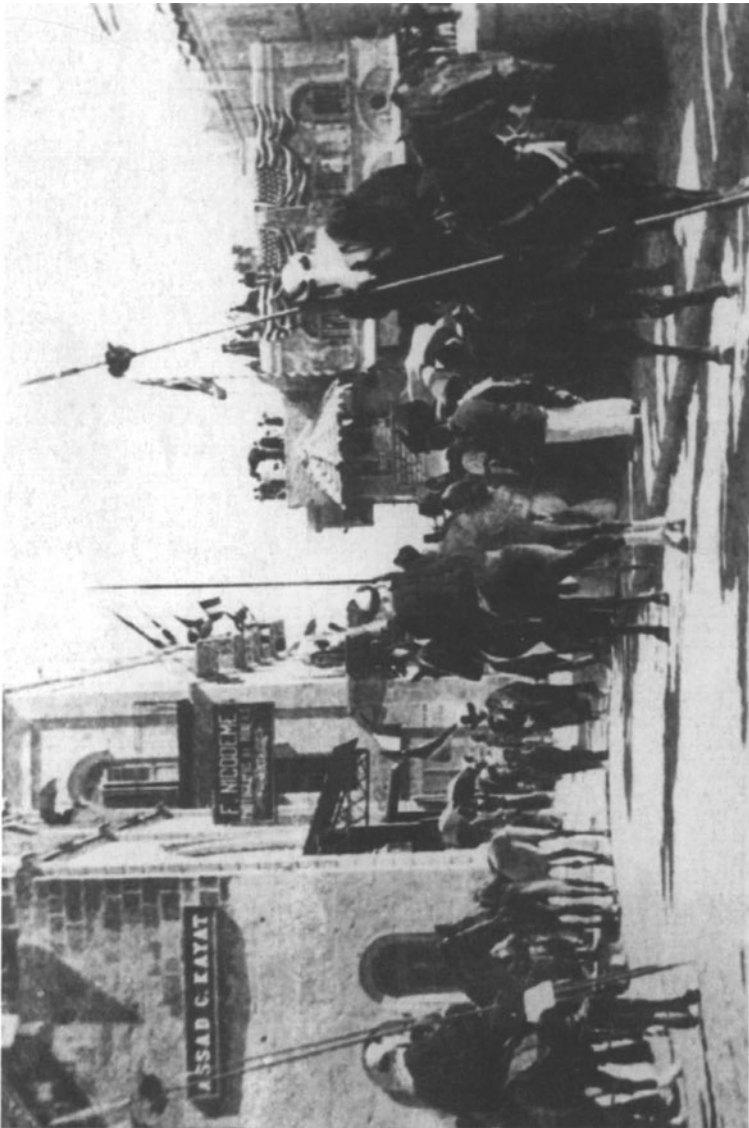
Pl. 17.50 A celebration of al-Hurriyya in 1908 (Krikorian or Raad, Institute for Palestine Studies).



Pl. 17.51 Jaffa Gate decorated with Ottoman and German flags and the imperial crowned eagle to welcome Kaiser Wilhelm II to Jerusalem in 1898 (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



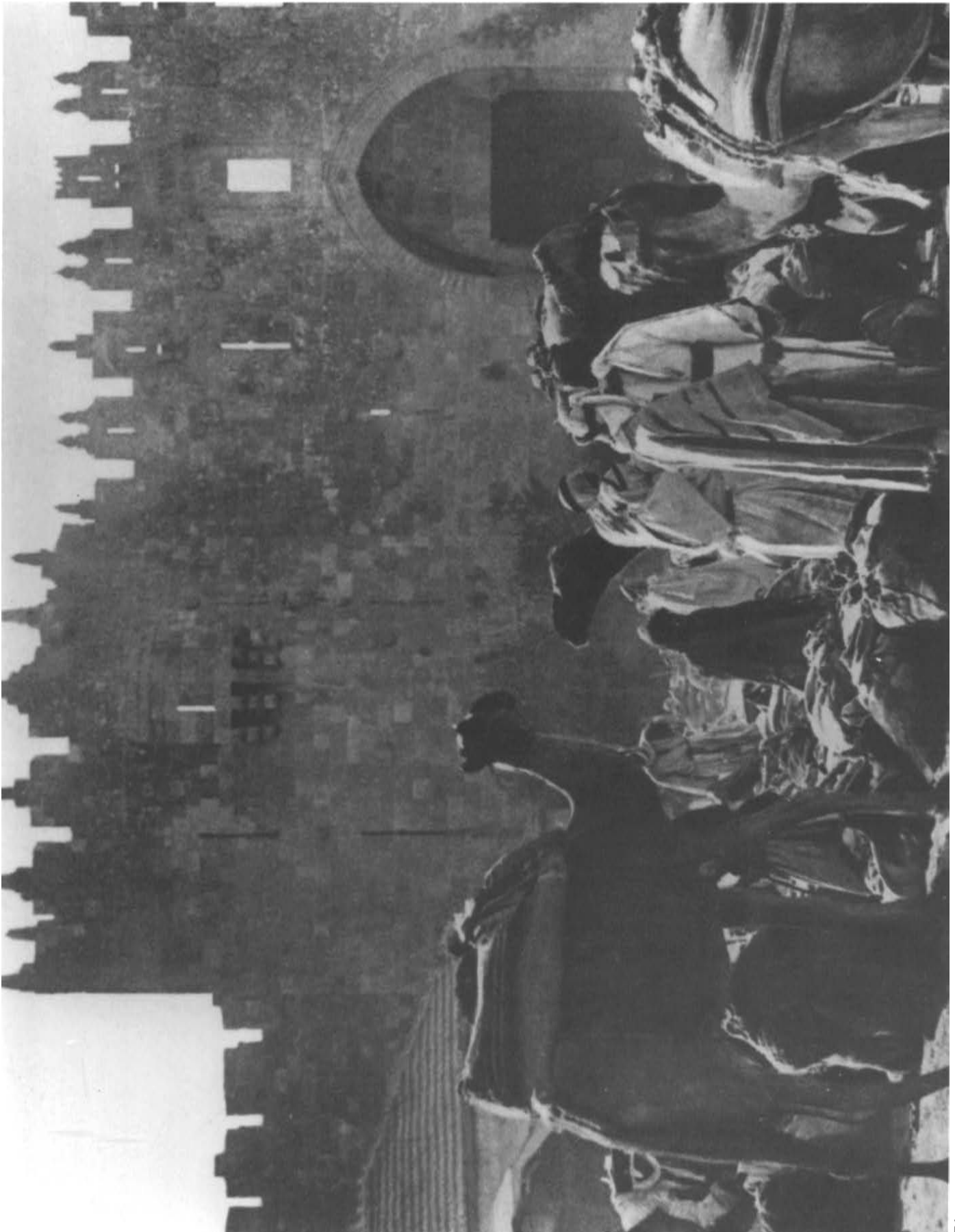
Pl. 17.52 The Kaiser and Kaiserin Augusta Victoria (in centre) in white flowing cloaks on the esplanade on the Dome of the Rock in 1898, with an entourage of German, Ottoman and Arab officials. Note the tomb-like structure, which is no longer extant, in front of the pillars (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



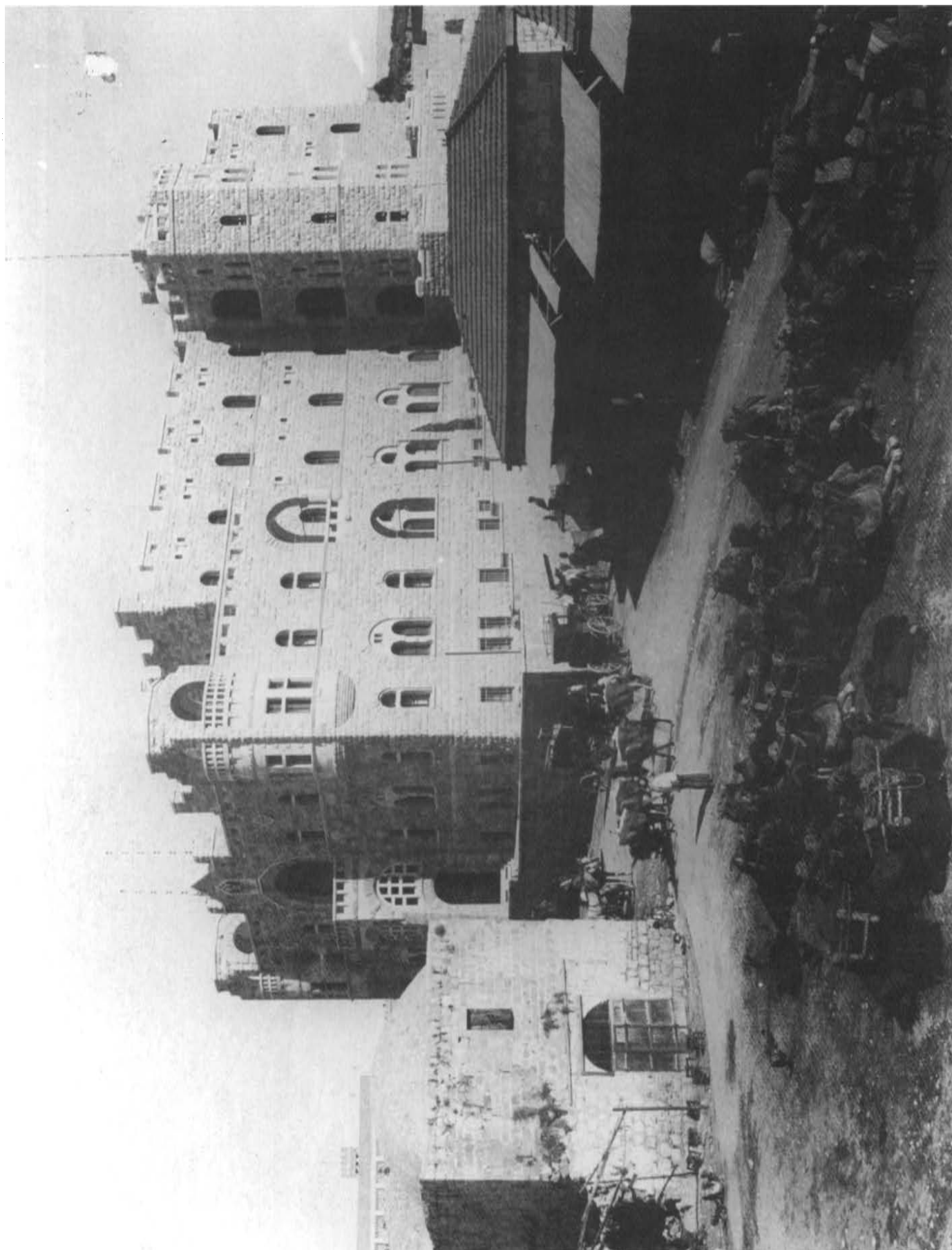
Pl. 17.53 Mounted Bedouin guard-of-honour in 'Umar ibn Khattab Square inside Jaffa Gate, awaiting the arrival of Kaiser Wilhelm II into the city. There are large American flags draping the façade of the American Consulate to the right (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



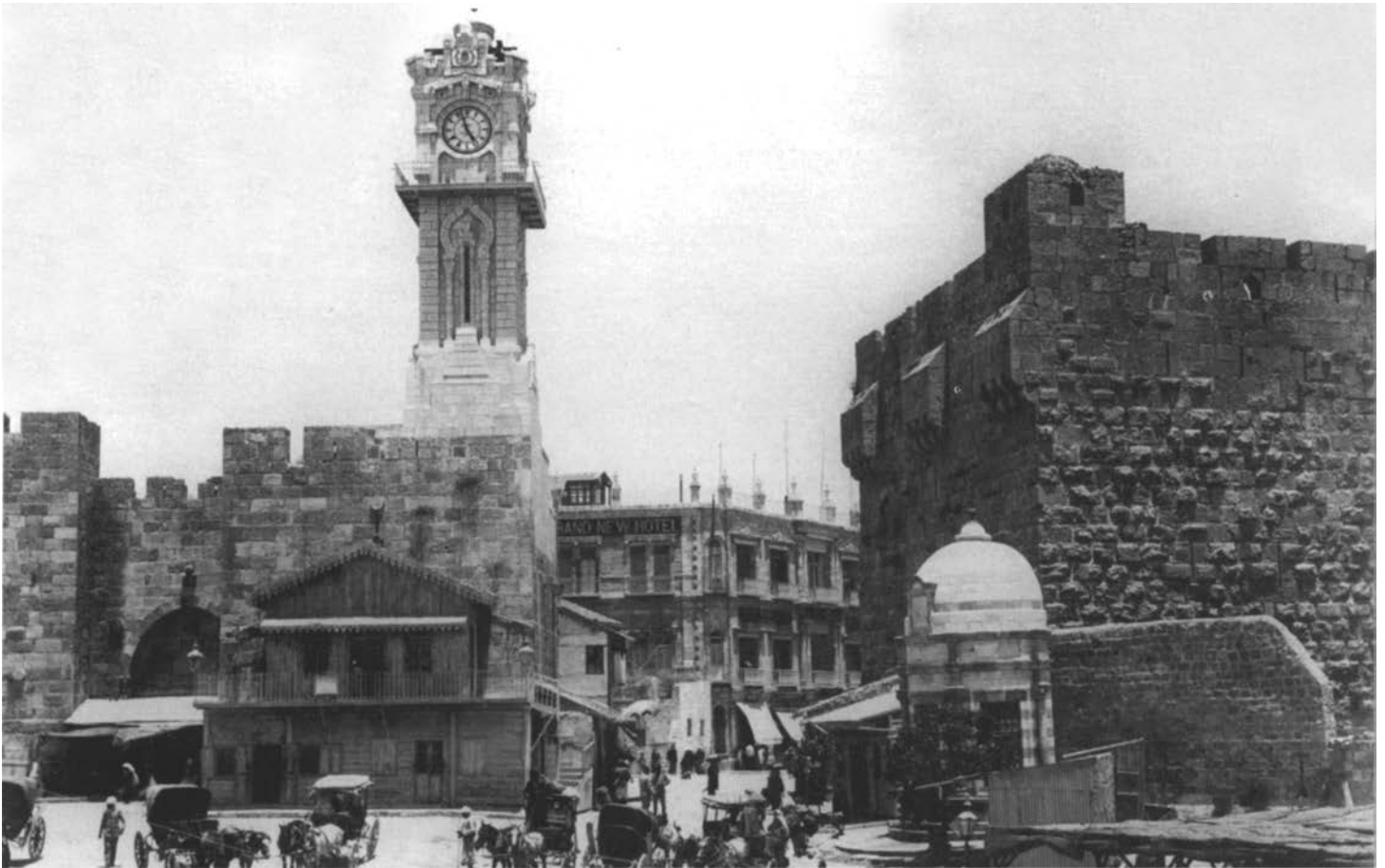
Pl. 17.54 A stereograph (c.1910) of a throng of Muslim pilgrims setting out from Lion's Gate (Bab al-Asbat) to the shrine of Nabi Musa near Jericho (American Colony Studio, Matson Collection, Library of Congress).



Pl. 17.55 A group of Bedouin merchants from Trans-Jordan c. 1908 unloading their sacks of grain at the Damascus Gate (Lewis Larsson, American Colony Studio, John Larsson Collection).



Pl. 17.56 Camel-rest outside Damascus Gate where most agricultural transactions took place. In the background is the newly completed St Paul's Hospice (c.1910) which was funded by Kaiser Wilhelm II and currently houses the Schmidt College for Girls (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



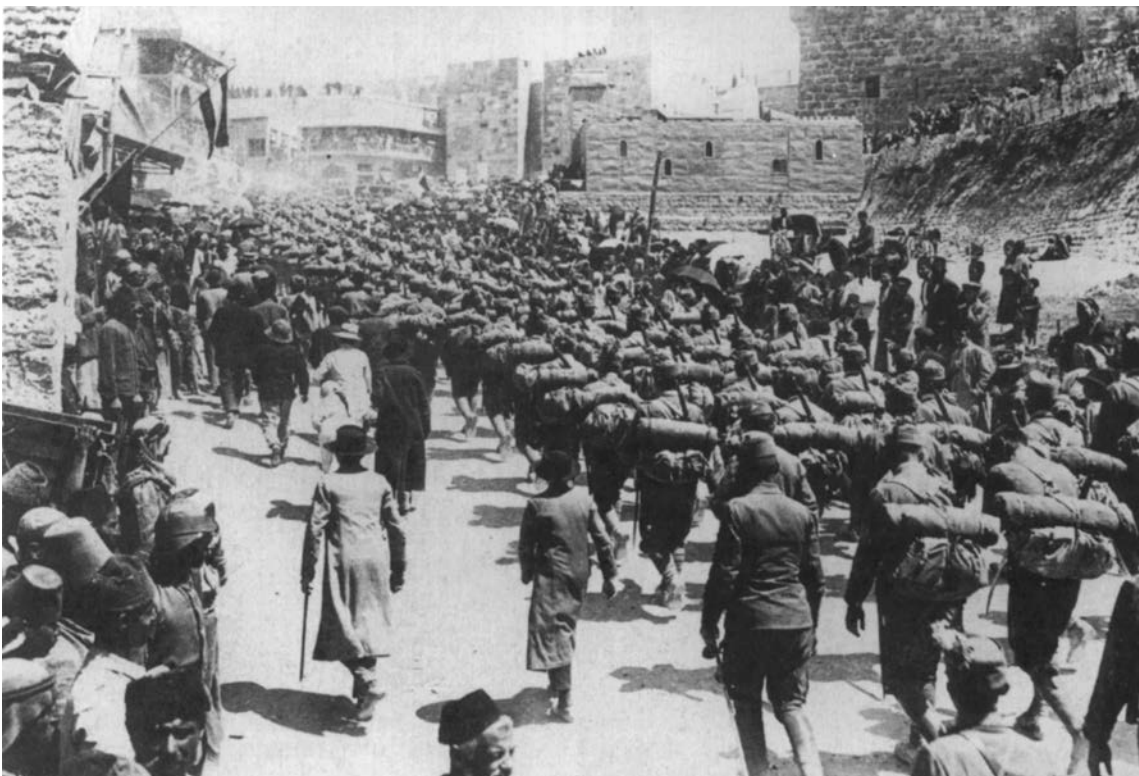
Pl. 17.57 Jaffa Gate c.1910 with the clock tower and fountain (*sabil*) erected by Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamid to commemorate his accession to the throne (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



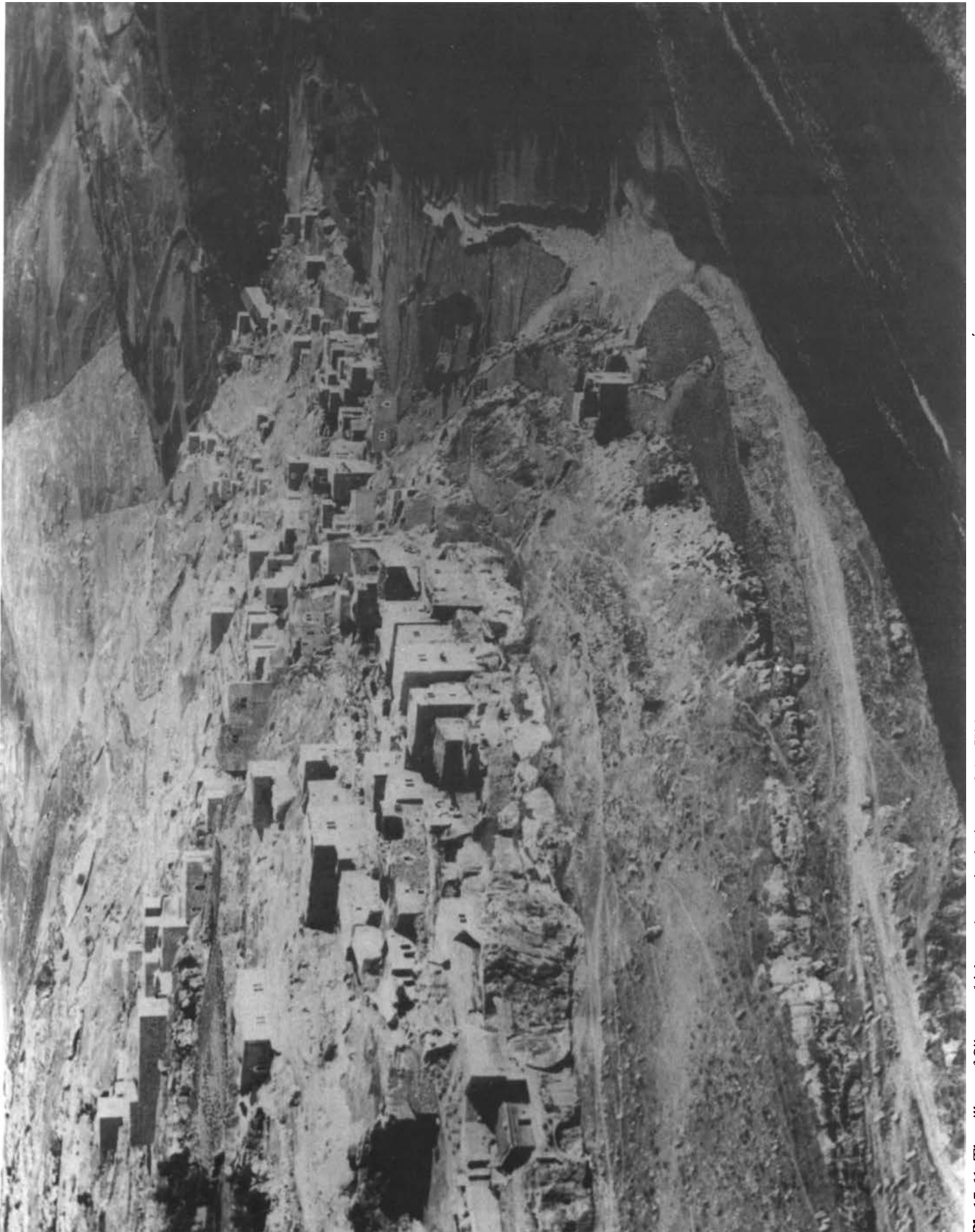
Pl. 17.58 A busy Friday cattle market in Birkat al-Sultan c.1910, which included horses, donkeys, camels, sheep and goats for barter or sale (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.59 Jemal Pasha (front right) and General Falkenhayn (front centre) with their respective entourages descending the steps from the Dome of the Rock (1917) (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.60 Austro-Hungarian troops marching towards Jaffa Gate c.1916 (American Colony Studio, American Colony Collection, Jerusalem).



Pl. 17.61 The village of Silwan, which nestles on both slopes of the Kidron Valley, in 1895 (Père Savignac, Collection of the École Biblique).



Pl. 17.62 A view of Jerusalem (c.1895) looking south west from Wadi Jauz (Père Savignac, Collection of École Biblique).



Pl. 17.63 Birkat al-Sultan with the village of Jurat al-Anab (right) in the foreground.

Chapter 18

THE CEMETERIES OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Kamal ʔ al-ʿAsali*

The significance of the Jerusalem cemeteries

The burial areas of Jerusalem form a belt surrounding the city. There are hundreds of graves of eminent personalities scattered throughout this area. They belong to different periods of the long history of Jerusalem and testify to its grandeur. The fact that Jerusalem was the third holiest city in Islam lent a special significance to its cemeteries. In the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, Jerusalem was given special prestige among cities: 'Jerusalem is one of the four cities of Paradise' (Abu Huraira in al-Hanbali, *al-Uns* 1 1973: 238); 'he who dies in Jerusalem is like him who dies in Heaven' (al-Maqdisi, *Shihab, Muthir* 1985: 214); 'Jerusalem is the place of the congregation of the dead and of resurrection' (Ibn Hanbal, *al-Musnad* 6 n.d: 493; al-Hanbali 1 1973: 232; Ibn al-Jauzi 1980: 136; al-Maqdisi, *Shihab* 1985: 41). Safiyyah, the wife of the Prophet, standing on the Mount of Olives said: 'This is the place whence people will go either to heaven or to hell' (al-Suyuti, *Shams* 1982: 321). It is reported that Imam Muhammad al-Shafi'i prohibited the transfer of the dead to any place except to Mecca, Medina, or Jerusalem (al-Maqdisi, *Shihab* 1985: 267).

These beliefs highlighted the merits of Jerusalem as a burial place, and thus many dignitaries, *shaikhs* of Islam, saints, judges, kings and princes were laid to rest in Jerusalem. In a recent study it was revealed that nine

companions of the Prophet were buried in the Holy City (al-ʿAsali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 16).

Islamic cemeteries

In Ottoman times there were three principal Islamic cemeteries in Jerusalem outside the Old City walls, and some fifty mausolea (*turba*, pl. *turab*) and tombs mainly inside it. The three principal cemeteries are described below.

(a) Bab al-Rahma Cemetery

This cemetery is located immediately behind the eastern wall of the Jerusalem Haram and extends several hundred metres along the wall. It is the oldest cemetery in Jerusalem, going back to the 7th century AD. It is reported that three companions of the Prophet were laid to rest in Bab al-Rahma: 'Ubada ibn al-Samit (died 34/644; al-Maqdisi, *Shihab* 1985: 362), Shaddad ibn Aus (died 58/667; al-Maqdisi, *Shihab* 1985: 363), and Dhu 'l-Asabi' al-Tamimi (al-Maqdisi, *Shihab* 1985: 375; al-Harawi 1953: 28).

The tombs of these Companions of the Prophet have now disappeared along with a host of historic tombs and mausolea in the Bab al-Rahma cemetery. Owing to the existence of these tombs in Bab al-Rahma, and because of its proximity to the Haram, this cemetery was frequented by almost all visitors to Jerusalem. In travel and history books the cemetery is often mentioned in connection with two Companions of the Prophet, 'Ubada and Shaddad (see

* This chapter was submitted by Dr al-ʿAsali, but sadly he died before it could be proof-read by him.

inter alia Abu Salim al-'Ayyashi, *al-Rihla*, and Ghani al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya*, both published in al-'Asali, *Bait al-Maqdis fi Kutub al-Rihlat* 1991: 212 and 269-70). Al-'Ayyashi says that the two tombs were under the eastern wall of the mosque (al-Aqsa) overlooking Wadi Jahannam. He adds: 'There is a great cemetery here. Around the two tombs inside the wall of the mosque one sees a huge hewn rock, about fourteen cubits in length and two cubits in breadth' (al-'Asali 1992: 211-12). Al-Nabulsi says that the cemetery is familiar and well-known because of its proximity to the (Aqsa) mosque. It is the nearest cemetery to town (al-'Asali 1992: 270).

'Ali al-Qayati (14th/19th century) says in *Nafhat al-Bisham* that in Bab al-Rahma there are 'the graves of some Companions of the Prophet as well as ancient scholars ... and a large number of learned and righteous people. But ruling nations—be they Christians, Muslims or Jews—in the region and the passing of time have resulted in making the localities unknown or dubious, with the exception of those religious shrines which could not be concealed or denied, in spite of the lapse of time. These are the places which are visited to-day, and which have buildings to protect them' (al-'Asali 1992: 327). There are few buildings standing now.

The tombs in Bab al-Rahma, like those in other cemeteries, are usually built of stone. The orientation of the tomb is in general from east to west, as is the case with all tombs in this part of the Muslim world. 'The dead are laid on their right sides with their heads to the west, and their feet to the east thus turning their faces to the *qibla*' (Canaan 1927: 25). Canaan adds (1927: 26) that the tomb may be as high as 1-1.50m but that some are very low.

A list that comprises 54 eminent people buried in Bab al-Rahma includes 3 Companions of the Prophet, 3 princes, 38 scholars, 4 pious people and Sufis, and 7 judges. About half of these were not Palestinians, but came from different Islamic countries (al-'Asali 1981: 155, 198-202).

The following are the names of some dignitaries buried in the Bab al-Rahma cemetery:

- 1) Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Nasiri, a scholar and man of letters, d.1057/1647 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 4/264)
- 2) Hafidh al-Din ibn Muhammad al-Maqdisi al-Sururi (of Banu Ghanim), a scholar and a Sufi, d. 1063/1652 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 4/264)
- 3) Muhammad ibn al-Rumi, resident of Jerusalem, a scholar, d. 1081/1670 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 4/228)
- 4) San'ullah al-Dairi, a scholar, and chief clerk of the Shari'a Court, d. 1139/1726 (Muradi 1988: 3/229)
- 5) Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahim Jarallah (Abu 'l-Lutf), *shaikh* of al-Salahiyya Madrasa and *mufti* of Jerusalem, d. 1141/1728 (al-

Husaini, *Tarajim*, folio 45; al-Muradi 1988: 3/209,4/52)

6) 'Ali ibn Habib Allah ibn Abi 'l-Lutf, *shaikh* of al-Salahiyya and Shafi'i *mufti* of Jerusalem, d. 1144/1731 (Muradi 1988: 3/209)

7) 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Khalili, scholar and copyist (*nasikh*), d. 1154/1741 (al-Luqaimi, *Mawanih*, folio 135 and al-Husaini, *Tarajim*, folio 65)

8) Badr al-Din ibn Muhammad ibn Jama'a, Hanafi *mufti* and scholar, d. 1187/1773 (al-Jabarti n.d. Cairo 2/296).

Epitaphs

Among the old tombs in the Bab al-Rahma cemetery is the *turba* of Shaikh 'Ali al-Ardabili, an eminent Sufi, who died in 832/1428. The tomb was rebuilt in 1133/1720, according to the following epitaph that still exists on the tombstone (al-'Asali 1981: 135-6):

١- هذا قبر الامام المحقق والحبر المدقق جامع الشريعة والحقيقة الشيخ

٢- علاء الدين ابو الحسن على الاردبيلي توفي سنة اثنين وثلاثين وثمانمائة

٣- ثم انهدمت القبة بكرور الاعوام فجدها من ذريته افضل

٤- الفضلاء ولي الدين الشهير بابن الكواكبي القاضي بالساكر

٥- المنصورة في الدولة العثمانية سنة ثلاث وثلاثين ومائة بعد لالاف

Translation:

1. This is the tomb of the accomplished *imam*, the researcher and thorough scholar who combined the *shari'a* and *haqiqa*, Shaikh

2. 'Ala' al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali al-Ardabili. He died in the year 832 (1428)

3. Then the dome collapsed in the course of years. It was renovated by one of his progeny, the worthiest of

4. the worthy Wali al-Din, known as Ibn al-Kawakibi, the judge for

5. the victorious armies of the Ottoman state in the year 1133 (1720)

In the Bab al-Rahma cemetery one can still read an epitaph testifying to the existence of a burial chamber (*fisqiyya*) of members of the Maulawiyya Sufi order built in 1033/1623 (van Berchem 1922: 450)

هذه الفسقية وقف على السادة المولوية في سنة ١٠٣٣

Translation:

This burial chamber is a *waqf* instituted for the masters of the Maulawiyya order in 1033.

(b) The Mamilla Cemetery

The Mamilla Cemetery is the largest Islamic cemetery in

Jerusalem. It is situated to the west of the Old City about one mile west of the Jaffa (Hebron) Gate and has an area of about 42 acres. Mujir al-Din holds that the origin of the name Mamilla is *ma min Allah* (that which comes from God) (al-Hanbali 2 1973: 64). But according to Bernard the Wise (9th century AD), Mamilla was the name of a Christian saint (Bernard the Wise, *PPTS* 1971 3: 10). Incidentally it may be noted that in Latin, *mamilla* means breast.

Some features of the cemetery

The oldest feature in the cemetery is the Mamilla Pool which may well have started as a rain-fed pool in the time of Herod the Great (Prag 1989: 281). The pool is 89m long and 59m broad. Its greater part is rock-hewn. It lies at the head of the Hinnom Valley, constituting the upper end of the rift formed by this valley which separates the Mount of Zion and the hill of Abu Tor.

Another feature of Mamilla at one time was an old *zawiya* named 'al-Qalandariyya', which has completely disappeared. Mujir al-Din says that the *zawiya* had splendid buildings. It was formerly a Greek church; then it accommodated a group of Sufis of the Qalandariyya order—hence the name (al-Hanbali 2 1973: 64-5).

A beautiful architectural feature of Mamilla, which still stands, is al-Turba al-Kabakiyya. It is located about 100m north east of the pool. It is the burial place of Amir 'Ala' al-Din Aydughdi ibn 'Abdallah al-Kabaki who died in Jerusalem in 688/1289. Al-Kabaki was governor of Safad under Sultan Baibars. Towards the end of his life he was banished to Jerusalem where he died.

Mamilla has a rich past. It is reported that thousands of Muslims massacred after the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 492/1099 were thrown into the 'skull cave' at Mamilla (al-'Asali 1981: 118; Khalaf 1979: 63). After Salah al-Din's capture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 Mamilla was used continuously as an Islamic cemetery until 1927 when burial there was stopped at the order of the Supreme Muslim Council. During these long centuries, a large number of men illustrious for their learning and piety, or fighters who fell in battle as martyrs, were laid to rest in Mamilla (al-Hanbali 2 1973: 64). Among the first who were buried in the cemetery was Diya' al-Din 'Isa ibn Muhammad al-Hakkari, the renowned *faqih*, statesman, and friend of Salah al-Din, who died in 585/1189.

A detailed list recently published of eminent Muslims buried in Mamilla contains the names of 149 persons divided into the following categories:

princes and governors	16 persons
scholars (' <i>ulama</i> ')	66 persons
saints and Sufis	36 persons
judges (<i>qada</i>)	33 persons

(al-'Asali 1981: 154, 159-96).

The list contains a large percentage of prominent Muslims who came to Jerusalem from various Islamic countries. Among dignitaries buried in Mamilla in Ottoman times were the following:

- 1) Shams al-Din Muhammad al-'Ajami, a famous preacher, a member of the entourage of Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent. He died in Jerusalem before 970/1562 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 1/489)
- 2) Muhammad ibn Musa al-'Usaili, an author and a poet. He died in 1033/1623 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 4/234)
- 3) Taha ibn Salih Abu al-Rida al-Dairi, a scholar and teacher. He died in 1071/1660 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 2/260-1)
- 4) Yahya al-Dajani, the *mutawalli* of the shrine of the Prophet David, d. 1148/1735 (Muradi 1988: 4/228)
- 5) 'Uthman ibn 'Ali al-'Alami, *khatib* of al-Aqsa, d. 1168/1754 (Muradi 1988: 3/166)
- 6) Salih ibn Ishaq ... ibn Jama'a, *khatib* of al-Aqsa, d. 1170/1756 (Husaini, *Tarajim* folio 130)
- 7) Mustafa ibn Muhammad al-'Alami, al-Salahi, *faqih*, and *khatib* of al-Aqsa, d. 1171/1757 (Muradi 1988: 3/218)
- 8) Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Muwaqqit—Moroccan by origin—*mufti* of Jerusalem, d. 1171/1757 (Muradi 1284 AH: 1/175)
- 9) Najm al-Din al-Khairi, *mufti* of Jerusalem, d. 1173/1759 (al-'Arif 1961: 509)
- 10) Muhammad al-Tafilati, a famous Maghribi scholar, *mufti* of Jerusalem, d. 1192/1778 (Husaini, *Tarajim* folio 137)
- 11) 'Abd al-Latif ibn 'Abdallah al-Husaini, Shaikh al-Haram al-Qudsi and *naqib al-ashraf*, d. 1188/1774 (Muradi 1988: 3/89)
- 12) Ahmad al-Dajani, scholar, *imam* and Sufi, the ancestor of the Dajani family, d. 969/1561 (Ghazzi 1979: 3/120)
- 13) Abu 'l-Wafa al-'Alami, a famous Sufi, d. 1109/1697 (Muradi 1988: 1/71)
- 14) 'Abdallah al-'Alami, Sufi of al-'Alami family, d. 1181/1767 (Muradi 1988: 3/88)
- 15) Sulaiman ibn Abi 'l-Huda al-Dawudi (al-Dajani), Shafi'i *qadi* of Jerusalem, d. 1073/1662 (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 2/211).

Mamilla in books of travel

As a sacred and historic spot, Mamilla was a major object of visits by Muslims during the Ottoman period. Visitors to Jerusalem flocked to visit the graves of hundreds of notables and religious personalities, and to read *al-Fatiha*

for the comfort of their souls. Among such eminent visitors were the great Sufis and travellers 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1050-1143/1640-1731) and Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi (b.1105/1693), who paid tribute in their books to the large number of dignitaries, scholars, holy men and martyrs buried in Mamilla. Among the graves mentioned by al-Nabulsi were those of al-Wasiti, al-Daghistani, Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, al-Kamal ibn Abi Sharif, Abu 'Abdallah al-Quraishi, Ahmad ibn Arslan, Ahmad al-Dajani and others. Al-Nabulsi, who was a scion of the Ibn Jama'a family of Jerusalem, naturally visited also the graves of his ancestors (Banu Jama'a) in the cemetery (al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya* in al-'Asali, *Bait al-Maqdis fi Kutub al-Rihlat* 1992: 274-5).

Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaimi, who visited Jerusalem from Egypt in 1143/1730, described the Mamilla cemetery in *Mawanih al-Uns* in the following words: 'In the afternoon I went with some gracious and noble friends to the Mamilla cemetery, the burial ground of the quintessence of righteous people, whose merits are reiterated in traditions and sayings. Al-Hasan says that the origin of the word is *ma min Allah*, and that burial in it is like burial in Heaven. We visited the masters in its soil, and stood at the thresholds of these weighty people, such as 'Abdallah al-Quraishi, Ibn Raslan, Ibn al-Humam, Ibn Jama'a, al-Shaikh al-Dajani and al-Kamal ibn Abi Sharif, from whose graves all traces are gone, but whose tidings are still read in books. I recited on their graves such Qur'anic verses as I could' (al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 307). In popular belief cemeteries and graves are closely associated with anecdotes and superstitions. In *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya*, al-Nabulsi reports many of the anecdotes which he heard during his visit: for example, the famous striped slab, at which prayers are answered; or Shaikh Abu Sha'ra who bought hairs of the Prophet and asked that they be put into his eyes. If people suffering from indigestion said 'Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Quraishi . . . to-day is a feast,' they would be cured. Shaikh Yusuf al-Dajani could bore a hole in a rock with a small stick. Shaikh Ahmad al-Dajani used to have a need met if he placed a stone on his tomb, and asked for relief. In Mamilla there was a multi-coloured weed that had legs and hands and that could even walk. A dead man once stood up from his grave and asked 'has the Day of Judgment come?' then both—deceased and grave—disappeared.

In those days the atmosphere was laden with supernatural tales, and such tales were reiterated in anecdotes about graves and cemeteries (al-Hadra, in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 274-5).

Epitaphs

Among the tombs that were frequently visited in Mamilla during the Ottoman period was that of Abu 'Abdallah al-Quraishi al-Hashimi, who belonged to Banu Hashim, the family of the Prophet. Al-Quraishi came to Jerusalem from

a city called al-Jazira al-Khadra' in al-Andalus, via Egypt. He lived in Jerusalem for many years until he died in 599/1202. His tomb was visited by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (*al-Hadra al-Unsiyya*, see al-'Asali, *Bait al-Maqdis fi Kutub al-Rihlat* 1992: 274, and *al-Haqiqa wa'l-Majaz, Rihlat* 285) and by Muhammad As'ad al-Luqaimi al-Dimyati in the 12th/18th century (*Mawanih al-Uns*, see Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 307). The tomb was restored for the second time during the Ottoman period in 965/1557—a previous restoration had taken place in 722/1322. The epitaph on al-Quraishi's tomb was read by H Nubani about 1950 (Nubani 1956 in *ADAJ* 13-14). The three lines of poetry in Ottoman *thulth* read as follows:

١. شيخ عبد الله قرشي يعني مداركم آثار
اصفيا سرور اندن اول آثار روزگار
٢. مرقديت المقدس قريدمرامله نام
نور رحمت نازل اولور ليل ونهار
٣. مشهدين تعمير ايدن اول شاه حق بابلاند
قلدي تاريخي جهانده شاه کار

Translation:

1. Shaikh 'Abdallah Quraishi, that is, the centre of miracles,
Which 'indicate' the time of that chief of saints;
2. [has] his resting-place in the vicinity of Jerusalem, called Mamilla,
Where the light of mercy is descending by night and day.
3. He who restored his shrine in Babilla was that true king.

The chronogram is 'In the world the King did beautiful things.'—AH 965 (= began on Sunday 24 October 1557).

Another epitaph read by Nubani (1956: 13) was that on the tomb of a certain 'Ali ibn Ya'qub. It reads as follows:

١. يرحم الله امرى اذا استغفره ودعالي بالمغفرة
٢. هذا قبر العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى
٣. السعيد الشهيد المحتاج
٤. الى رحمة الله تعالى على بن يعقوب
٥. المتوفى صاحب القبر من شهر
٦. في سنة ثمانية واربعين وتسعمائة

1. May God be merciful to a man if he asked Him for forgiveness and prayed for my forgiveness.
2. This is the tomb of the servant yearning for Allah, may He be exalted,
3. the happy, the martyr, who is in need
4. of God's mercy, may He be Exalted, 'Ali b. Ya'qub
5. the deceased, the owner of the tomb, in the months
6. of the year 948 [1541].

At one time Mamilla cemetery presented to the eye an impressive and august sight. It was full of structures of polished white and coloured stones and various kinds of marble. There were hundreds of tombstones, with inscriptions pertaining to various eras of Islamic history; but most of these are now gone. In 1948 the Israeli authorities turned a large part of the cemetery into what has become known as 'The Independence Park'. Only one small area was left for graves. In place of the hundreds of graves that once stood there, there are today a hotel, a car park and a commercial centre.

(c) Bab al-Sahira Cemetery

Bab al-Sahira Cemetery is located on a hill overlooking the northern wall of the Old City, opposite Bab al-Sahira Gate (Herod's Gate). The name Sahira is mentioned in the Qur'an—'Surely it will need but one breath, and lo! they will be in Sahira' (*Surat al-Nazi'at*, 14: 15). Thus in Islamic tradition al-Sahira, which is adjacent to the Valley of Kidron/Jehoshaphat, is the meeting place of mankind after the resurrection.

In all probability al-Sahira cemetery was first used after the reconquest of Jerusalem by Salah al-Din in the 6th/12th century. The oldest extant epitaph on a tombstone is that on the tomb of Sharwat al-Hakkari who fell in battle in Ramla in 587/1191 (al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 213,263-4). In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, as well as in Ottoman times, scholars and Sufis of the Adhamiyya Sufi order were buried in Bab al-Sahira cemetery. The Adhamiyya were followers of Ibrahim ibn Adham, a *mujahid* and ascetic who died in battle in 161/777. They used to dwell in a cave under the Bab al-Sahira cemetery which was later known as al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya (al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 144). 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi visited the cave of al-Adhamiyya in the 12th/18th century and then visited the Sahira cemetery: 'Then we visited the Sahira cemetery, which lies above the Adhamiyya *zawiya*. There is a well-known saying in this connection, to the effect that in this place the dead [in the cemetery] are above the living [in the Adhamiyya beneath the cemetery]' (al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra*, in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 272). It seems that most graves in the cemetery were badly damaged in Ottoman times, when most epitaphs and monuments disappeared. Thus the names of the majority of dignitaries buried in the cemetery were lost forever. This was indeed the fate of all Islamic cemeteries in Jerusalem. The lapse of time, the neglect of man and the turbulent history of the city combined to wreak havoc on valuable vestiges of the past, cemeteries in particular. It seems that in Ottoman times the cemetery was much larger than it is now. Al-'Arif says that in the past it included the site of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (formerly called Karm al-Shaikh). Considering the many martyrs buried in the cemetery, it

was sometimes called Maqbarat [cemetery of] al-Mujahidin (al-'Arif 1961: 509).

Islamic mausolea and tombs inside Jerusalem

In Jerusalem, especially in the Old City, a large number of mausolea, tombs (*turbas*) and *maqams* still exist, although many have disappeared. We know now the names of about fifty renowned personalities buried within the walls. The burial places are of various kinds, ranging from separate mausolea to ordinary tombs:

- 1) The mausolea were buildings especially erected for certain persons in which to be buried. In some cases they were designed to be part of a *madrasa*, *zawiya* or mosque. Hence they were called *turba* or *madrasa* or *zawiya*. But primarily they were *turbas*. Some of these mausolea were very well built. Many of them are located along the Bab al-Silsila road. Examples are the following *turbas*: Turkan Khatun, al-Sa'diyya, al-Gailaniyya, al-Tashtamuriyya and al-Auhadiyya.
- 2) *Madrasas* or *zawiyas* or *ribats* in which their owners or dedicators were buried in one of the rooms: examples are al-Khatuniyya Madrasa and al-Aminiyya Madrasa, and the following *zawiyas*: al-Jarrahiyya, al-Wafa'iyya and al-Qiramiyya.
- 3) Tombs over which or near which *maqams*, *mazars* or mosques were built; examples are the *mazar* of Shaikh Haidar and the mosque of Shaikh Raihan.
- 4) Separate tombs or groups of tombs built in open space or inside buildings and whose owners are unknown. Many of these were martyrs who fell in war. Such tombs exist in al-Badriyya and al-Mu'azzamiyya *madrasas*.

Mausolea are usually surmounted by domes. One also notes inside them places for prayer, *mihirabs* or mosques. Some *maqams* consist of one simple room or open space, while others have two or three buildings. The tomb usually stands in the middle of the room, but occasionally it is built in the courtyard or outside the *maqam*. The majority of the *turbas* were objects of visitation during the Ottoman period. As the list is very extensive, we shall here mention only the more important *turbas* and tombs which date from the Ottoman era and which still exist:

1) The Mausoleum of Bairam Jawish

Bairam Jawish was an influential Ottoman functionary in Jerusalem. He was appointed

by Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent as overseer of the building of the wall of Jerusalem. He established in Jerusalem a famous *ribat* in 947/1540, and built for himself a mausoleum adjacent to it at the junction of al-Takiyya road and al-Wad road. Bairam's tomb can still be seen inside the mausoleum.

2) *The Tomb of Muhammad al-'Alami on the Mount of Olives (Jabal al-Tur)*

Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-'Alami (964-1038/1556-1628) was a very prominent Sufi in Jerusalem in the 11th/16th century. His tomb—and that of his wife—is located in a subterranean cell in al-Zawiya al-As'adiyya, built by As'ad al-Tabrizi, the Grand Mufti of the Ottoman Empire (died in 1034/1624) (Muhibbi 1284 AH: 1/396). Inside the *zawiya* there was also a mosque with a lofty minaret. The tomb was visited and described by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi in 1101/1689. In 1122/1710 Mustafa al-Bakri also visited the *zawiya* and slept in it (al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 99).

3) *The Tomb of Muhammad al-Uzbaki*

Muhammad al-Uzbaki was a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order, and a *shaikh* of the Naqshbandiyya (also called Uzbakiyya and Bukhariyya) *Zawiya* which was built in the 8th/14th century for Muslims coming from Bukhara, Turkistan, Uzbekistan and Central Asia in general. Above the tomb of Muhammad al-Uzbaki, the governor of Jerusalem, Mustafa Zada built a beautiful dome in 1144/1731 (al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 36).

4) *The Tomb of Muhammad al-Khalili*

Al-Khalili was a grand *shaikh*, the Shafi'i *mufti* of Jerusalem and a Sufi of the Qadiriyya order (Muradi 1988: 4/94). In the 12th/18th century the ownership of al-Madrassa al-Baladiyya in Bab al-Silsila passed into his hands (the *madrassa* was originally founded by Amir Mangali Bugha in 782/1380; al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 154). When al-Khalili died in 1147/1734, he was buried in the *madrassa* (Muradi 1988: 4/94; al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 52-3).

5) *The Tomb of Muhammad ibn Budair*

Muhammad ibn Budair (1160-1220/1747-1805) was a notable scholar, author and Sufi. He lived in an old and historic *zawiya* adjacent to the Haram, called al-Zawiya al-Wafa'iyya (today known as 'Dar al-Budairi'). His tomb is located in al-Wafa'iyya, inside a room with a window overlooking the Haram

(al-Baytar, *Hilyat al-Bashar* 3/1351; al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 38-40).

6) *The Tombs of Members of al-Imam Family*

Al-Imam family is an old Jerusalem family which produced many scholars and religious dignitaries, several of whose tombs are located in al-Aminiyya Madrasa, an old Mamluk *madrassa* north of the Haram, established by the Mamluk amir Amin al-Din in 730/1329. Those interred in the first floor of the *madrassa* in Ottoman times include:

(a) Yahya Sharaf al-Din ibn Qadi al-Salt, *imam* of the Aqsa Mosque, d.1040/1630

(b) Muhammad Salih al-Imam, Shafi'i *mufti* of Jerusalem, d.1243/1828

(c) Muhammad As'ad al-Imam, Shafi'i *mufti*, d.1308/1890

(d) Yusuf al-Imam, Shafi'i *mufti*, d.1321/1903 (al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 30; al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 235; al-'Arif 1961: 245; Manna' 1986: 43-7).

In addition to the above-mentioned shrines with tombs (*mazars*) dating from Ottoman times, travellers and visitors to Jerusalem during the Ottoman period used to visit *mazars* of several dignitaries who had died in the preceding epochs, from the 7th to the 15th centuries. The most popular *mazars* in the Ottoman period were the following:

Within the Old City of Jerusalem

1) The mausoleum (*turba*) of 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir

2) The *mazars* of Shaikh Haidar, Shaikh Suyufi, Shaikh Musa al-'Alami, Shaikh Muhammad al-Qirami, Shaikh Ahmad al-Muthabbat, Shaikh Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn 'Ali, and Shaikh Ghabayin.

Outside the Walls

1) Mazar Salman al-Farisi and Mazar Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (both on the Mount of Olives)

2) Mazar al-Nabi Da'ud (David), on Mount Zion

3) The tombs of the two Companions of the Prophet, 'Ubada ibn al-Samit and Shaddad ibn Aus, in Bab al-Rahma (al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra al-Unsiyya* in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 265, 267-8; al-'Ayyashi, *al-Rihla* in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 211-12; al-Nabulsi, *al-Haqiqa wa 'l-Majaz* in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 284-5; al-Luqaimi al-Dimyati, *Mawamih al-Uns* in al-'Asali, *Rihlat* 1992: 305; al-'Asali, *Ajdaduna* 1981: 75-9, 80-2).

Chapter 19

THE LIBRARIES OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM*

Kamal J al-‘Asali

I The cultural scene in Ottoman Jerusalem

When the Ottomans occupied Jerusalem in 922/1516 there were more than fifty schools (*madrasa*, pl. *madaris*) in the city, staffed by dozens of scholars (*‘ulama’*) and attended by hundreds of students. All these were *waqf* *madrasas*, that is, they had been instituted by charitable religious endowments which supervised and maintained them. Besides the *madrasas* there were hundreds of other institutions for the cultivation of mystical life—*zawiyas*, *ribats* and *khanqahs*. All these institutions contributed to the transmission of education. However, the main centre of learning in the city was of course al-Haram al-Sharif—al-Masjid al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock—where religious tuition was given regularly. In the Haram and *madrasas* there were libraries, large and small, and in addition, the *‘ulama’* had their own private libraries in their houses. These institutions encouraged cultural life and made Jerusalem an important centre of learning in the Islamic world. The institutions of learning were mainly concerned with religious sciences and to a lesser degree with linguistic and literary studies. Natural sciences, philosophy and logic had almost no place in the curricula, although astronomy and arithmetic were sometimes taught.

After the Ottoman occupation, the *madrasas* and Sufi institutions continued. In fact at least four *madrasas* are known to have been established under the Ottomans

(al-‘Asali 1981b: 46). Several *kuttabs* (Qur’an schools) were added to similar ones established under the Mamluks and before. This activity in cultural life continued during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, especially in the 16th century. But the *waqf* institutions of learning started to deteriorate in the second half of the 17th century, with the general collapse—political, economic and social—which afflicted the Ottoman state and society as a whole. The 18th century witnessed the almost complete decay of the *madrasas* and similar institutions. In the 19th century the *madrasas* disappeared. Only the *kuttabs* remained. The old educational system broke down, and a new one began slowly to emerge, as will be noted below.

II The libraries

The educational and cultural situation was naturally reflected in the libraries of Jerusalem. Religious books constituted the bulk of the collections and had the largest circulation. Literature *per se* was in a state of decline and most of the new books written in this period were mere compilations or summaries of classical time-honoured books, a spilling of old materials into new pots.

Ottoman libraries in Jerusalem can be divided into two main categories—public libraries and private libraries.

Public Libraries

Public libraries were the collections of religious or

* The editors regretfully announce that the death of Dr al-‘Asali occurred before it was possible for him to proof-read this chapter.

educational institutions. They included:

- (i) The libraries of al-Haram al-Sharif — the Aqsa mosque and the Qubbat al-Sakhra
- (ii) School libraries
- (iii) Libraries of Christian monasteries and convents.

(i) *Libraries of the Haram*

The most important repositories of books were the libraries of the Aqsa Mosque (including the Sakhra) which was an important centre of learning in the Middle Ages. The Aqsa Mosque library comprised a large number of volumes covering the Islamic sciences, and the sciences of the Arabic language, as well as history, mathematics, astronomy and other subjects. The library was rich in the writings of the scholars (*mudarrisun*) who had taught in the Haram throughout the centuries. Among these were books on the merits of Jerusalem (*fada'il Bait al-Maqdis*).

The most precious library items, which were endowed as *waqf* by sultans, princes and state dignitaries, were copies of the Holy Qur'an, elegantly ornamented and decorated. When Salah al-Din restored the Aqsa Mosque to Islam, he presented to the mosque copies of the Qur'an and a number of *raba'at sharifa*—collections of the Qur'anic chapters (al-Hanbali 1: 339). It was the habit of Mamluk sultans to endow the Aqsa with copies of the Qur'an and to institute a special *waqf* for the benefit of their readers (*qurra'*). This was done by sultans Barsbai,¹ Jaqmaq (Shari'a Court registers in Jerusalem, Sijill 245, 1060-1/1650: 375) and Inal (al-Hanbali 2: 16).

The Ottoman sultans and governors followed their example. Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent endowed the mosque with a Qur'an and appointed a reader (*qari'*) for it (Sijill 44 971/1563: 500). Copies of the Qur'an were further endowed by the Ottoman vizier Sinan Pasha in the 11th/17th century (Sijill 143 1060/1650: 57) and by the superintendent of the two Holy Harams (of Mecca and Medina) Enver Pasha in 1917.

Copies of the Qur'an were also often endowed by ordinary people² and many scholars used to send copies of their works as a present to the Aqsa library ('Abd al-Muhdi 1980: 270). The Islamic museum in the Haram contains a rare collection of Qur'ans dating back to the Ottoman age and before. These precious copies number 650; they were written between the third and the 12th century AH. Among them is a copy of the Qur'an written by the Sultan of Morocco 'Uthman ibn Abi Yusuf in 745/1344. The

mushafs endowed by the Mamluk Sultan Barsbai in 838/1434 and by the Ottoman vizier Enver Pasha in 1336/1917 are still kept in the Museum.

It seems that bookcases were scattered in various places in the Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock, and that both sanctuaries had a special librarian. Sakhawi says that Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Ghanimi was the librarian of the Aqsa library in the middle of the 9th/15th century (Sakhawi 6 n.d: 301). Shaikh Bashir al-Khalili was the librarian of al-Sakhra in the 11th/17th century. On his death the post was inherited by his two sons (Sijill 143: 58). In 1010/1601 Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Khalili was appointed as the librarian of the Sakhra (Sijill 83: 76).

(ii) *The libraries of the madrasas*

Among the large school libraries in Ottoman Jerusalem was the library of the Fakhriyya Madrasa/Khanqah in the esplanade of the Haram. The *madrasa* was established as *waqf* in 732/1339 by Qadi Fakhr al-Din. Its library, which had at one time about 10,000 volumes, was rich in manuscripts on astronomy and various religious disciplines. It is reported that the *mutawallis* (*waqf* superintendents) divided the books among themselves, and thus they were dispersed (al-'Arif 1961: 451; de Trazi, *Khaza'in* n.d: 294; Stephan 1939: 84 fn).

At al-Aminiyya Madrasa in the northern portico of the Haram there was a library which contained the manuscripts of the ancestors of the Imam family, among them the books of Muhammad Salih al-Imam, the *shaikh* of the *madrasa* in the 13th/19th century (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 235).

At the Ashrafiyya (Sultaniyya) Madrasa (established as *waqf* by the Mamluk Sultan Qa'itbai in the 9th/15th century) the library had officials holding various posts such as *khadim al-mushaf* and *khadim al-rab'a* and *mufarriq* (distributor) *al-rab'a*. Sultan Qa'itbai endowed the *madrasa* with a copy of the Holy Qur'an (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 168; Nasser 1974: 80). Al-Ashrafiyya continued to function until the 12th/17th century (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 171). At al-Ghadiriyya Madrasa there were also books endowed for the benefit of the community. In 945/1538 Shihab al-Din al-Antaki established for the benefit of the *madrasa* a *waqf* consisting of a collection of books (Sijill 10 945/1538: 563). Even some *zawiyas* maintained small libraries; one such *zawiya* was al-Zawiya al-Wafa'iyya (now known as Dar al-Budairi) which housed the books of Shaikh Muhammad al-Budairi (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 311,325). Another was al-Zawiya al-Bukhariyya (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 351-2).

In this connection mention must be made of a mine of information about Jerusalem, which has been only very imperfectly tapped. It is the registers of the Shari'a Court of Jerusalem. The registers constitute a huge library

¹ The large *mushaf* of Barsbai is still kept at the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem. The *waqfiyya* of Barsbai in regard to the *mushaf* is mentioned in *Tapu tahrir defteri* no. 602. It is dated 838/1434 (al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid* 1981: 377).

² The library of the Aqsa mosque contains, for example, books which were endowed by 'Ala' al-Din Qaraman in 788/1376 and by Muhammad ibn al-Hajj 'Uthman in 918/1512.

of documents, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. The registers begin in the year 934/1527 and cover the whole Ottoman period. Here one finds a wealth of political, economic, social and cultural data about Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine. Some documents in the registers even date back to the Mamluk and Ayyubid periods. The number of registers, which are still running, exceeds 650 (al-‘Asali, *Watha’iq* 1 1983: 10-22).

(iii) Libraries of Christian monasteries and convents

The convents and monasteries of Jerusalem are richly provided with libraries which contain large collections of documents relating to the affairs of the different denominations, from the Byzantine era down to the present time. These documents are written in as many as fifteen languages, including Arabic. The bulk of the documents deal with religious matters such as questions of worship, liturgies, litanies, histories of saints, copies of the Bible, commentaries on the Gospels, and so on.

Besides these in the convents there is a sizeable proportion of documents written in Arabic. These deal mainly with mundane affairs, and in particular with the relations between the Christian communities and the Islamic ruling authorities during fourteen centuries. They include sultans’ decrees and *firmans*, court judgments and governors’ orders regulating the relations of the communities with the state and defining their rights and duties.

The most significant among the monasteries and convents with rich collections are the following:

(1) The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and Convent

The Patriarchate Library is one of the richest libraries in the Orient for old manuscripts. In 1865 its collection was augmented with the addition of the manuscripts of St Saba Monastery and the Church of the Cross. The collection contains approximately 2,400 manuscripts in eleven languages. About three-quarters of the manuscripts are in Greek, but there is a good number in Arabic and Syriac. The majority were written between the 5th and 18th centuries. The library was organised in 1883, and in that year a printed catalogue of the manuscripts was published (de Trazi 2 n.d.: 475). In 1897 the Greek scholar A Pappadopolos Kerameos published selections of the documents under the Greek title Αναλεκτα (Vryonis, *Bilad al-Sham* 1 1983: 155-6).

(2) The Latin Patriarchate and St Saviour Convent

This library is situated in the Christian Quarter and is known as St Saviour Library. Among the old holdings of the library there is a large number of decrees and *firmans* issued by the Mamluk and Ottoman sultans regulating the

relations between the Franciscan fathers and the state. These *firmans* are in Arabic for the Mamluk period, and in Turkish for the Ottoman period. The number of Ottoman *firmans* in the library is 454, while the total number of documents housed in St Saviour’s is 2,644.

(3) The Armenian Patriarchate and St James Cathedral and Monastery

The Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem houses the largest collection of Armenian documents in the world. Some of these documents go back to the early Christian centuries. The documents constitute a mine of information and include among other things decrees and *firmans* issued by Muslim rulers to the Armenian community (al-‘Asali, *Watha’iq* 1 1983: 65-8).

(4) The Syrian Orthodox Convent, Church and Monastery of St Mark

St Mark’s Monastery Library is one of the oldest libraries in Jerusalem. Although a large proportion of its valuable collections has perished or has been lost in the course of the centuries, it still abounds with documents, *firmans* and decrees of the sultans. These invaluable items were catalogued in 1925. The oldest of them goes back to 825/1421. Some of them are written in Arabic, some in Turkish. Philip de Trazi tells us that ‘there still exist in the monastery 362 manuscripts adorned with marvellous decorations. Here we find documents, deeds, writs, *firmans* and significant messages and letters which are of great interest to researchers in the history of the Orient and especially in the heritage of Jerusalem’ (de Trazi 2 n.d.: 479).

In addition to these essentially manuscript libraries, there are important and relatively recent Christian libraries. The largest among these are:

- 1) The Dominican Library, or the library of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française which was established in 1898 and is located on the Nablus road outside the Damascus Gate.
- 2) The Gulbenkian Library which was established in the Armenian Compound in 1929 through a donation made by the Armenian millionaire Tourian Gulbenkian.
- 3) The Franciscan Bible School library in the Old City (near St Stephen’s Gate).

Private Libraries

The Shari’a Court registers reveal that there was a large number of private libraries in Jerusalem in both the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods. Most of the private libraries we know date from Ottoman times, a fact which

may warrant some amendment in the dark picture that we have about cultural life in this period. It seems that the existence of manuscripts in the private collections of the 'ulama' was a common feature. Even ordinary people used to collect manuscripts, as is indicated by a lawsuit filed by a certain Mullah Mahmud against Muhi al-Din ibn 'Abdallah concerning the theft of books. The suit acquaints us with the prices of books in those days (Sijill 57, 984/1576: 512). Books and libraries are mostly mentioned in *waqfiyyas* and testaments. We have lists of hundreds of books bequeathed or endowed by scholars in the Ottoman period.

The following are some examples:

- 1) Muhammad ibn Budair al-Qudsi (d.1220/1805) endowed his house and his library in 1205/1790. It is reported that the library possessed one thousand manuscripts.³
- 2) Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Muwaqqit, the Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem (d.1171/1757) had a valuable library which he endowed for the benefit of students in 1181/1767 (Hussaini 1985: 233-4; al-'Arif 1961: 451)
- 3) Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini, the *mufti* of Jerusalem (d.1226/1811) had a big library which he instituted as *waqf* in 1201/1786 (Sijill 267, 1201/1786: 156-62).
- 4) Muhammad Sun'allah al-Khalidi, who was chief clerk of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem and died in 1140/1727 (Hussaini 1985: 290), endowed his books for the benefit of his sons and grandsons (*Fihrist al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya*, pt.1, 94).
- 5) Immat Khalifa ibn Ibrahim, a scholar of the 10th/16th century, endowed his books for the benefit of his children and, after them, to the Arghuniyya Madrasa (Sijill 23, 957/1550: 525).
- 6) Sharaf Musa al-Dairi, *imam* of the Sakhra in 984/1576, bequeathed more than a hundred books (Sijill 57, 985/1577: 354).
- 7) Muhibb al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Duwaik, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, bequeathed about 150 books (Sijill 79, 1007/1598: 501-7).
- 8) Muhammad Zadah, *mufti* of Jerusalem, who died in 1151/1739, bequeathed:
 - a) collection of books on medicine and philosophy (Sijill 230, 1152/1739: 123-5)
 - b) Hajji Khalifa, (pt. 1: 836).

³ For the *waqfiyya* see Shari'a Court register no. 272: 147-150, 1205/1790.

- 9) 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Khalili, Shafi'i *mufti* of Jerusalem, bequeathed a collection of books enumerated in his testament (Sijill 231: 65-6).

It would be convenient here to talk in some detail about two libraries mentioned at length in the *waqfiyyas* of two eminent scholars.

Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Khalili was born in al-Khalil (Hebron) and received his education at al-Azhar. In 1104/1695 he came to Jerusalem, where he became the Shafi'i *mufti*. He settled in Jerusalem for the rest of his life and became famous for his learning and wealth. He died in 1147/1734 (al-Khalili 1979: 7-14). Of his library Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini, the *mufti*, said, 'Our master collected a unique library which he consecrated as *waqf*. It is now a useful asset for every seeker of knowledge' (al-Hussaini 1985: 13). The *waqfiyya* included a list of books. There were seven *mushafs*, books on religion, language, literature, arithmetic, astronomy, logic, medicine and other disciplines. There were in all 7,000 volumes. Al-Khalili endowed the books for the benefit of himself, then for his sons and descendants and, thereafter, for the benefit of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya and Shafi'i scholars. The *waqfiyya* shows that the *shaikh* was most careful about his books. They could only be lent to scholars. They should be well maintained. Naturally they could not be sold, donated, mortgaged, or presented to people in authority. In his *waqfiyya* al-Khalili appealed to the people of Jerusalem to make good use of books so as to be able to compete with foreigners (al-Khalili 1979: 22).

The second *waqfiyya* is that of Yahya Sharaf al-Din Muhammad ibn Qadi al-Salt. It was written in 1007/1598 (Sijill 79: 488). Yahya was the *imam* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. The titles of books included in his *waqfiyya* exceed one hundred, one third of which were on *fiqh*. There were ten books on language and grammar, nine on Hadith, and eight on *tafsir*. The *shaikh's* interests lay chiefly in *fiqh*, and then in language. But he was also interested in Hadith and *tafsir*. These subjects were of course the pillars of the prevailing culture. Not surprisingly therefore, the other subjects were poorly represented: logic had four books, while geography, arithmetic, and '*ilm al-kalam*' had one book each. It seems that the *shaikh* had no interest in medicine, astronomy and philosophy, and not even in literature and poetry.

The majority of titles in this library were widely spread throughout the Islamic world. The authors of Yahya's small collection came from fifteen Islamic countries. This is a brilliant example of the diffusion of Islamic culture from Cordova to Herat. Moreover, the circulation of the same books continued for centuries. In Jerusalem, for example, we find these books in libraries which dated from before the 11th/17th century and in

those that followed it. On comparing the titles mentioned in the *waqfiyya* with those in the catalogue of al-Khalidiyya Library (1387/1969), the catalogue of al-Aqsa Library, (1407/1980), and the list in the *waqfiyya* of al-Khalili (12th/18th century), it turns out that almost one half of the titles of Shaikh Yahya are found in these three libraries.

III Some organisational aspects of libraries in Ottoman Jerusalem

The traditional name for a library in Islamic countries was *khizana*, a cupboard or bookcase. A library was in fact a collection of bookcases. In many libraries, reading rooms were not known. Books were taken out of the bookcase to be read inside the mosque. If borrowing was allowed, they could be read elsewhere. In the *madrassa* the *iwans* (halls) served as reading rooms.

Bookcases were usually made of wood. They were locked and the keys were kept by the librarian (*al-khazin*). Books were arranged according to subject. Copies of the Qur'an headed the list of subjects. Next came books of *tafsir*, Hadith and *fiqh* - in that order. Next in line after religious subjects were language and literature, while third place was given to natural science, the exact sciences, logic, medicine and so on. Although there were certain minor differences among libraries in this respect, arrangement by subject was always adopted. Books were placed on the shelves vertically according to size, so that the smallest one was placed at the top and the largest at the bottom. This meant that if any book was to be taken out, all those stacked above had also to be lifted down.⁵ Catalogues were generally produced in large registers according to subject. In some cases, however, lists of books placed in a given room were fixed at the door of that room, indicating the books inside (Krenkow, *EI*² 1925-8: 1046). As a rule books were lent in accordance with the conditions laid down in the *waqfiyya*. Borrowing outside the premises was not always allowed. In some cases stringent conditions were set for the borrowing of books; occasionally only scholars and serious users of books were allowed to borrow. Borrowed books had to be carefully handled, and had to be returned in their original condition without delay (al-Khalili 1979: 33-4).

The chief authority responsible for the library was the *nazir* (superintendent) or *mutawalli* of the *waqf*. However, in many cases special librarians were appointed. To help the librarian, there were also assistants in big libraries, deliverers of books (*munawilun*) and copyists. Mujir al-Din gives the names of some famous copyists in

his day (al-Hanbali 2 1973: 191, 197-88, 240-1). Copying was a brisk business, and the wages of copyists were high. Books were, therefore, expensive (al-'Asali, *Watha'iq* 2: 259 ff; Sijill 57 984/1576: 512).

IV Emergence of new libraries in the 19th century—al-Khalidiyya Library

The 19th century was a time of radical change in Palestine. In the first place it witnessed Western penetration at various levels: political, economic, social and cultural. On the other hand, the Ottoman government embarked on attempts at educational and social reform. A number of official government schools were established in Jerusalem and other cities, and the old *madrassas* disappeared. At the same time foreign missionaries, British, Russian, French, German etc., began to establish new schools in Jerusalem. Western archaeologists, likewise, flocked to Palestine and established archaeological centres and libraries. Among the new libraries were those of the Russian Orthodox Society (al-'Arif 1961: 449), the German Evangelical Institute for the Archaeology of the Holy Land (est. 1902), the Dominican École Biblique (1898) and the American School of Oriental Research (1900). The new libraries introduced modern library practice and organisation into the country, provided readers with reading rooms, and compiled catalogues for their collections.

The increasing contacts between Palestine on the one hand and the Arab world and Europe on the other produced a new generation of intellectuals. In the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th new books started to arrive, transmitting modern sciences.

As a result of this cultural revival new private libraries emerged, and the first public library was opened—al-Maktabat al-Khalidiyya. Al-Khalidiyya was established as a *waqf* in 1900 by Raghib al-Khalidi, one of the notables of Jerusalem. The nucleus of the library was composed of the books of educated members of the Khalidi family, such as Yusuf Diya', Ruhi and Nazif (de Trazi 2 n.d.: 124). The library was housed in an old building belonging to the Khalidi *waqf* at the Bab al-Silsilah.

Al-Khalidiyya was a public library open to all students of knowledge (Talas 1945: 236), but the founders stipulated that books were not to be borrowed outside the premises (*Barnamaj al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya*, 1). The library grew with the addition of valuable collections of deceased members of the family and thus became renowned for rare books and manuscripts, magazines and newspapers, some of which were in Turkish, French and other languages. In 1900 a special catalogue came out *Barnamaj al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya al-'Umumiyya*. In

⁵ See preface to Khair al-Din al-Ramli, *al-Fatuwawa al-Khairiyya fi Naf' al-Bariyya* (R Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts, Yehuda Section*, Princeton University Press, 1977: 110, no. 1237).

addition to classical books, the catalogue contained hundreds of new books printed in Cairo, Beirut and Istanbul. The majority of these dealt with the modern sciences: medicine, geography, chemistry, botany, zoology and so on, an indication of the trend towards modernisation.

It is regrettable that a large proportion of the library collection has been lost over the years. This fact calls upon all concerned to do everything possible to preserve the remaining vestiges of this heritage of the past. (For further details on this library, see Chapter 13 in this volume.)

Chapter 20

COSTUME IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Nancy Micklewright

The dress of the inhabitants of Palestine has long attracted the attention of visitors to the region, and, more recently, of scholars.¹ While Jerusalem was often the most eagerly anticipated objective on a tour of the Holy Land, it was generally the regionally diverse (and identifiable) costume of people outside the city which caught the eye of travellers. Within Jerusalem, there was too much to look at, too much going on, for any but the most careful of observers to be able to distinguish one sort of dress from another. Mary Eliza Rogers, an unusually clear-eyed and lucid Englishwoman who lived in Haifa for several years in the late 1850s and visited Jerusalem frequently, provides the following description of the inhabitants of the city enjoying a Sunday promenade:

The men's dresses were picturesque and various in the extreme, and of every tint and colour, from the sombre robes of the processions of monks, to the gorgeously embroidered jackets of the Turkish officers and *employés*, the high-pointed hats and long gabardines of the Jews, the bright sashes and turbans of the Moslem gentlemen, and the

light braided suits and red tarbouches of the Christian Arabs; but the women, who kept in groups quite apart from the men, sitting under the olive trees or strolling into the valley below, were all shrouded in sheets, and whether Jewish, Christian, or Moslem, the only variety in their dress depended on the colour of the veil or mask, and the form or colour of the shoes; some of them being of European fashion, while others were yellow or red and pointed. The black slaves were shoeless, and thus could be distinguished from their mistresses. A few of the ladies carried gay parasols embroidered with spangles (Rogers 1862: 31).

The particular characteristics of Jerusalem, a religious centre which was the destination, or residence, of followers of three major religions from a variety of ethnic groups, had a determining influence on many aspects of life in the city, and certainly on the development of the local dress. The fact that the city's importance derived from its religious significance, and not from its political, economic or cultural importance, meant that it was never the home of the politically powerful, of the intellectual élite, or of the wealthiest entrepreneurs—as were other cities of the Ottoman empire, such as Istanbul, Cairo or Damascus. In terms of costume history, Jerusalem was never a fashion capital. Its costume history is nonetheless significant for an understanding of the social history of the city. The choices that the inhabitants of Jerusalem made in their dress, in how they presented themselves to their families, their

¹ A pioneer in the study of Palestinian dress was Grace Crowfoot, whose careful studies of embroidery and dress variation began to be published in the 1930s. She was followed by Violet Barbour and Jan Macdonald, whose work was published in the 1950s. More recently, Yedida Stillman and Shelagh Weir have published numerous works on specific collections and other aspects of the topic. For bibliographic details of the work of these authors, as well as numerous others, see the bibliographies of Stillman 1979 and Weir 1989.

neighbours, and the foreigners who were constantly moving through their city, reveal a great deal about their sense of ethnic or religious identity, as well as their changing relationships with the Ottoman and European outsiders whose presence in Jerusalem grew steadily throughout the period of Ottoman rule. Unfortunately, despite the potential importance of costume history for the social and economic history of the city, there are a number of serious obstacles in the way of its study. Some are present in any investigation of costume history, but some are peculiar to the study of the costume history of Jerusalem.

Perhaps the most serious problem which must always be confronted in studying historical dress is the lack of material evidence. For Jerusalem, little if anything survives from before the 19th century. For the first three centuries of Ottoman rule, we must rely on the scanty descriptions of travellers and the notoriously unreliable illustrations which sometimes accompanied their work. Evidence from within the Ottoman world is equally problematic. Government archival records and court documents, such as wills, contain potentially valuable information concerning textile production, trousseaus, garment types and so on, but in the absence of any corroborating garments and a general paucity of visual documents for costume, it is difficult to construct a secure costume history on patchy textual sources alone.

The situation for the 19th century, in terms of surviving garments, is somewhat better. For that reason, as well as restrictions of space, we will restrict ourselves here to the study of the 19th-century costume of Jerusalem.

There are a number of excellent collections of Palestinian dress, both public and private, which began to be assembled in the second half of the 19th century.² Because of the circumstances in which some of these collections were assembled, there is an unusually extensive amount of documentation associated with many of the garments, a real boon for the costume historian. In addition, descriptions of the region and its inhabitants in

travel and guide books increased dramatically through the 19th century. Artists and, after the middle of the century, photographers, produced apparently endless views of the Holy Land in a variety of media to satisfy an insatiable demand for such images in Europe and North America.

These sources, valuable as they are, are not without problems. For the most part, visitors to the Holy Land were interested in touring religious sites and locating for themselves the exact places where biblical events took place. Their writing reflects these interests, and generally includes much less information about inhabitants and local customs than can be found in the travel accounts of visitors to other regions of the Ottoman empire. When descriptions of people, costume or other aspects of social life are included, these must be recognised for what they are: documents of the 19th century, with all of their concomitant shortcomings.³ Visual documents, i.e., book illustrations, paintings and especially photographs, are much more compelling as evidence for costume history, yet these must be used with even more caution than the written accounts. These seductive images vary in how they are constructed, from pure fantasy to attempts at ethnographic documentation, albeit in a 19th-century context. Rather than accepting their apparent contents at face value, the circumstances surrounding the production and intended audience of any of these images must be carefully assessed before they can be used in the study of costume history.⁴

Scholars of costume history, particularly those who study the dress of Europe and North America of the last three centuries, often assume that traditional dress in non-Western societies is unchanging, with the clothing of the 19th century, for example, providing reliable evidence of what dress in that region would have been like in the distant past. While it is true that traditional dress in most regions changes slowly in comparison to the fast-paced fashion trends which have characterised dress in the West for the past two centuries or so, it is also true that careful studies of dress in many regions of the world have clearly demonstrated that traditional dress does change in

² In the late 19th century two of the missionary societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Jerusalem and East Mission, began collecting examples of Palestinian dress, many of which have ended up in the collection of what is now the Museum of Mankind in London. A second large collection outside the region itself is housed at the Museum of International Folk Art in New Mexico, based on the material collected prior to the First World War by John Whiting, a founder of the American Colony in Jerusalem. The Whiting collection has been augmented by other acquisitions, particularly from the collection of Mrs Widad Kavar, a long-time collector of Palestinian costume who lives in Amman. In Jerusalem, the Palestine Folk Museum was founded (partly through the efforts of Crowfoot, Barbour and Macdonald) in 1936, when a costume collection was assembled. There are, of course, numerous other private and public collections throughout the region, but these are perhaps the best known.

³ In the last two decades, scholars of the 19th-century Middle East have come increasingly to realise the historical value of the writings of contemporary visitors and foreign residents, but have also become much more aware of the difficulties inherent in using such material. There is a large body of writing in a variety of disciplines which addresses these problems, of which some particularly useful examples include Kabbani, Asad, Melman, and Hatem.

⁴ As is the case with the written descriptions of the 19th-century Middle East, the paintings and photographs produced by visitors or residents in the region in the last century have begun to be analysed in a critical fashion only relatively recently. It is impossible to list all of the important sources here. Some of the most important include: Nochlin, Perez, Nir, Chevedden and Edwards.

response to economic and social change and to changes in the lives of the people whose dress is under investigation.⁵ This is certainly the case for costume in the Ottoman empire, particularly in the 19th century with its dramatic economic and social upheavals. Changes which can be documented in the costume of the women and men of Jerusalem throughout the 19th century provide clear evidence of such upheaval.

Any study of costume history must begin with the identification of the population whose dress will be investigated. For Jerusalem in the 19th century, this is no small task. Nearly every visitor to the city recorded his or her confusion at encountering crowds of people, Christian and Muslim Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews from Eastern Europe as well as the Middle East, Bedouin, missionaries, Greek Orthodox clergy, resident Europeans and various itinerants. Were all of these different groups resident in the city? If so, what were their relationships to one another? How big was the city, and how did the population break down into religious or ethnic groups? Population estimates vary widely depending on the source, ranging from 11,000 to 32,000 at mid-century, although a number of sources agree on a figure of about 20,000.⁶ Whatever the actual population of the city, and the exact percentages represented by the different religious groups, the fact of this extreme diversity is paramount for the purposes of costume history. Also essential to remember is the fact that there were always large numbers of people, both local and foreign, passing through the city for shorter and longer stays.

In terms of costume history, the three main population groups which must be considered are the native residents, the Turks who were the representatives of the Ottoman government in Istanbul, and the various Europeans, long and short term residents, who came to the region as missionaries, tourists or bureaucrats. Naturally, there were important differences in costume within each of these groups, depending on religious identity, age, economic position, national or ethnic origin, and so on. The history of the dress of the residents of Jerusalem throughout the 19th century is the history of the influence

which the dress of the Ottoman rulers and the Europeans had on the traditional costume of the local residents, and the ensuing changes in the costume of local residents. Although it is somewhat artificial to focus solely on the costume of one religious group since there was so much contact among the population of the city, it would be impossible to discuss every aspect of costume in the 19th century city here, so we will concentrate our discussion on the dress of the Muslims of Jerusalem, to the extent that it is possible to isolate them from other residents.

The traditional dress of Turkish and Arab men no doubt appeared very similar to an outsider, but there were differences. Men throughout the Arab world wore basically the same sort of clothing, with variations in quality or style of textile, and details of construction and ornamentation reflecting differences in class or region.⁷ By the 19th century, their costume consisted of a long tunic or shirt (*thub*), reaching to the knees, made of cotton or wool, and baggy cotton trousers (*sirwal* or *libas*), reaching to between the knee and ankle, close fitting at the bottom and gathered at the waist with a draw-string or *dikka*. Most men then wore a *qumbaz*, or long-sleeved coat of plain or striped fabric which was wrapped and tied in the front, had long, narrow sleeves, and reached to the ankles (col. pl. XII). It was held more securely closed by a wide sash, *hizam*,⁸ wrapped around the body, and made of wool, silk or cotton, depending on the season and the class of the wearer. For additional warmth, a sleeveless baggy cloak, the '*abaya*, generally made of heavy wool, often indigo blue and white striped, or brown and white, was worn on top of the *qumbaz*. Headgear consisted of a cotton skullcap worn beneath a tall, stiff *tarbush*, the *tarbush istambuli*, made of red wool felt, with a dark silk or cotton tassel. Many men wrapped their *tarbush* with a piece of fine fabric, creating a turban. The colour and type of the fabric signalled the religious or class identity of the wearer.

The traditional dress of urban Turkish men, on the other hand, included a loose shirt, called *iç gömlek*, of wool, cotton or silk, *şalvar*, or long baggy trousers gathered at the

⁵ There are a number of costume studies which document changes in the historical dress of non-Western people. For the Middle East in particular, see Micklewright 1986, 1987, 1990; Scarce 1980; and Weir 1989.

⁶ Peters 1985: 564-5, quotes one historian who gives population estimates of 15,000 for Jerusalem in 1840, and 20,000 by 1860. Joseph Schwarz, who lived in Jerusalem for 16 years at mid-century, provides the following population breakdown: out of a total population of 32,000, there were 15,000 Muslims, 10,000 Christians, and 7,500 Jews (each of these categories includes both natives and recent immigrants) (Schwarz 1850: 273). Stillman estimates the population of Jerusalem at mid-century at 11,000, and Charles Issawi gives a figure of 20,000 for 1860 (Stillman 1979: 11; Issawi 1982: 101).

⁷ Palestinian society is generally divided into three intersecting groups: the Bedouin, the *fallahin* or village dwellers, and city dwellers. Men's dress reflected these social and economic divisions in a number of ways, despite overall similarities in garment type and the way in which individual garments were combined to create a complete outfit. For example, Bedouin and villagers went barefoot long after city dwellers had begun wearing shoes. City dwellers generally wore much more elaborate sashes wrapped around their *qumbaz*, of fabric similar to what Ottoman officials might have worn, while villagers wore leather belts to which a variety of tools and possessions could be attached (Weir 1989: 55ff).

⁸ While *hizam* is the basic word for belt, and can refer to any sash of woven material, there are a number of other words which are also used for sash or belt: *kamr*, or tablet-woven belts from Syria, or *zummar* or *ishdad*, both sashes of various kinds of fabric.

waist, an *entari*, or inner robe similar to the *qumbaz*, and a kaftan, or robe worn on top of the *entari*. Although the basic combination of garments is similar to what was worn by Arab men, the kinds of fabric used for each garment, and the details of cut, differed for each garment type. Turkish men's dress was dramatically affected by the governmental reforms of Mahmud II (1808-39), who decreed in 1829 that all male subjects were to wear fitted trousers, frock coat, shirt, European-style shoes and *fez*. The costume of the Ottoman military had been similarly Europeanised in 1826, when the traditional uniforms were replaced by serge trousers, broadcloth vest and jacket, and *fez*. Only the *ulema* were allowed to continue wearing the traditional *salvar*, *entari* and turban.

Thus from 1829 onward, Ottoman governmental officials and military personnel in Jerusalem would have been easily differentiated from local residents on the basis on their dress (pl. 20.1). European men, too, would have been easy to identify on the basis of their clothing and headgear. As Europeans became more numerous and more visible in Jerusalem, and as their political influence increased, local men began to adopt elements of their costume⁹ (pl. 20.2). The following passage from Mary Eliza Rogers' book, quoted above and published in 1862, provides a telling description of the variety which existed in costume among the men of Jerusalem in the late 1850s. She is describing the three guides who were accompanying her on a trip from Jerusalem:

Mr Finn's head *kawass*, a clever and energetic Moslem, led the way. He wore a scarlet cloth jacket braided with gold, full white cotton trousers, and a red cloth tarbouche. He carried a sword and pistols ... Mohammed, our faithful Egyptian groom, who had charge of the luggage, was dressed in a long hooded drab cloth pelisse, made at Aleppo and ornamented tastefully with broad black braid ... Mr Simeon R, the Hebrew dragoman of

the British Consulate at Jerusalem, was the third ... He was a stout, elderly man, with a ruddy face, bushy grey hair, and twinkling grey eyes. He was dressed in European clothes, but wore over them a large white *abai* or cloak made of goat's hair, and a broad-brimmed hat covered with white calico, and with white muslin wound round it and hanging down behind like a veil. He carried a brace of pistols ... (Rogers 1862: 278).

As this passage indicates, the changes in men's costume in Jerusalem follow a typical pattern of transformation, in which individual elements from a foreign tradition are added to the traditional dress, or particularly useful garments from the old traditions are retained and worn together with the new styles.¹⁰ In the case of men in Jerusalem, waistcoats and jackets were often worn together with the traditional *sirwal* or *libas*, or on top of the *qumbaz*. Or, as in the case of Mr Simeon R, described above, the '*abaya*', which was worn by virtually all social and regional groups in Palestine as a multi-purpose coat and blanket, was included despite his otherwise wholesale adoption of European clothing.

The 'head *kawass*' described by Rogers provides an important example of an occupation-specific costume. There were numerous men in Jerusalem whose occupation could be identified on the basis of their dress—perhaps the various clergy are the most obvious examples (pl. 20.3). A particularly visible example from the Muslim community was the *kawass* or dragoman who was employed by the European consulates to guide and protect their own employees and visitors¹¹ (pl. 20.4). As documented in numerous photographs, these men wore distinctive and lavishly decorated clothing, characterised particularly by the gold embroidery on the jackets and sometimes on the baggy trousers.

Although women's dress receives the lion's share of attention in most publications concerned with Palestinian costume, it is in fact quite difficult to identify the costume of the women of Jerusalem. While it is possible to generalise about the dress of men in Jerusalem based on men's clothing throughout the Arab world, the same is not true about women's dress in the city. Throughout the region, women's dress generally displays a far greater range of variety in fabric type, garment style and decoration than men's clothing, and thus communicates a great deal more

⁹ From the time of the Egyptian conquest of Jerusalem in 1831, and particularly after the Ottoman reconquest in 1840, Europeans became more and more involved in the political, economic, and social life of the city, and of the region more generally. The British consulate was established in Jerusalem in 1838, followed by the consulates of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Spain. An Anglican bishopric was established in Jerusalem in 1841, the Latin Patriarchate was revived in 1847, and the Greek Patriarchate moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. The foreign communities were responsible for founding primary schools, technical schools, hospitals, orphanages, and printing presses, as well as businesses for profit. The increased influence of Europeans in the political and economic spheres was reinforced in the social sphere by the reforms made in mid-century by the Ottoman government, which extended greater rights to religious minorities within the empire.

¹⁰ See n. 5 for sources which discuss patterns of costume change in non-Western societies.

¹¹ While the occupation of a *kawass* could be readily identified on the basis of his dress, the same is not true of his religious or ethnic identity, since these very visible employees of the foreign consulates were not always Muslims, but could be Greeks or Arab Christians as well.

about the social status and place of origin of the wearer. On the other hand, recent scholarship on women's dress has suggested that the rather rigid distinctions which have been drawn in the past in describing women's dress from different villages and regions in Palestine have perhaps exaggerated the impermeability of these markers of regional identity and that regional differences in costume should be understood instead as fluid and shifting.¹²

Scholars of Palestinian women's dress divide the region into three main geographic areas: the north, central region and south. Costume in the north is generally described as being much more receptive to the fashion influence of Turkey, Lebanon and Syria, and in fact 19th-century descriptions of dress in this area reveal close similarities with the dress of Ottoman Turkish women, for example. This is, however, outside the parameters of our study and will not be considered further. Likewise, the dress of women in the sparsely settled south of Palestine is outside the bounds of our discussion. Jerusalem falls in the central region of Palestine, which is usually divided further into the coastal plain and the Judean hills. The Judean hills have four main regions, each focused on a particular town or village: Ramallah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron, and it is this conjunction of town and village which traditionally influenced the dress of women in Jerusalem.

Women's dress in this region consisted of a number of layers, beginning with a white cotton underdress, which was sometimes embroidered. The dress worn over the underdress was the basic element of women's costume in this region, the *thub*. It was long, with a round neck opening and front neck slit. The sleeves were generally long and pointed, so long that they would have to be tied back to allow any mobility for the wearer. In some cases, sleeves were close-fitting rather than triangular in shape. The dress was full, with extra panels added down the sides for additional fullness in the skirt. The great variety in dress names for this basic garment reflects a corresponding variety in fabric type, the number of pieces used in constructing the dress, and its embroidered decoration. Another term, *jillaya*, can be used to refer either to a particularly extravagantly decorated *thub*, or to a kind of coat-dress, which was worn in some parts of central Palestine, but not apparently in Jerusalem. Most women would have owned a number of sashes or girdles to be wrapped around the waist of their *thub*. These could have a variety of names, *ishdad*, *hizam*, or perhaps most commonly, *zunnar*. The *zunnar* was a square piece of fabric often made of striped atlas silk, or plain-coloured silk, folded in half diagonally and wound around the waist. For additional warmth, a waist-length jacket with straight

sleeves, made of plain or quilted cotton, the *mudarabiyya*,¹³ could be worn over the *thub*. Alternately, women wore a straight, sleeveless woollen coat, called a *bisht*, which was usually made of striped wool and sometimes decorated with a different fabric at the shoulders or around the hem.

Bethlehem, Ramallah and Hebron each developed distinctive embroidery styles and fabric types which served to identify dresses from each region, as well as characteristic headdresses. Bethlehem in particular was an important fashion centre for the entire region, and had a strong influence on women's dress in Jerusalem. The women of Bethlehem, which was primarily a Christian village, were exposed locally to elaborately decorated church vestments and furnishings as well as to the uniforms of the Ottoman and European officials of nearby Jerusalem, all of which influenced their embroidery. In addition, Bethlehem, as a market centre and important tourist site, was relatively well-off, and its inhabitants better educated than those of the surrounding area. The women of Bethlehem were thus able to work for money rather than subsistence, and their embroidery, which was in high demand throughout the region, was sold by the piece in Jerusalem and elsewhere, to be incorporated into dresses made locally.¹⁴

The traditional dress of Jerusalem was apparently similar in general characteristics to the dress of women throughout the Judean Hills region, but instead of developing particular local styles in terms of fabric type, dress cut and embroidery, Jerusalem women borrowed freely from dress components in the surrounding area. Dresses from the Jerusalem region, for example, may therefore display Bethlehem-style embroidery and dress shape, while using fabric which would never have been considered for a dress actually produced in the Bethlehem area. The dress illustrated in col. pl. XIII, from Jerusalem, c. 1850, is made up of pieces of green and red silk, with gold silk used on the sleeves. Although a similar kind of dress, made in the same way, could have been found in Bethlehem, it would have had a different name, and would have had more extensive embroidery on the *qabba* or chest panel, as well as a panel of brocaded work at the back hem (Stillman 1979: 42). A second, later *thub* from the Jerusalem region is made of striped silk from Syria, reflecting the greater prosperity of Jerusalem and its surrounding villages (col. pl. XIV). It has the three green

¹² See Weir 1989: 17-22 for a discussion of these ideas, and the entire book for a sensitive and sophisticated analysis of the dress of a specific region over a period of decades.

¹³ Weir refers to this type of jacket as *mudarabiyysh* (Weir 1989: 152); however, Stillman points out that jacket terminology in the region is very confused, and that many different terms are used to describe the same basic garment (Stillman 1979: 36-7).

¹⁴ See Weir 1989: 127-38 for a more extended discussion of the importance of Bethlehem as a fashion centre, and the influence of Bethlehem-style embroidery on the surrounding region.

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and red taffeta skirt inserts common in dresses from Bethlehem, as well as Bethlehem-style embroidery on the *qabba* and sleeves (Weir 1989: 96-7).

While head coverings were important costume elements for everyone, village and urban women differed in the degree to which they covered themselves, with urban women being much more heavily veiled than their village counterparts, who generally did not cover their faces. Women in Jerusalem generally wore a small cap, *taqiyya*, which could be embroidered and decorated with coins or sequins imitating coins. In the Jerusalem region, a veil or shawl, *khirqā* or *ghudfa*, would be worn over the *taqiyya*, and was made of cotton or linen, generally pieced from three lengths of fabric, and heavily embroidered. Festive veils would have been made of finer fabric, with more embroidery than those for everyday. Urban women, however, when dressing to go outside, would have worn a white sheet-like cloak, called *izar*, *habara*, or *amlaya*, with a separate piece of material veiling their face (pl. 20.6).

In the absence of very much visual documentation, and with few surviving garments which can be securely identified with the city itself, it is difficult to document fashion change among the women of Jerusalem during the 19th century. It is, however, possible to make a few generalisations. For many women in the Jerusalem region, the *thub* continued to be the basic element of their dress. The fabric chosen to construct the dress reflected changes both in style and fabric availability, and there were also changes in embroidery style, due again to fashion shifts, as

well as to the increased exposure of local women to European embroidery designs. The influence of Turkish fashion seems to have been minimal, since Turkish women were few in number and apparently had little contact with others. Jerusalem was never a cosmopolitan centre like other Ottoman cities, so that the pressure to modernise, which was apparent in other cities and which was a motivating influence in the adoption of European dress by Muslim women in those cities, would not have been as strong in Jerusalem. The pace of change was therefore much slower than in other urban centres of the empire, such as Istanbul, Beirut, Damascus and Cairo.

However, there were large numbers of European women in the city, who interacted socially with local women. The presence of the European women, as well as the shops which carried textiles and clothing items manufactured in Europe, and the influence of European-run schools and school uniforms on children, did allow a slow shift in costume among some groups of women in the city, generally those from wealthy, well-educated elite families. By the early 20th century, numbers of women had begun wearing European dress, and had abandoned the sheet-like outdoor cloak for the more modern and less voluminous Turkish style dark *çarşaf* and face veil (pl. 20.7). Nonetheless, significant numbers of women in Jerusalem and throughout the region continued to wear the traditional embroidered dresses, a fashion which has persisted among some groups until the present.



Pl. 20.1 Turkish governor of Nazareth, and other officials. Despite the fact that this photograph pictures an official from Nazareth, not Jerusalem, and from the turn of the century, it is useful in demonstrating the dress worn by Ottoman officials in Palestine. With the exception of the man in the far left, who wears a *qumbaz* and *hizam*, all of the men in the photograph wear some version of European dress, with the governor's costume being the most formal. European men, of course, would have worn hats with brims, not the *fez* or *tarbush*. (Collection of Eric Matson, held in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. (he Matson collection consists of over 20,000 negatives from the American Colony in Jerusalem, an international religious community founded by an American family in 1881. Involved in a number of different activities, the Colony began a separate photographic department in 1898 for which a number of well- and lesser-known photographers worked. The photographs in the collection date from the turn of the century and the first few decades of this century, and the collection carries the name of the Swedish American photographer, Eric Matson, who took over the American Colony Photographic Department in 1934, which later became the Matson Photo Service.)



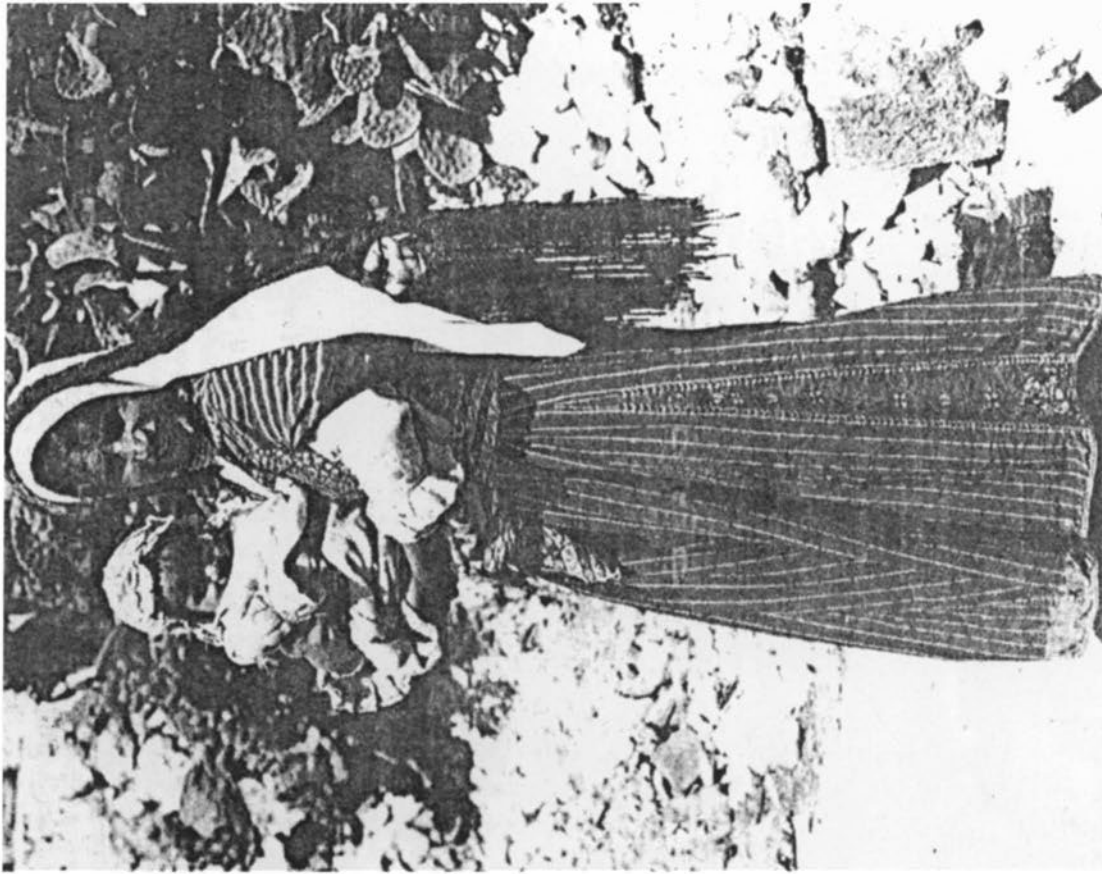
Pl. 20.2 Photograph entitled 'Street Merchants in Jerusalem', produced by Felix Bonfils, c. 1880. The Bonfils photography company was one of the most prolific and commercially successful in the Middle East. Based in Beirut, they travelled widely throughout the region to obtain photographs and opened shops in other cities to increase their markets. Most of their photographs of people are carefully controlled studio views (pl. 20.6, for example), and this view of three men, although taken out of doors reveals the same attention to the arrangement of the figures and props as their studio views. However, this photograph provides a good example of the dress of ordinary men late in the century. The two merchants each wear *sirwal* or *libas*, a *qumbaz* wrapped with a *hizam*, a European-style jacket on top of the *qumbaz*, and a *tarbush*. The man standing to the left appears considerably less well-off, and appears to wear only the *thub* wrapped with a sash, and perhaps knee-length *sirwal*, as well as a turban instead of a *tarbush*. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



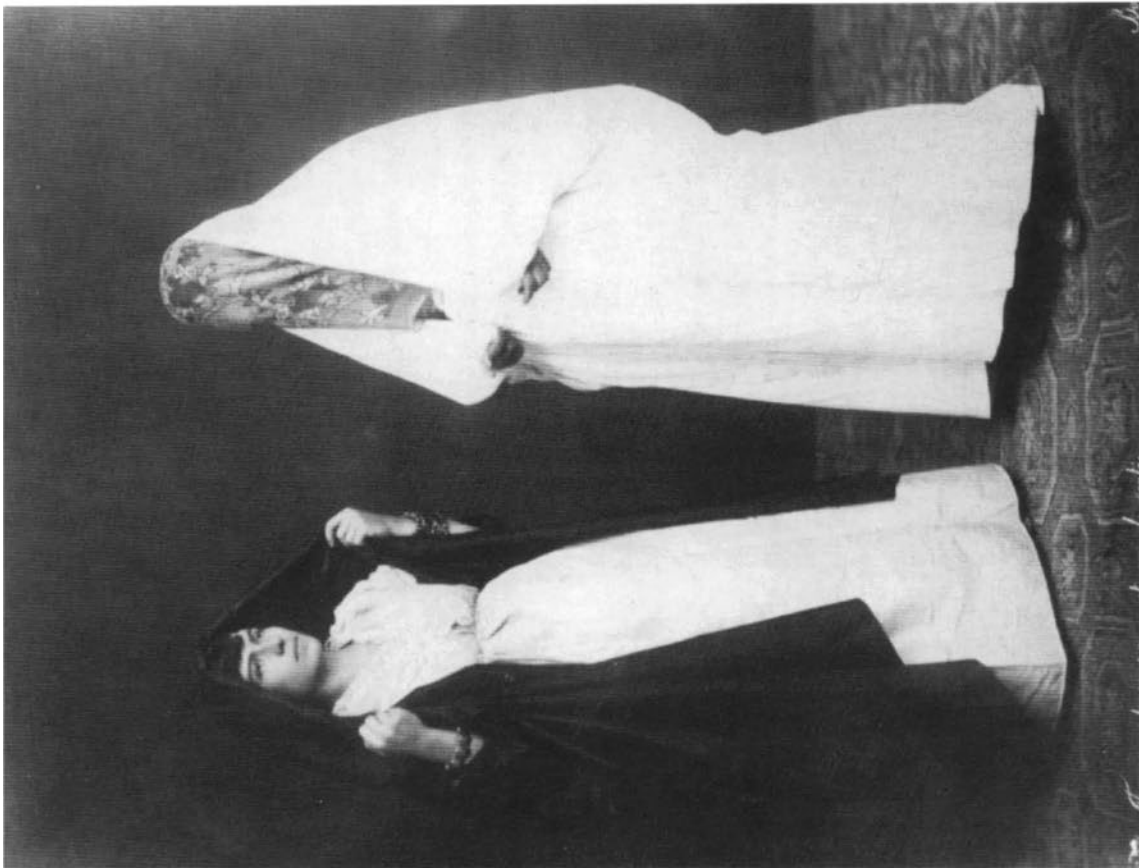
Pl. 20.3 Muslim religious men standing outside of the Khalidi Library in Jerusalem. Their religious status is indicated by their white turbans, as well as by their traditional costume: none of these men has, for instance, substituted a European-style jacket for their *qumbaz* or outer robe. (Collection of Eric Matson, held in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.)



Pl. 20.4 'Russian *Kawass*', a postcard produced by the American Colony Jerusalem, before 1914. A studio portrait with painted backdrop and appropriate props which highlights the elaborate costume worn by the *kawass* or dragoman. The lavish gold embroidery on his jacket and shirt, extravagant sash, and weapons all would have rendered him immediately identifiable.



Pl. 20.5 Photograph of Silwan women (near Jerusalem), 1926-35. The woman wears a dress of striped ribbed silk, with long triangular sleeves, tied back in this photograph. She is standing to show the taffeta panel inset at the side of the skirt. The embroidered *qabba*, or chest panel, and a wrapped sash in a striped pattern of Turkish origin still produced today are visible beneath the baby. (Copyright Grace Crowfoot, published by kind permission of the British Museum, London.)



Pl. 20.6 A photograph produced by Felix Bonfils labelled 'Jewish Women in Street Costume', c. 1880. As was often the case with Bonfils negatives (and indeed, the negatives of other commercial photographers in this period in the region), this same photograph was also marketed as 'Christian Women', and 'Moslem Women' (Nir 1985: 149). In any case, the two women in the photograph demonstrate the typical street garb for urban women from different religious groups in 19th-century Palestine. They wear a large piece of fabric, which could be tied at the waist and thrown over the head like a hood, or held on the body like a cape or shawl. As the woman on the right reveals, a second piece of fabric, called a *mandil*, which was generally decorated in some way, was used to cover the face. (Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.)



Pl. 20.7 A bread stall in Jerusalem, showing a woman wearing the black street veil, skirt and stockings of the early 20th-century modern women of the city. A second woman, to the left, seems to be wearing a more traditional kind of street covering, demonstrating the variety which has existed for at least the past century in how women choose to appear in public. (Collection of the Jerusalem and Middle East Church Association, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford.)

Chapter 21

THE SONGS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Claudia Ott

In this chapter, the songs and musical instruments of Ottoman Jerusalem, as well as information about the musical practice and the status of music there will be presented. Obviously, the limits drawn for the purposes of this study are hardly justified from a musicological point of view—only for Turkish military music would the Ottoman period be a plausible time limit historically. The boundaries marking the occurrence of songs, melodies, or instruments can hardly be identified with the borders of the urban area of Jerusalem. Moreover, in many cases they are not primarily regionally oriented, but run between social strata, villages and towns, and between nomadic and sedentary peoples. This makes it all the more important to place the material presented here within its proper context. This contribution can do no more than undertake an initial, and necessarily incomplete, inventory of existent records relating to Ottoman Jerusalem,*

I Instruments

Instruments dating from the Ottoman period in Jerusalem are now extremely rare. To my knowledge, complete collections are no longer in existence. According to information from a member of the Nashashibi family

* I am grateful to Dr Julia Männchen of the Gustaf Dalman Institute at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University of Greifswald, Germany, Dr Gunnar Lehmann of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem, and to Professor Amnon Shiloah of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for their support and co-operation. The translation is by Adelheid Baker.

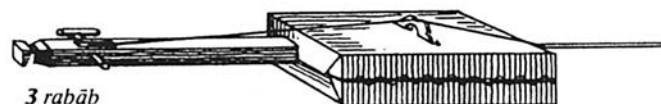
(October 1993), the collection of the Nashasibi family was twice, in 1948 and 1967, looted and subsequently disappeared. Other private collections were more or less depleted through the sale of instruments abroad, especially to Denmark and Italy (information given by a shopkeeper in October 1993). None of the privately owned instruments shown to me was older than 50 years. In view



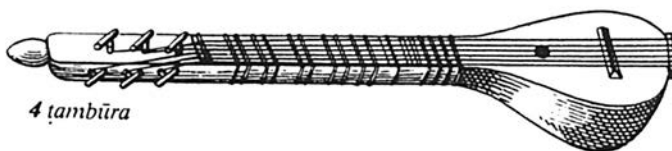
1 nāy (or shabbāba)



2 zummāra (or nāye)



3 rabāb



4 tāmbūra

Fig. 21.1 Instruments from the collection of the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem. Terminology follows Gustaf Dalman's catalogue and is further explained in this chapter (Drawings: Sachsse 1927: pls. 1, 3, 4).

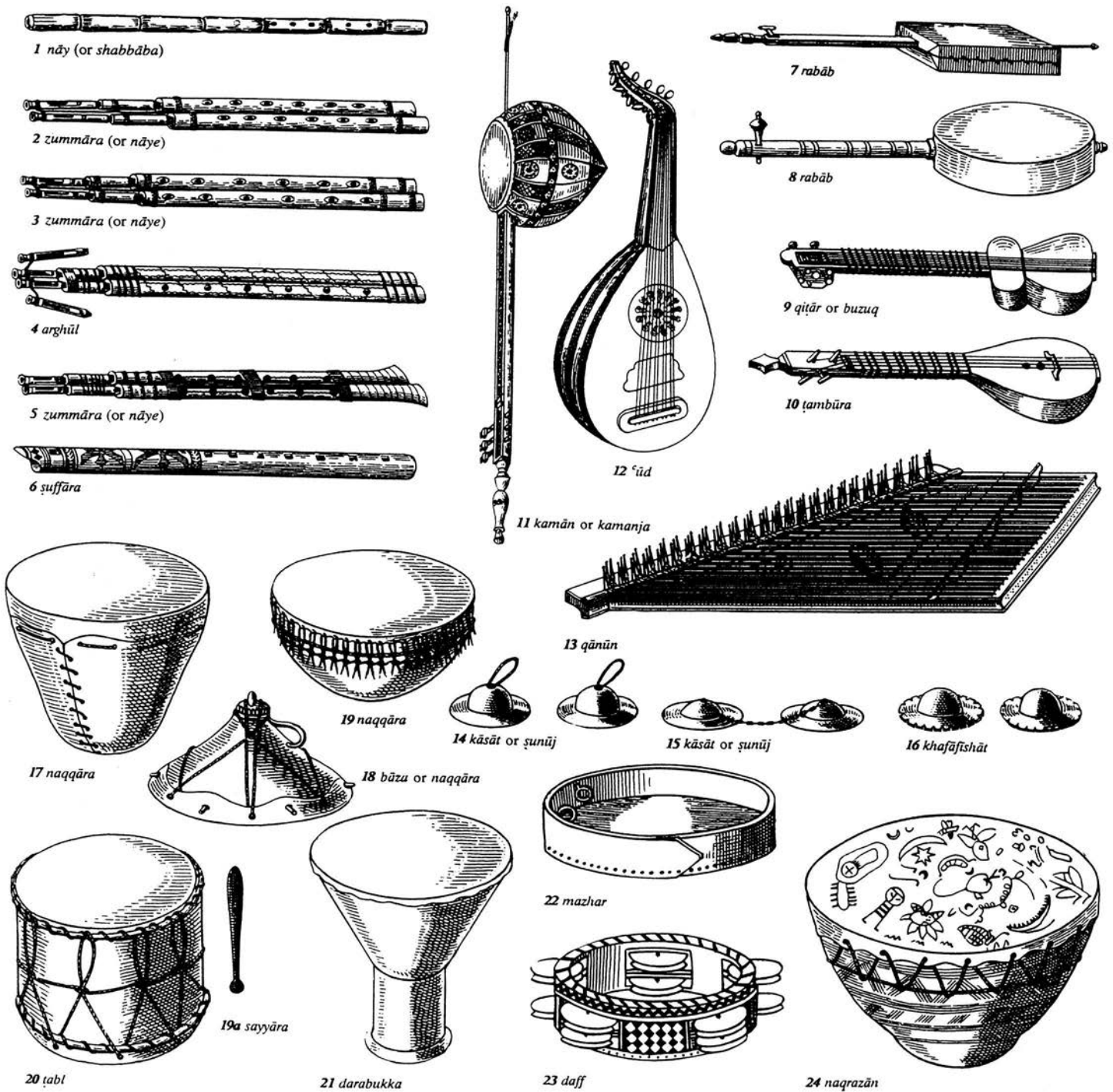


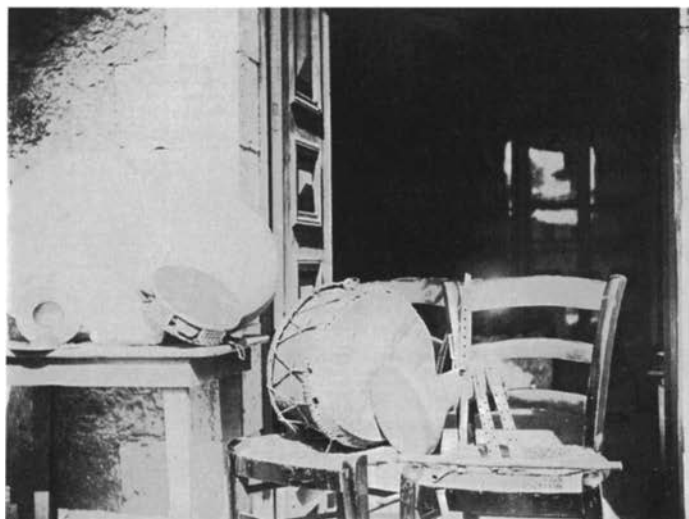
Fig. 21.2 Instruments from the collection of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem. Terminology follows Gustaf Dalman's catalogue and is further explained in this chapter (Drawings: Sachsse 1927: pls. 1-8).

of this state of affairs, we have to limit ourselves to those instruments and collections of instruments that are already documented for the Ottoman period and can therefore be safely assumed to have originated in Ottoman Jerusalem.

For scientific and educational reasons, the Syrian Orphanage and the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology each initiated a collection of local musical instruments around the turn of the century. I found no trace of the collection of the Syrian Orphanage;

fortunately, four instruments of this collection were described by Edward Sachsse in 1927 (fig. 21.1).

A more comprehensive collection of musical instruments from Ottoman Jerusalem was that started by Gustaf Dalman of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology. It was first mentioned in 1905 and, according to Dalman, comprised 'almost all musical instruments of the country' (Dalman 1905: 16). The catalogue that documents the revisions made in 1925 and 1939 lists 29



Pls. 21.1-3 Instruments from the collection of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, 1905.

Pl. 21.1 (above) Photograph showing, from left to right: cymbals (*kasat*), fig. 21.2: 14; tambourine (*daff*), fig. 21.2, 23; side drum (*tabl*), fig. 21.2: 20; goblet drum (*darabukka*), fig. 21.2: 21; double clarinet with drone pipe (*arghul*), cf. pl. 21.5; double clarinets (*zummarā*), cf. pl. 21.4; flute (*shabbaba*), fig. 21.2: 1 (Photograph: Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

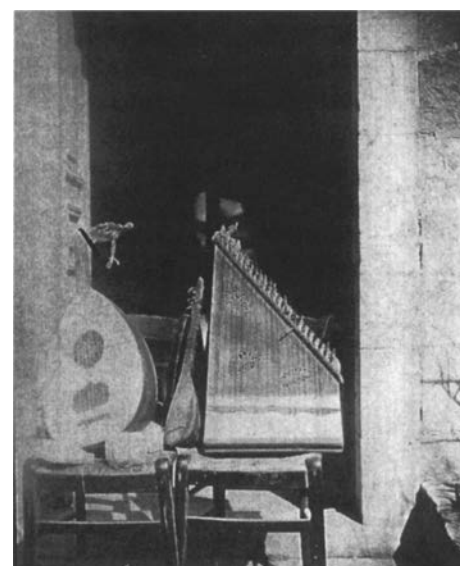
Pl. 21.2 (above, right) Photograph showing, from left to right: big kettledrum (*naqrazan*), fig. 21.2: 24; kettledrums (*naqqara*), fig. 21.2: 17, 18, 19; drumsticks (*sayyara*), fig. 21.2: 19a; fiddle (*rabab*), fig. 21.2: 8; fiddle (*rabab*), fig. 21.2: 7 (Photograph: Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

Pl. 21.3 (right) Photograph showing, from left to right: lute (*‘ud*), fig. 21.2: 12; lute (*tambura*), fig. 21.2: 10; zither (*qanun*), fig. 21.2: 13 (Photograph: Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

instruments. One of them, a double clarinet (*arghul*), had already disappeared at the time of the 1925 revision. The remaining 28 were described in detail and illustrated by Sachsse in 1927. 22 of them definitely, or in all probability, originated in Jerusalem (fig. 21.2).

Apart from the drawings by Sachsse, photographs exist of the instruments, which are displayed here on two wooden chairs by the open door of the Institute on Ethiopian Road (probably in 1905) (pls. 21.1, 21.2, 21.3).

The collection of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, too, has been almost completely lost. Any traces that might have existed until 1966 have now disappeared since, in that year, the institute moved from the buildings of the German Lutheran Provostry in the Muristan, where it had been housed from the summer of 1924 to March 22 1966, to the area of Shaikh Jarrah (today Jami‘at al-Quds, Institute of Islamic Archaeology) (cf. Noth 1967: 109). Three instruments, namely two double clarinets (*zummarā*) and one double clarinet with drone pipe (*arghul*), are now at the Gustaf Dalman Institute, Greifswald (pls. 21.4, 21.5). Dalman himself probably took them there in 1921 after leaving Jerusalem for Greifswald, where he became a professor of theology. For this reason

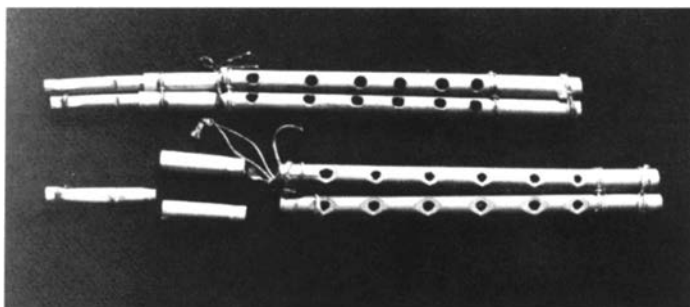


they are not included in Sachsse’s description, for he worked on the Jerusalem collection in 1925. The three double clarinets are also illustrated in *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Dalman 1927-1941: vol. 6, table 39).

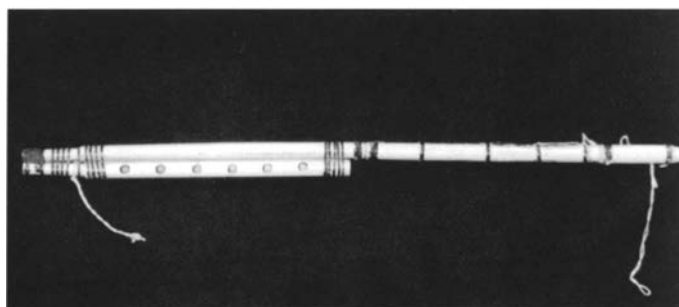
The only instrument known so far that bears the name of its manufacturer and the manufacturing date also formed part of this collection (see below, under *‘ud*).

I.1 Notes on individual instruments and their place in the musical life of Ottoman Jerusalem

For information on individual instruments we have to rely largely on reports from European travellers or diplomats living in Jerusalem, clergy and the like. However, these European authors only had access to a very small segment of musical life in Ottoman Jerusalem, namely public functions such as wedding processions, parades, military music, street music, and music played in the coffee-houses. They had no access to the private sphere of musical life,



Pl. 21.4 Double clarinets (*zummara*, reed, length 26.0, equivalent to 26.1cm) Gustaf-Dalman Institute, Greifswald. (Photograph: Ott).



Pl. 21.5 Double clarinet (*arghul*, reed, length 51.2cm); Gustaf-Dalman Institute, Greifswald (Photograph: Ott).



Pl. 21.6 A round dance at Nabi Musa (c. 1905) (Photograph: Paul Kahle, from Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

especially the so-called classical art music, the music played by the dervishes, women's music and music in the *hammam* (bathhouse). Arab sources, on the other hand, give the impression of a rich private musical life, but do not contain any details regarding the use of individual instruments or the performance of particular songs. The emphasis will therefore be on the musical instruments used on public occasions in Ottoman Jerusalem.

The flute (*nay* fig. 21.2: 1)¹

Though, in general, *nay* is the name of the edge-blown flute made of reed (*arundo donax*), Dalman notes the term *shabbaba* (normally applied to the end-blown wooden flute here named *suffera*, fig. 21.2: 6), in contrast to *nay* in the

¹ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 88-39; cf. New Grove 13, 84-5, s.v. *nai*.

Aleppo area and *manjara* in Galilee (cf. manuscript catalogue of the Museum 137). Initially, the *nay* was indigenous mostly among the dervishes, but enjoyed great popularity also as an instrument of classical art music and popular dance music. In 1910 Paul Kahle heard it played as an accompanying instrument of a round dance (*dabka*) in Nabi Musa (Kahle 1913: 171-2). Pl. 21.6 shows such a round dance (in this case one with hand-clapping *sahja*) being performed in Nabi Musa (c.1905).

The double clarinets (*zummarā* and *arghul*, fig. 21.2: 2-5)²

According to Dalman, manuscript catalogue of the Museum 137, *nay* or *zummarā*, though not *mijwiz*, was the customary name in Jerusalem for the double clarinet, whose two pipes are of the same length and have finger holes. *Arghul* denotes the double clarinet, in which only one tube has such holes, while the other produces a drone sound. By lengthening the pipe up to 2m (Faruqi 1981: 18) this can be greatly lowered. The *arghul* now kept at the Gustaf Dalman Institute, Greifswald, can be extended to 52cm in length—according to Dalman even to 66cm (Dalman 1927-1941: 227)—this would mean that an extension piece has been lost. The *zummarā* (fig. 21.2: 5) is made from bone, as the ‘better’ examples generally were, according to Sachsse. Whether the bones are actually eagle bones as stated, could not be verified.

Since the double clarinet produces a loud and penetrating sound, its playing was especially popular in processions, parades and dances performed in the open. According to Abu ’l-Fath al-Dajjani (died 1070/1660), a jurist, double clarinets and drums were offered for sale on the occasion of a fair-like event on the Haram al-Sharif.

[One of the forbidden practices on the Haram al-Sharif is,] moreover, a mixed assembly of men and women on the 8th Shawwal. They call this the ‘Feast of the Faithful’ (*‘id al-abrar*), whereas it is really a feast of the devil and the wicked. They also call it the ‘Feast of my Lady Maria’ (*‘id sayyidati Maryam*), but it is the feast of the recalcitrant which causes much grief and sorrow. [...] At the assembly on this awful day, evil and ominous things happen which do not please God. What you see there, my brother, are men and women in groups and flocks, and with them are children clamouring and cavorting. [...] And street



Pl. 21.7 Dance at a wedding in Lifta near Jerusalem, 1907. On the right, a double clarinet with drone pipe (*arghul*), c. 75cm long (Photograph: Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

vendors sell sweets and double clarinets (*zamamir*), and spinning tops (?) (*fara’ir*) and drums (*tablat*), and pictures and other things (Perlmann 1973: 287; cf. also Peters 1985: 497).

As suggested here, the clarinet is in most cases accompanied only by a percussion instrument, usually the small kettledrum (*naqqara*), less frequently by a bigger drum (*naqrazan*) or a tambourine (*daff*). It is thus the typical instrument at the head of a Muslim wedding procession:

At the piercing sound of a clarinet and the dull thud of a hand drum, the men, who are clapping their hands, march along at a measured pace’ (Neumann 1877: 56).

[... in the wedding procession, following the bridal canopy] walks a man beating a big drum, and several other men who accompany him with their piercing shawms,³ thereby greatly offending the ear of the Frank (Tobler 1853: 318).

² On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 39-45, cf. New Grove 1, 572-3, s.v. *arghul*.

³ In German sources the double clarinet is usually given as ‘shawm’ (*Schalmei*).



Fig. 21.3 *Rabab*-player in a Jerusalem coffee-house (c. 1875) (Illustration from Ninck 1885: 171).

Processions held in connection with circumcisions were usually also accompanied by double clarinets:

The boy, dressed in his most beautiful clothes, his red cap decorated with coins, is placed on a horse which is preceded by a pillow covered with towels. Following are the schoolmates, singing and invoking God's blessing for the approaching event: thus the procession moves along through the town to the Omar Mosque, accompanied by the sounds of the drum and the shawm (Neumann 1877: 58; cf. also Tobler 1853: 316).

Whether it was the *zummarā* or the *arghul* that was played here cannot be determined. In pl. 21.7, on the other hand, which shows a dance performed at a wedding in Lifta near Jerusalem, an *arghul* with a drone pipe of some 75cm in length can be clearly distinguished on the right.⁴

The following two sources, which refer to the Nabi Musa pilgrimage and the opening of 'id al-fitr, also mention the 'shawm' and a percussion instrument. It is possible that this actually refers to the Turkish shawm (*zurna*) which came to Jerusalem with Turkish military music (on Turkish military music, see below) since the Ottomans participated in the organisation of both events.

Up front were the standard-bearers dancing, then some dervishes, barely dressed, ramming pointed irons into their bodies in a wild and fanatic manner such that the blood kept flowing, after them the playing the monotonous music of drum and shawm, with



Fig. 21.4 *Kamanja*-player in a Jerusalem coffee-house (c. 1830) (Illustration from Thomson 1872: 685).

the rear end formed by the long stream of the Muslim faithful, shouting and rejoicing (Tobler 1853: 485 on the pilgrimage of 1845).

In the year 1719, immediately after Ramadan, the Pasha opened the Bairam with a grand ride up the north-western hill outside the city; from there a great cacophony could be heard of shawms and tambourines (Tobler 1853: 315, quoted from Ladoire 1720: 385).

The fiddle (*rabab*, fig. 21.2: 7, 8)⁵

The *rabab* always has only one string. It is kept upright when played and rests on a spike. This may be of iron (fig. 21.2: 7) or is produced by lengthening the wooden neck (fig. 21.2: 8).

The *rabab* is suitable for being played indoors. It is the typical instrument of the coffee-houses and *hammams*. The best-known representation of a *rabab*-player, therefore, originated in a Jerusalem coffee-house (fig. 21.3). It first appeared in Lortet 1884: 242, after which it was reproduced in Ninck 1885: 171, and more recently in Ben-Arieh 1984: 45. The instrument was also played at the wedding celebrations in the home of the bridegroom:

The entertainments start off [late on Sunday afternoon in the groom's home (CO)] with the playing of violins, drums (*nakarah*)⁶ dulcimers (*santir*), and continue with singing, dancing' (Tobler 1853: 319).

⁵ On construction and playing technique, Sachsse 1927 48-50. Cf. New Grove 15: 521-2, s.v. *rabab*.

⁶ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 31, cf. New Grove 9: 785, s.v. *Kamancha*.

⁴ On this, see also the illustrations in Rothstein 1910, following 101.

The Persian spike fiddle or Persian violin (*kaman* or *kamanja*, fig. 21.2: 11)⁶

In contrast to the one-stringed *rabab*, the *kamanja* has three or more strings.⁷ It is documented several times for Jerusalem in Ottoman times. The earliest mention is found in a court record dating from 1017/1608, which prohibited the playing of the *kamanja* in coffee-houses (Ata'llah 1988: 256; on this, see below). The drawing of a *kamanja*-player in a Jerusalem coffee-house (fig. 21.4) was made by an American missionary, William McLure Thomson, whose report on Jerusalem, written in 1833, became a best-seller.

The lutes (*'ud*, fig. 21.2: 12, *qitar/buzuq*, fig. 21.2: 9 and *tambura*, fig. 21.2: 10)⁸

The *'ud* was one of the best-known instruments of the 'urban' environment, i.e., it was played mostly in private homes. Precisely for this reason, the *'ud* is rarely documented, for European travellers had no access to such occasions. In public, the *'ud* was heard primarily in Greek coffee-houses (on the strict separation between the coffee-houses of the various religious communities, see Hattox 1988: 96-7), according to Titus Tobler, while rather louder music could be heard from the Muslim coffee-houses, namely that produced by the kettledrum (*naqqara*) (Tobler 1853: 311). Inside the sound-box of the *'ud* shown here, fig. 21.2: 12, a paper label is affixed bearing the inscription

نقولا جريس القرعة ١٩٠٢ س مسيحية في القدس

niqūlā jirris al-qar'a 'in the year of Christ 1902 in Jerusalem' (cf. Sachsse 1927: 33). It is probably no coincidence that this mention of an *'ud*-workshop—the only one known to date for Ottoman Jerusalem—points to a Christian instrument-maker since, in his report, the American missionary William McLure Thomson mentions the special skills of Christians in playing the *'ud* and the related smaller lutes:

There [sc. in a coffee-house in the Old City of Jerusalem] were also players on the guitar, and one of them had a very large instrument of this kind, over whose chords his nimble fingers swept, at times, like magic. The notes are much louder than those of an Italian guitar. The Greeks, and especially the Albanians, manage this 'ood with the greatest

⁷ On the origin and history of this instrument from Iran, cf. Jenkins/Olsen 1976: 13.

⁸ On construction and playing technique, Sachsse 1927: 50-63, cf. New Grove 19: 306-7, s.v. *'Ud*; Faruqi 1981: 44, s.v. *Buzuq*; and *ibid.* 342, s.v. *Tambur*; Jenkins/Olsen 1976: 13 with illustration.



Fig. 21.5 Turkish military band at the head of a procession. (Istanbul, 1581). Left to right: clarinet (*zurna*), trumpet (*buru*), drum (*davul*), cymbals (*kasai*) (Illustration from Schweigger 1609: 177).

skill. They have a small kind, which they take with them in their extemporaneous picnics, and on the shady bank of some murmuring brook they will sit by the hour and sing to its soft and silvery note (Thomson 1872: 386).

The zither (*qanun*, fig. 21.2: 13)⁹

Like the *'ud* and *shabbab*, the *qanun*, is a typical instrument for music performed in the home, which is why nearly no references exist to it in the European sources. There is only one mention of a *qanun*-player in a coffee-house (Thomson 1872: 284).

The kettledrum (*naqqara*, fig. 21.2: 17-19)¹⁰

The *naqqara* is one of the instruments most frequently documented in Ottoman Jerusalem. It was played at wedding celebrations (Bonar 1866: 189) and private functions (Tobler 1853: 308-9) as well as during the Christian carnival season (Tobler 1853: 313-14) and, of

⁹ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 53-63, cf. New Grove 15: 488-9, s.v. *Qanun*.



Pl. 21.8 Three dervishes in the Old City of Jerusalem, around 1900. The central figure has a frame drum (*mazhar*) (cf. fig. 21.2: 22) (Photograph: Gustaf-Dalman Archive, Greifswald).

course, in coffee-houses (Tobler 1853: 311; Sepp 1863 1: 732). *Naqqarat* are played as a pair and struck with sticks so that it was not easy to carry them along on parades and processions. For this reason, the *daff* was usually played on such occasions. If, for some reason, one did not want to go without the sound of the *naqqara*, little tricks were used such as, for example, mounting the pair on the back of the person in front (Tobler 1853: 308) or—when they were part of a Turkish military band—on the back of a horse:

I had almost forgotten to mention their only martial music, namely a pair of diminutive kettle-drums, each perhaps a little larger than an English breakfast cup, beaten by short leathern straps, during which operation the performer holds the reins of his horse between his teeth. More than one such drummer might be found in each troop, and this music gave notice in advance to any village or town of their approach (Finn 1878: 170-1).

¹⁰ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 63-3, cf. New Grove 13: 36-7, *s.v.* *Naqqara*; Blades 1970: 223-6.

The *naqqara* shown here in fig. 21.2: 18 has a handle which serves as a special fastener. It was probably played by dervishes who wore it strapped to their bodies while standing (on this, see New Grove 1: 536, fig. 4).

The side drum (*tabl*, fig. 21.2: 20)¹¹

In all probability, the *tabl* shown here is an instrument of the Turkish military band. The form of the stick that Dalman and Sachsse associate with this instrument, however, differs from that of the stick used with the Turkish drum (*davul*) (fig. 21.5).¹²

In my opinion, the stick belonged to one of the *naqqaras* (fig. 21.2: 17, 18, or 19, see for comparison the illustration in Farmer 1937: 47). When, around 1850, Himly speaks of the 'sound of a harsh drum' during the procession to Nabi Musa: 'Several congregations of Syrians, Turks, and Arabs marched in a procession, following the sound of a harsh drum' (Himly 1860: 264), the 'harsh drum' could have been one comparable to that shown here. But *tabl* may also be a generic term for many kinds of drums (Faruqi 1981: 327; New Grove, *s.v.* *tabl*). Perhaps we are to understand it in this way when it is mentioned in connection with the procession to Nabi Musa, by Mustafa al-Siddiqi, a theologian from Damascus and traveller to Jerusalem, in the year 1122/1710:

... or every day, the poor used to descend to the place in great numbers with drums and flags (*bi 'l-tubul wa'l-a'lam*), and they had such enjoyment there on those days that even the most daring words would be inept to describe it appropriately (Siddiqi 12a, 4-10).

The goblet drum (*darabukka*, fig. 21.2: 21)¹³

In Ottoman Jerusalem, the goblet drum was considered an alternative percussion instrument for the *naqqara*, probably especially for the poorer people who could not afford the latter (Tobler 1853: 309; 319). As such, it is documented, for example, at a wedding ceremony, where

the playing of the double-kettledrum (*Nakarah*) and among the poorer people that of the goblet drum (*Darbukeh*) resounds throughout the solemn assembly (Tobler 1853: 319).

¹¹ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 66; on the type, cf. Picken 1975: 66-114.

¹² On this, cf. fig. 21.5 and the illustration of drumsticks in Picken 1975: 79 and the plate preceding p. 97.

¹³ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 64, cf. New Grove 5, 239, *s.v.* *Darabukka*.

William McLure Thomson, on the other hand, reports the playing of the *darabukka* in a coffee-house, but without mentioning the difference in its status to that of the *naqqara* (Thomson 1872: 386-7).

The tambourine (*daff*, fig. 21.2: 23)¹⁴

In contrast to the kettledrum (*naqqara*), the tambourine (*daff*) can be played without any problem while walking and dancing—which is the reason why it is typically used by dancing women. Sarah Johnson writes about an evening's dancing in the harem of the Bash-Katib in Jerusalem in 1858. After dinner, the highest-ranking wife asked for music and dancing:

A messenger was accordingly despatched for tambourines and dancing-women—for in the East dancing is considered far beneath any but the poorer class, who make it a trade, and charge a certain sum for their services (Johnson 1855: 217; cf. fig. 219).

At parades and processions, the *daff* was usually heard together with cymbals (*kasat*) as, for example, during the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa (Flüedner 1858: 82; Schulz 1852: 96; Prissac 1858: 152) and upon the reception of the caravan of pilgrims returning from Mecca:

When, in the Holy City, near the spring of 1846, a ceremonious welcome was to be given to the Mecca pilgrims, about eight men played tambourines and cymbals, one beat at every step, advancing slowly at first and beating likewise, then a little faster and then faster still, and finally as fast as possible, after which there was a pause (Tobler 1853: 309).

The frame drum (*mazhar/mizhar*, fig. 21.2: 22)¹⁵

The frame drum without cymbals, *mazhar* or *mizhar*, is the typical instrument of the dervishes and was, as such, also played in Ottoman Jerusalem, as pl. 21.8 shows. The music of the Sufi monasteries was inaccessible to European travellers and journalists, so that we have no eye-witness accounts. But we do have a report from 'Abd al-Ghani al-

Nabulsi about a Sufi *shaikh* who was renowned for his beautiful voice and enchanting songs. The *shaikh*, named Muhammad ibn al-Ghazzali, visited al-Nabulsi in Jerusalem and asked the latter's permission (*ijaza*) for his singing which was granted to him in the form of a spontaneously written poem (al-Nabulsi *Hadra*: 313).

The cymbals (*kasat* fig. 21.2: 14-15)¹⁶

Kasat are always used in combination with other percussion instruments, in particular the kettledrum (*naqqara*) (Kahle 1913: 171-2; Tobler 1853: 483-4) or the tambourine (*daff*) (Schulz 1852: 96; Tobler 1853: 309). In a single, very early, source, the report of the physician Leonhard Rauwolf (1535-96), they are mentioned especially as accompanying the Christian liturgy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

After the meal, they took us up to the gallery (which is inside the dome directly above the Holy Sepulchre), to stay there for the night. But some oriental Christians were singing below in the church, with others murmuring to each other, making with their sweet-sounding cymbals, which are wholly made of metal and have the size of an Italian bale (*in der gröÙe eines welschen bales*), such a delightful pleasant sound that we watched and listened to them more than we slept. (Rauwolf 1583: 387).

Kasat are mentioned especially frequently during the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa:

First, a number of cymbal players and drummers (*Kâs* and *Nakârah*) followed three large, silky green flags decorated with inscriptions (Tobler 1853: 483-4).

A special entertainment was always provided by the arrival of pilgrims from a new village. They were welcomed with much ceremony by the dervish band (kettledrums and cymbals) and their flags [...] (Kahle 1913: 171-2).

The big kettledrum (*naqrazan*, fig. 21.2: 24)

The big kettledrum, which was strapped to the player's body, was a popular instrument in parades and processions, such as wedding processions (Tobler 1853:

¹⁴ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 64-6, cf. New Grove 5: 145. On the number of pairs of cymbals of the *daff* (5), see Sachs 1940: 247: 'Since to Arabian mathematicians five is the first so-called circle number, the five groups of jingling disks or rings in the frame were very probably the numerical expression of the circular form of the drum'.

¹⁵ On its construction, see Sachsse 1927: 64.

¹⁶ On construction and playing technique, see Sachsse 1927: 66.

318) and the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa (Himly 1860: 264). The kettledrum shown here is decorated with a painting on its membrane, which probably has an apotropaic significance. Compare, for example, the illustration in Jenkins/Olsen 1976, after p. 85, which shows a frame drum painted in similar fashion.

1.2 Turkish military music

The Turkish Janissary band (*mehter*) originally comprised a combination of drum (Turk. *davul*) and shawm (*zurna*), but by the 17th century at the latest, trumpets (Turk. *buru*) were added as well as kettledrums (*naqqara*) and cymbals (Turk. *zil*); a complete band had some 50-60 musicians (New Grove 19: 271-3). There are illustrations of Turkish military instruments in Schweigger 1609: 177 and Farmer 1937: 47.

Until the 1830s, the traditional Turkish composition of such bands is also documented for Jerusalem. There is evidence relating, in particular, to kettledrums (*naqqara*), shawm (*zurna*) and trumpet (*buru*):

At one time, Muslim (Turkish) pilgrims on their way to Mecca passed through the Holy City. In the year 1814, the entry of the Pasha of Damascus, who accompanied the pilgrim's procession, was especially magnificent. [...] Preceding the cavalry was a musical band with whistle flutes, drums and trumpets, whose men were vying with one another in producing dissonances; white, red, and green banners were flying before the Pasha himself. Then followed the core of the army, in particular the cavalry who fired shots for the pure enjoyment of it (Tobler 1853: 482, quoted from Light 1818: 176 ff).

12th May (1821?). This day marked the arrival of the new Pasha. He was announced between eight and nine in the morning by shouting and jubilations of the children and the firing of guns. All sheiks and effendis of the city had set out on horseback to meet him. Among the Beduin sheiks accompanying the Pasha as well as among the mottled cavalry were some peculiar looking characters. The whistle flute players were there, of course. Immediately in front of the Pasha rode several hand drum players (Wolff 1849: 113-14).

In 1858, Prisac writes about Turkish music being played at the citadel in the Old City. He had heard a shawm

and a flute (Prisac 1858: 152). The mention of the flute here could be taken as the first indication of the introduction of European musical instruments in the Turkish military band in Jerusalem.¹⁷ The trumpets that greeted Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria in 1881 on the occasion of his visit to the Ottoman *pasha*, upon entering the *pasha's* residence, may also have been European trumpets (Rudolf v. Österreich 1884: 128). What is certain, at any rate, is that the band's composition was already purely European around the turn of the century, when Otto Eberhard, a student of Gustaf Dalman, described the bandstand concerts given by the band every Friday in the new section of Jerusalem:

... otherwise the military is part of Jerusalem street life only once, when putting up barriers for the Easter festival. But on each Friday, the Muslim holy day, the band's ear-splitting sounds can be heard in the municipal park, a small garden along Jaffa Road, and when a big congratulatory reception is held by the Pasha on a Muslim feast day, the band assembles below his windows and plays '*So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle Tage ...*' [And thus we live, and thus we live, and thus we live every day ...], and the guns of the citadel fire salutes (Eckard/Zickermann/Fenner 1907: 102).

A photograph of such a bandstand concert (1904 or 1905) is to be found in a private photograph album of Gustaf Dalman at the Gustaf Dalman Institute in Greifswald (pl. 21.9). In the centre, two big brass instruments can be seen, a sousaphone on the left, and a tuba on the right.

The postcard (pl. 21.10) also shows the Turkish military band playing only European brass instruments.

II Songs

The songs of Ottoman Jerusalem may be classified into the following groups: urban, peasant and Bedouin. For the peasant and Bedouin styles, we also have to note the songs of the 'Jerusalem area', i.e. the villages and desert area surrounding Jerusalem. I will deal with the pilgrimage songs related to the Nabi Musa pilgrimage as a fourth group.

¹⁷ Another news item dates to about the same time (c. 1845), and notes that the Ottoman Pasha acquired a piano that had belonged to the late Anglican Bishop. Hirshberg 1995, manuscript version: 11.

II.1 Song texts¹⁸

The most important source for the song texts of Ottoman Jerusalem is Gustaf Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*, written in 1899-1900. For his collection of texts and melodies, Gustaf Dalman had enquired among 'the low-class people in the big towns, peasants, and Bedouin' since, in his view, these groups had best preserved the tradition. His informants in Jerusalem were a young Arab-Protestant carpenter and several patients at the Jerusalem leper asylum. Accordingly, love songs (*ghina*), performed in private houses for the entertainment of guests, occasionally with a circle dance (*dabke*), would reflect the 'popular urban Jerusalem style'. The first six of the eight songs Dalman recorded are antiphones with a refrain (*radde*) sung by the entire audience. The last two songs are strophic songs without refrain:

- 1 *Halalalaija halalalaija wa'-eni jalibnaija*¹⁹
'To me, to me, oh my eye, oh girl' (Dalman 1901: 230-2).
- 2 *Ja zenu zenu zenu* 'Oh his grace, his grace, his grace!' (Dalman 1901: 232-4).
- 3 *Albiba-lbiba-lbiba* 'Labiba, Labiba, Labiba!' (Dalman 1901: 235).
- 4 *Batat 'ejuni sauahir* 'My eyes stayed awake through the night' (Dalman 1901: 236).
- 5 *Bardu bardu bardu* 'You cold one, you cold one, you cold one!' (Dalman 1901: 237-8).
- 6 *Haigalu haigalu* 'So they said, so they said' (Dalman 1901: 238-40).
- 7 *Habibi marr uma sallam* 'My lover passed and did not greet me' (Dalman 1901: 241).
- 8 *Hubbi gamalak garahni* 'My lover, your beauty hurt me' (Dalman 1901: 241-2).

The 'peasant Jerusalem style' is documented in much more detail than the urban style. This includes, however, the songs recorded from the environs of Jerusalem. Best documented of all is the village of Lifta. In 1907, Dr Gustav Rothstein, the director of the Lyceum and a participant in Dalman's instructional course, documented a Muslim wedding ceremony in Lifta near Jerusalem, quoting, among others, seven songs sung by women performing a hand-clapping circle dance, two songs of the women sung during the colouring of the hands with henna, three songs of the men sung during the wedding procession (*zaffé*), one song of the men dancing the *dabke*, one song of the women serving the dinner and and one sung by the women during the procession of the

bride to the home of the groom (Rothstein 1910: 129-35).

Furthermore, there are another thirty song texts from Lifta, transcribed down by Sven Linder in 1912 (Linder 1952: nos 1, 7-11, 18, 23, 25-7, 32, 53-4, 56-8, 60-3, 70-2, 74, 81, 83, 85, 89). These song texts cover the various significant public events of village life like circumcision, wedding, burial, and working songs.

The same source gives three texts from Silwan (recorded in 1912), the first two of which are songs on the occasion of the circumcision of a boy:

- 9 *Balla ia sallabi uballa 'alek / usanni imuasak uhaffif idek* 'By God, my lovely one, by God upon you / sharpen your knife and have a facile hand' (Linder 1952: no. 2, cf. Dalman 1901: 172-3).
- 10 *Tahhiruli 'Isa taht fai ittin* 'Circumcise 'Isa for me in the shadow of the fig-tree' (Linder 1952: no. 3).

The third song from Silwan is a prayer for rain, making evident the peasant character of these songs:

- 11 *Ia sitti ia badriie / tiski zar' il-barriya* 'O mistress, O Badriye / water the seed on the land' (Linder 1952: no. 49).

Characteristic 'peasant style' songs are those sung during work in the fields, like the following example:

- 12 *Mengali ja men galah / rah lilhaddad galah* 'My sickle, oh who sharpened it? / he went to the smith and he sharpened it' (Dalman 1901: 4-5).

According to Dalman, the favourite song genre for 'peasant style' songs, was the '*ataba* verse (Dalman 1901: 3). '*Ataba* verses are built out of one or more four-lined stanzas, of which the first three lines rhyme with one another, while the fourth line rhymes with the paradigm '*ataba* ('reproach'). Their subject is often love; according to the legend recorded by Paul Kahle in 1911, the first '*ataba* verse was sung by a dying Bedouin to his wife, nicknamed 'Ataba. '*Ataba* songs became common from the 19th century on throughout the Middle East, but the huge number of fifty-two verses recorded by Dalman in the area (Dalman 1901: 65-80, 99, 155, 304) suggests that they were especially popular in and around Jerusalem. The following example represents the love theme.

- 13 *Talat nigmat b'ard eschschark jad'en hattu bilkalb talat darbat mi'den gabuli-lhakim ukal mazinn mazinn jetib min 'egruh ilhauaba.*
Three stars shine in the land of the East,
They dealt to the heart three heavy blows.

¹⁸ Gustaf Dalman developed a special transliteration system for oral texts in Palestinian dialect. For editorial reasons, no transliteration can be shown here. For the full transliteration see the sources.

They brought the doctor to me, and he said: I
don't think,
I don't think, that he will recover from the
wounds of love (Dalman 1901: 70).

Besides the *'ataba* genre, Dalman recorded one *imhaha* and four *imlala* songs as typical for the Jerusalem area. Both genres are sung by women only. *Imhaha* songs are four-lined stanzas, at the end of which the *zaghuta*, the quaver of joy, is set up. At the beginning of each line of the song, the joyous call *awiha* or *ahiha* or *ahah*, from which these songs took their name, is sounded.

14 *Hahiha*—*tmannetlak chajji 'aschatt ilbahr*
'öllijje
hahiha—*'amud min fudda u'amud erchamijje*
hahiha—*in rekibit ilchel tirkablak taman mijje*
win 'ötschat ilchel tiskiha mukarijje lulululululi
Hahiha, I wish you, my brother, an upper
room on the sea-side
hahiha, one pillar of silver and one pillar of
marble
hahiha, when you ride, eight hundred horses
may ride for you
hahiha, and when the horses are thirsty, may
the grooms water them
lululululululi (Dalman 1901: 306).

Imlala songs were sung by the women during their work in the vineyards around Jerusalem. According to Dalman, this song genre was proper to the Jerusalem area (Dalman 1901: xx). *Imlala* songs are characterized by the syllables *lele* or *lelo* inserted anywhere into the words. Thus, out of the verse *Ja hsereti scharrasch ilbattich fi libbu*—'O my disaster! The water-melon has grown roots in its pulp'—is constructed the following verse:

15 *Ja hsere-lele-ti scha-lele-rrasch ilbattich fi-lele-*
libbu (Dalman 1901: 26).

Generally spoken, for every stage of life—be it birth, wedding, or burial, be it the daily work on the fields, in the houses or in the village, be it private events, like farewell or welcome of a family member or other occasions—there were sung 'peasant style' songs, comprising an extremely rich tradition of various genres.

The 'Bedouin Jerusalem style' of the Ottoman period had many songs in common with the 'peasant style', especially the songs related to working with cattle and the *'ataba* verses. Characteristic for the 'Bedouin style', however, are the martial songs recounting and celebrating raids and battles between Bedouins. In Jerusalem Dalman recorded one martial marching-song (*hadi*) (Dalman 1901: 144) and two *'ataba* verses (Dalman 1901: 155), the first of which runs as follows:

16 *Za'ak ter ilhamam usah salman*
amir umin bani harfusch sallman
ja dillik ja ba'albak min ba'd salman
raddet midan lachjul il'edaba
The dove screamed and cried: Salman!
He was an amir and he rescued us from the
sons of Harfush
woe be to you, oh Ba'labakk, after (the death
of) Salman
Again you became a racecourse for the
enemies' horses (Dalman 1901: 155).

An independent group of songs are those sung during the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa. Since the starting point of the pilgrimage was Jerusalem, these songs may be considered as belonging specifically to it. The most detailed report on these songs dating from the Ottoman period was by Paul Kahle, a student of Dalman. During the pilgrimage in 1910, Kahle was able initially to record three stanzas of a song performed by Jerusalem women, the first stanza running as follows:

17 *Ahia zurna 'n-nebi musa bi 'ud en-nidd*
ahia ja bab en-nebi bannura
ahia jidwi dau al-'andil
ahia ja sa'adet min zar en-nebi 'r-rasul
*lu lu lu ...*¹⁹
Ahia, we pilgrimage to Moses the Prophet
with aloe incense!
Ahia, oh door of the Prophet which is like
crystal!
Ahia, the light of the lamps is shining
Ahia, oh happy is he who makes a pilgrimage
to the Prophet, the one sent by God! (Kahle
1913: 166).

There are various forms of the best-known pilgrimage song, *Ya zuwar Musa* ('Oh visitors to Moses'). Dalman gives three stanzas (Dalman 1901: 158-9). Kahle has recorded six stanzas (Kahle 1913: 169) and Canaan, whose record is still quite close to the Ottoman period, gives five (Canaan 1927: 210-11). Nevertheless, all versions correspond in the first stanza, which runs as follows:

18 *Ya zuwar Musa*
zuru bit-tahlil
zurna n-nabi Musa
'uqbal el-Halil
O visitors of Moses
Visit (the shrine) with exultation

¹⁹ The *lu-lu-lu* stands for the *zaghuta*, the typical joyous

We have visited the Prophet Moses
May it soon be (granted to visit) Abraham.
(Canaan 1927: 210, where marginal
divergences of the versions in the first stanza
are detailed in the footnotes).

Canaan gives another two pilgrimage songs from
Nabi Musa:

- 19 *'Ala bir Zamzam itwadda en-nabi* 'At the
well of Zamzam the Prophet washed himself
(ritually)' (Canaan 1927: 211).
20 *El-urs ma hu farhah* 'The marriage festival
is not a (real) joy' (Canaan 1927: 212).

II.2 Melodies

Direct, written or acoustic documents of music, such as
notes²⁰ or recordings, are not, or are no longer, available,
with two exceptions. Around 1900, Stewart Macalister
wrote down the improvised singing of a Jerusalem boy (*ya
lele, ya lele ...*) (Macalister 1900: 108, fig. 21.6).

The only acoustic document accessible to me was
the recording of an Arab song heard and learned from an
Egyptian theatre group in a theatre in Jerusalem around
1910 by an inhabitant of Jerusalem, Eliezer Tokatli, born in
1899 (fig. 21.7) (Recorded on tape, Jerusalem Music
Library, no. 7273).

The text of the song is somewhat
incomprehensible, which may be due to the time that
elapsed between the recording and the time when Tokatli
heard the song for the first time. Moreover, Arabic was not
his mother tongue. It may be understood as follows:

'Get away from their place!²¹ / Come to us! /
Hurry up, the two of us / love each other!'

III Social and legal aspects of the musical life in Ottoman Jerusalem

III.1 Music instruction

Traditional instruction in Arabian music was given without
written teaching materials (cf. Gerson-Kiwi 1962: 130), so
that we have no documents. Until 1903, there was no
music instruction in the elementary schools. In that year,

²⁰ The 35 melodies which Dalman included in the *Palästinischer
Diwan* explicitly did not originate in Jerusalem.

²¹ If *hawwli* has been misunderstood from *haww(i)di*.



Fig. 21.6 Song of a Jerusalem boy around 1900. Illustration
from: Macalister 1900: 108.



Fig. 21.7 Song of an Egyptian theatre group in Jerusalem
around 1910. Transcription from tape 7273 at the Music
Library of the National Library, Jerusalem.

though, the Greek school in Jerusalem was the first to
adapt its methods of instruction to the Western European
system and introduced one hour of 'singing' per week for
the first and second grades (Eberhard 1906: 104). Eliezer
Tokatli, who was a pupil in a Turkish school in Jerusalem
around 1910, remembers that the class was taught Turkish
songs and performed them to the Turkish governor
(recorded on tape, Jerusalem Music Library, no. 7273).
The first textbook for teaching music at school known from
Jerusalem was introduced only in 1921 by the principal of
the Normal School in Jerusalem after European teaching
methods had been adopted. It is based on an American
book of hymns which were sung with Arabic texts provided
by the poet Ma'ruf al-Rasafi (Shiloah 1979a). In Muslim
schools, on the other hand, there had always been intensive
instruction in Qur'an reading (Eberhard 1906: 96).

III.2 The legal status of music

On 17 Jumada II 1101/27 March 1690, the Naqshbandiyya
and Qadiriyya *shaikh* and Shafi'i jurist 'Abd al-Ghani al-
Nabulsi from Damascus set out on a journey to Jerusalem.
On the 16th day of his journey, he entered the Old City of
Jerusalem via the Damascus Gate, and he stayed in the city
until the 34th day of his journey, that is for 17 days, except
for an excursion to Nabi Musa (on the 22nd and 23rd
days) and one to Hebron (from the 25th to the 27th day).
Apart from his intensive programme of visiting Islamic
shrines, al-Nabulsi accepted numerous private invitations
and was consulted several times in his capacity as a jurist.
A detailed account of the answers given to the questions
put to him is contained in the diary of his journey, *al-Hadra
al-Unsiyya fi 'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya*, which constitutes a
valuable source of al-Nabulsi's sense of justice. Moreover,

his diary contains interesting insights into the private musical life of Jerusalem to which European travellers had no access. Nabulsi mentions music in the *hammam* (*Hadra*: 173), in the coffee-house (*Hadra*: 241), in the street on the occasion of a wedding celebration, and at private dinners in the homes and gardens of Jerusalemites (*Hadra*: 179, 303). It seems that on such occasions the provision of musical entertainment, usually before dinner, was normal practice. Once, though, he was presented with something special:

He ['Abd al-Rahim Efendi] had invited a group of the best *mu'adhdhins* of the Noble Rock especially for us. They performed the sublime *maulid* [song of praise, originally in honour of the Prophet's birthday] in the form of praise poems dedicated to the Prophet (*bi'l-qasa'id al-nabawiyya*) and with superb chanting (*Hadra*: 180).

On several occasions during his journey to Jerusalem, al-Nabulsi expressed his views on the legitimization of music. The experience of some ordinary musical events prompted him to make a basic statement on the permissibility of music:

Then we heard women's voices ululating (*zaghalit*). They had assembled at this place for the communal, all-night wedding celebrations. We were enthralled by the perfect, beautiful music (*bi-kamal al-tarab*), which we had the privilege to enjoy by virtue of the blessing of our visits to the houses (*zawaya*) of the pious and noble poor. Afterwards, we wandered around the market with our brethren. There, we found a crowded coffee-house. Inside, all kinds of different songs and melodies were publicly performed (*wa-hum yu'linun bi-anwa' al-aghani wa'l-alhan*). Here again, our ears were perfectly enthralled and delighted.

Once before we have presented to some brethren our own interpretation of the law (*shari'a*) on the subject of listening to music (*al-sama'*) in the form of the following beautiful verses:

Listening to the sounds of flute
and string music (*sama'*²² *al-nay*²³ *wa'l-watar*)

²² The term *sama'* should be understood here as 'listening to music' generally, not merely in its narrow sense of 'Sufi chanting'.

²³ *Nay*—here in the sense of 'woodwind instrument' in general, cf. Faruqi 1981: 236 ff; 388.

Drenches the soil of the human
heart like fertile rain:

If there's evil in the heart, it will
make it grow

And misfortune will be its fruit

But if there's goodness in the
heart, its pleasant scent of
amber and fragrances will
spread throughout the land.

Thus, use your judgement and
enquire where you stand and
be

On your guard not to confuse
questions of the heart with
others!

For he who pleads in favour of
prohibiting [the enjoyment of
music], only wants to protect
him, who harbours evil, from
what may ignite the spark.

But he who pleads in favour of
permitting [the enjoyment of
music], contributes to guiding
the good-hearted one along
the right way, namely to
thought and remembrance
(*li'l-tidhkari wa'l-fikr*) (*Hadra*:
241-2).

Al-Nabulsi's judgment is thus a liberal one. He declares that instrumental music, not just vocal music, is permissible. His argument fits the patterns set by 'Ali ibn Hazm and al-Ghazzali—music is not objectionable as such, it only reinforces the inner tendencies already present in the heart (cf. Faruqi 1985: 16-17, 24; Shiloah 1981: 427). This type of argument is also used in al-Nabulsi's various treatises dealing specifically with the problem of the permissibility of music, especially in his *Idah al-Dalalat fi Sama' al-Alat* ('The Clarification of Proofs Concerning the Listening to Musical Instruments') (Shiloah 1979b: 291). The quotation also reveals, though, that music in Ottoman Jerusalem, especially the folk and art music that was not strictly religious, was by no means uncontroversial. Clearly, al-Nabulsi's Jerusalemite companions were offended by the music that could be heard from the coffee-house, since it occasioned him to comment formally on the subject.

The fact that music, particularly if performed in the coffee-houses, was considered problematic in Jerusalem and was subject, at times, to the imposition of severe restrictions, is also documented by a court record dated 4 Muharram 1017/20 April 1608. It tells us that some Jerusalem notables brought an action against the owners of some Jerusalem coffee-houses. Their complaint concerned two aspects which they believed offended against public

morality: the employment of clean-shaven waiters and the loud playing of musical instruments, namely of the lute (*'ud*), the Persian violin (*kamanj*) and the zither (*santir*), which did not cease even at prayer times. The complaint was allowed on both counts, and the judgment was as follows:

that as from today none of them will be permitted to do any of the above-mentioned things: neither shall they employ clean-shaven waiters to serve in the coffee-house nor any persons who play the above-mentioned instruments for entertainment in any way. (Ata'llah 1988: 256).

This judgment followed the trend of many previous and later judgments. Because coffee-houses were said to have a morally offensive 'atmosphere' and art music was performed there unconnected to a ceremonial context, they and coffee itself fell into disrepute among wide circles of Islamic jurists (Hattox 1988: 107-9). On the other hand, al-Nabulsi's report from Jerusalem proves that such objections could not ultimately stop the practice of music in coffee-houses.

III.3 The social status of musicians

The musicians of Ottoman Jerusalem were possibly organised in a number of guilds. Only one is known to date, which is that of the lute players, *darrabat al-'ud* (Ata'llah 1988: 284). In economic life, to the extent that it has been studied with respect to Ottoman Jerusalem, musicians as an occupational group rarely played a role. There are only a few references to religious 'musicians' in the Ottoman tax

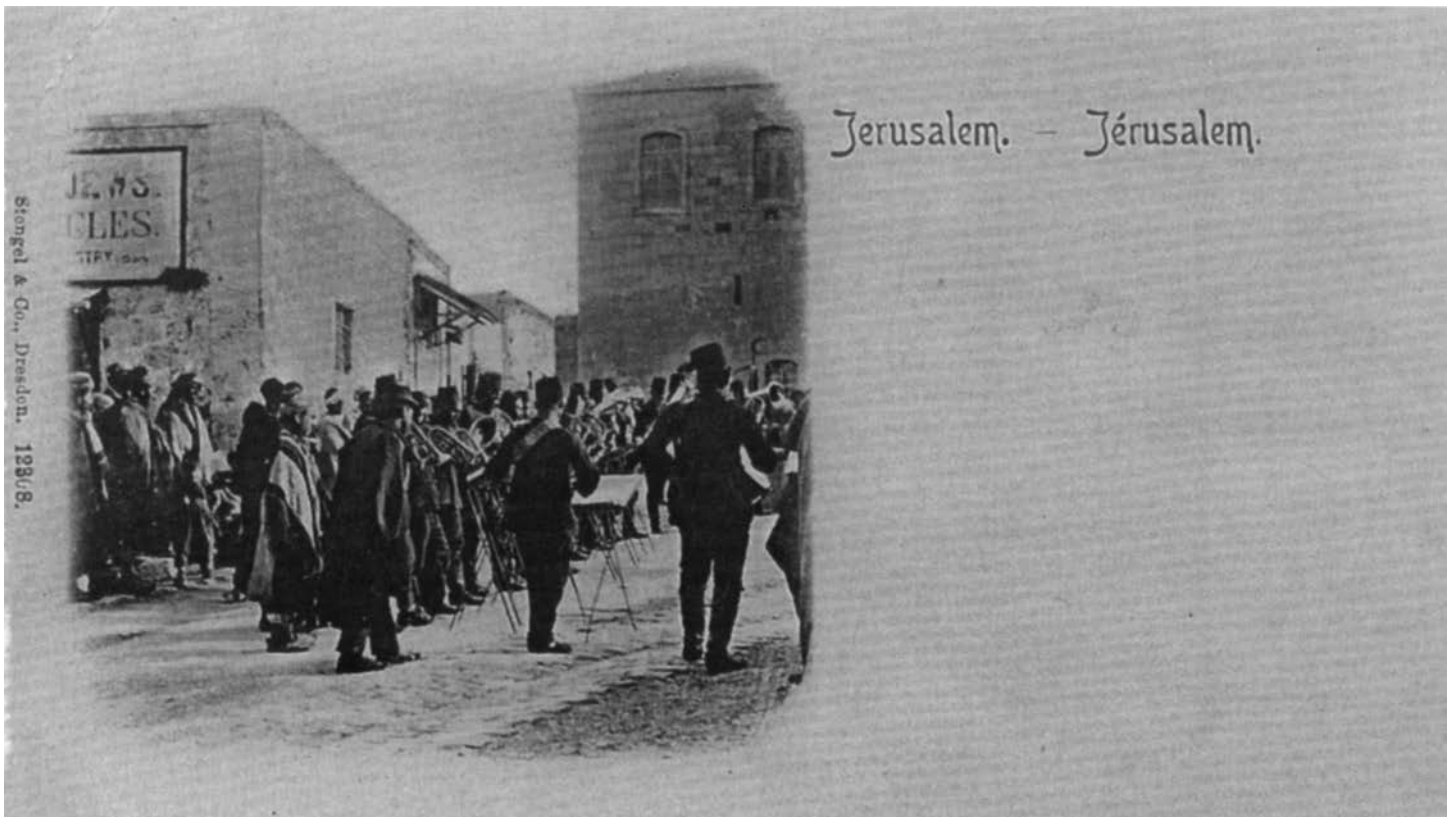
registers of the 16th century. *Mu'adhdhins* are listed as a group several times, namely in the register no. 289, of the year 961/1553-4; 2 *mu'adhdhins* in Bab al-Qattanin; in the register no. 516 of 971/1562-3; *mu'adhdhins*, without mention of an exact number, in the quarters Sharaf, Bab al-Qattanin, Bab al-Hitta (Cohen and Lewis 1978: 85, 89). For the period 932-970/1525-6 to 1562-3, it is recorded that the revenue from tax on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre went into the funding of Qur'an reading at the Aqsa Mosque (Cohen and Lewis 1978: 95). But these entries do not necessarily infer that the musicians of Ottoman Jerusalem played a particularly active role. Their guilds were thus not destined to live on. Among the numerous clubs, societies, associations and professional organisations that were founded under the British mandate in Palestine from the early 1920s onwards, especially in and around Jerusalem,²⁴ not one was connected with music or musicians.

Witnessing the disappearance of Palestinian musical traditions due to the dominating influence of European technology and culture, the musicologist Eduard Sachsse already in 1927 demanded that what little had survived should be recorded and preserved: 'Phonographic recordings on a large scale are urgently required. For to date, we are faced with a complete vacuum in this respect' (Sachsse 1927: 22). The destructive influence of modern mass media on the musical culture of Jerusalem predicted by many scholars and travellers at the beginning of the century has now been confirmed. Perhaps the current activities of Palestinian musicians in Jerusalem, like the 'Jerusalem Center for Arabic Music' will give a new lease of life to traditional music in contemporary Jerusalem. It is to be hoped that, in this way, the rich musical traditions of Ottoman Jerusalem may also be revived.

²⁴ Mahmud Zayid, *al-Mausu'a al-Filastiniyya* 3: 179-280 counts 275 *jam'iyya*, 28 *rabita* and 163 associations called *nadi*.



Pl. 21.9 The Turkish military band in the municipal park in Jerusalem, around 1900 (Photograph: from Eckard/Zickermann/Fenner 1907).



Pl. 21.10 Postcard from Jerusalem, around 1900 showing the Turkish military band in the square inside Jaffa Gate (Gustaf-Dalman-Archive, Greifswald).

Chapter 22

TWO OTTOMAN CEREMONIAL BANNERS IN JERUSALEM

Vera Tamari

The purpose of this short chapter is to review the two Ottoman banners (*bayariq*)¹ in the Aqsa Mosque Museum in Jerusalem² (pls. 22.1a and 22.1b) within the broader context of the annual *mausim* of Nabi Musa, during which these banners were carried. This study does not aim to repeat the valuable information on the *mausim* so vividly presented by the prominent Palestinian scholars, Dr Tawfiq Canaan (1927 and n.d.) (see Description B), Dr Kamal al-'Asali (1990) and Dr Subhi Ghosheh (1994). This chapter rather summarises the information in their various studies that pertains particularly to the different banners used for the *mausim*, of which the two Aqsa examples are perhaps the only extant examples of the Ottoman period.

The information on banners in the studies mentioned above has been corroborated by interviews carried out with knowledgeable Jerusalemites by the writer of this study. Those interviewed either participated in the

banner-bearing processions in the 1920s and 1930s, or have associations with the banners in one way or another.³ It seems likely that their first-hand accounts and the studies already described are the records closest to the Ottoman period⁴ and may be considered representative of a continuous religious tradition that, according to both chronicles and folk custom, dates back to the 12th century AD, when it was initiated by Salah al-Din after his reconquest of Jerusalem in 1187. Traditionally the procession was seen as a Muslim political response to the Christian celebrations in the form of processions held on Palm Sunday and Easter Day. To this day, thirteen Palestinian Greek Orthodox families of Jerusalem carry the banners designated to their families during the Holy Fire ceremony held on the Saturday preceding Easter Sunday, culminating in the rites in the Holy Sepulchre.⁵

The Nabi Musa celebrations continued to be observed until 1947. They often manifested strong

¹ The Arabic plural form of *beyraq*, a Turkish word meaning flag or standard. Synonyms are *'alam* (plural *a'lam*) used in both Persian and Arabic, and the Turkish *sanjak*, used mostly in Turkish-controlled areas. The term seems to have earlier been designated to a standard larger than a *beyraq* (J Calmard, s.v. *'alam* va *'alamat*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1985: 785-90).

² General Ref. nos. 11 and 12, Inv. Specific nos. *qaf*/13 and *qaf*/14. See also the description in Description A.

³ These informants, to whom I would like to express my thanks, are: Ni'mati al-Imam (Umm Muhammad), whose mother and uncle embroidered and restored the two banners (see Appendix 2); Shaikh Dari Mujahid, drummer (*tabl*) and cymbal (*kass*) player at the Nabi Musa celebrations; Zainab al-Husaini (daughter of Hajj Amin al-Husaini; see note 5) and 'Aisha 'Abd al-Hamid al-Fityani, who, as a child, observed the

celebrations from the terrace of their house which overlooked the esplanade of the Haram.

⁴ Al-'Asali, who resorted to the official Ottoman records in his chapter 'The Maqam and the Mausim during the Ottoman Period' (1990: 91), mentions only the *sirr* or *kiswah*, the gold-embroidered cloth which covered the shrine of Nabi Musa itself. His only reference to banners in that chapter is a mention of 'large banners and drums' as described in an account by a German traveller in 1875 (1990: 97).

⁵ These thirteen Christian banners (*sanajiq*) are made of burgundy velvet with images of Christ, the Resurrection and the Virgin Mary (from an interview with the *mukhtar* of the Greek Orthodox Community, Mitri al-Tubbeh, in September 1995).

nationalistic dimensions,⁶ thus providing legitimacy to political expression in the shadow of the religious celebration. The celebrations were resumed again in 1987 after an interruption of almost forty years.

The banners of the *mausim* of al-Nabi Musa

The present tattered state of the banners in the Aqsa Mosque Museum in no way does any justice to the grand yearly event, when scores of banners (pls. 22.2 and 22.3) were carried as thousands of Muslim participants processed from Jerusalem towards the shrine (*maqam*) of Nabi Musa, south-west of Jericho. Descriptions of the event in all the sources already detailed depict colourful festivities which continued for many days, and which were deliberately planned to coincide with Christian celebrations during the week that preceded Easter, the climax being on Good Friday, the *jum'at al-'alamat* (Friday of the Banners), during which the banner-bearers gathered before proceeding to Nabi Musa.

The procession included religious and political dignitaries, such as the grand *mufti* and the mayor of Jerusalem. Other official delegates represented notable Muslim families of Jerusalem, and bearers of the prestigious banners designated to their families. Amongst them were the families of the Qazzaz,⁷ Disi,⁸ Yunis, Dajani, Husaini, Qlaibo, Bazbaze, Zayid, Tahhan and Qutub.

⁶ Since the 19th century, the *mausim* has been an important factor in developing a sense of national identity in the Palestinian people and later played its part in demonstrating strong opposition to the British Mandate and to Zionist aspirations in Palestine (Al-'Asali 1990: 99-100). The *shaikh* mentioned in note 2, Dari Mujahid, recited enthusiastically to me some of the *ahazij* (political songs) that were chanted in the processions, and especially those addressed to the Palestinian leader, the *mufti* of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husaini, until 1929. See also Ghosheh 1994: 43-4.

⁷ Hajj Naji al-Qazzaz, one of the bearers of his family banner, was the chief *mu'adhdhin* of the Aqsa Mosque, a position he inherited from his father during the Ottoman rule of Jerusalem.

⁸ Shaikh 'Atif al-Disi was a first-class player of the *tabl* and *kass*.

⁹ A question arises as to why it was that these particular families had the official banners rather than others, equally eminent, such as the 'Alamis, Nashashibis, Budairis, Khalidis, Nusaibehs and Ansaris who ranked amongst the oldest Muslim families of Jerusalem. It is known that some families had religious duties, including the Husainis, Qlaibo, Yunis and Bazbaze, who were considered *khuddam al-Nabi* (servants of the prophet), and who held a position in relation to the Maqam al-Nabi Musa; others were *ashab al-turuq* (singular *tariqa*—adherents of a Sufi order). It may also be that these designated roles resulted from a social or political struggle for power amongst the individual families, with the result that they had a monopoly over who might carry a banner; but this requires further investigation.

The privilege of carrying the five official banners of Jerusalem was traditionally associated with specific local families.⁹ The two banners of the Haram (*'alamat al-haram*¹⁰) were carried by the Qutub family, while the honour of bearing the Nabi Musa banner was reserved for the Husaini family. A representative of the Dajani family carried the banner of the Prophet Da'ud, while the privilege of being the main holders of the 'banner of the young men' (*bayraq al-shabab*)—who were from the Bab Hutta neighbourhood in the Old City—was shared between various families, including the Zayid, Kurd and Tahhan. There were other occasions than the procession of Nabi Musa when the official banners were raised. These were usually at the funerals of Jerusalem notables and dignitaries, as well as the occasional important wedding.¹¹

Beyond their responsibility for the Nabi Musa banner, the Husaini family were also considered to be one of the *khadam* (servants) of the Maqam al-Nabi Musa, and they held a key role in the celebrations overall. The official banner of Nabi Musa was kept in the Dar al-Kabira ('The Big House'), which was otherwise known as the Dar al-Bayraq ('The House of the Banner')—a property belonging to the Husainis in 'Aqabat al-Takiyya.¹² The banner was kept folded and wrapped in a silk *buqja* (a large scarf) when the official ceremonies were completed. It was from the Dar al-Bayraq that the official celebrations started, and where the other banner-bearers of Jerusalem gathered on *jum'at al-'alamat*, before they proceeded to the Aqsa Mosque to meet up with the rest of the crowds and those coming from different parts of Palestine. They then processed to Nabi Musa.

An established protocol (*zaffah*)¹³ governed the welcoming of the other two main banners of the *mausim al-Nabi Musa*—those coming from the towns of Nablus and Hebron (al-Khalil). The arrival of the Nablus banner on Thursday preceded by two days the banner from Hebron, which arrived in Jerusalem on Saturday. In each case crowds of Jerusalemites welcomed the banners as they arrived. It was a boisterous event, with *dabkaks* (a Palestinian folk dance) being performed in the street by parties of young men, accompanied by lively singing and

¹⁰ There is some confusion as to the exact identity of these banners. Canaan refers to the banners of the Mosque of 'Umar, of the Prophet Muhammad, and of the Sakhra (Canaan 1927 and n.d: 198, 213-14); in the interview with Shaikh Dari Mujahid, he mentioned the 'two Aqsa banners and the Sakhra banners', whereas Ni'mati al-Imam only speaks about the 'two Haram banners' which should probably be identified as those now displayed in the Aqsa Museum, and the subject of this study (see description below).

¹¹ See Graham-Brown 1980: 68 and fig. 62.

¹² The house, which was referred to by Zainab al-Husaini also as *al-Diwan*, is now all but abandoned, being occupied by a few tenants with no connection to the Nabi Musa event.

¹³ A dance ritual more usually associated with weddings.

mazzika (music) played on the *tabl* (drums) and *kass* (cymbals). The Nablus delegation, which arrived on horseback and in carriages, was met in Shaikh Jarrah, a quarter to the north of Jerusalem (see pl. 22.2). Participants in the ceremony were carried on each other's shoulders and danced with swords and shields (*saif wa tirs*), while the main banner-bearer rode a horse. In a similarly festive atmosphere, the Hebron banner was also welcomed. Its point of arrival was an olive grove near the train station, south of Jerusalem. To avoid friction and overcrowding, protocol, which set the particular days and locations for the arrival of the banners, and later their departure (*tal'at al-bayraq*, pl. 22.3) from Nabi Musi after the event was over, had to be strictly observed.

The bearers of many more flags streamed into Jerusalem from neighbouring villages and from other towns in Palestine. Banners from areas to the south of Jerusalem were brought from the villages of Lifta, al-Malha, Bait Safafah, and Qalonia. The northern villages included 'Anata, Hizma, Jaba' and al-Ram, while delegations representing the eastern villages came from Silwan, Abu Dis and al-'Aizarriyya, and they too carried specialised banners (Ghosheh 1994: 44).

Although crowds and parties also came from the main towns in Palestine, such as Gaza, Ramla, Lod and Jaffa, these were not represented by special banners for the occasion, although some carried '*udad*'.¹⁴ They were just a few of the thousands of onlookers who watched and cheered as each official group walked in the procession and performed their dances, singing and waving their banners. Traditionally some women too followed the banners, pinning onto them their colourful silk kerchiefs as votive talismans for healing or for good wishes.¹⁵

The banners came in a variety of colours and with different inscriptions,¹⁶ each of them with its own specific hue. The Haram flags were green (see description in Appendix 1), while that of Nabi Musa was green with a black centrepiece and with *la illaha illa Allah* ('There is no god but God') inscribed in gold thread on one side of the banner. On the other side there was the verse from the Qur'an *wa kallama Allah Musa taklima* (Sura of Women: 164: 'God spoke with Moses, discoursing with him'). The banner of Nabi Da'ud, which was carried by the Dajani family, was traditionally made of dark purple velvet. The *bayraq al-shabab* was burgundy in colour, while the Hebron banner was green with the inscription *la illaha illa Allah wa Ibrahim khalil Allah*.¹⁷ The Nablus banner was indigo-blue

and heavily embroidered in gold thread. The interview with Shaikh Dari Mujahid disclosed that the Qazzaz family carried more than twenty flags in a variety of colours. Normally religious phrases embroidered on the textiles formed the only decoration, although some also had embroidered crescents—the Ottoman symbol—around the inscriptions.

The staff (*zanah*) for each banner was topped by a crown (*taj*) or a crescent (*hila*), as the finial was termed generically, regardless of the shape or symbol it bore. Canaan classified these 'crowns' in three categories: (a) a spear-head shape; (b) those representing a hand; and (c) those derived from the shape of the moon or the representation of a celestial globe (Canaan 1927 and n.d: 204-5 pl. IV).

Description A

Description of the two banners in the Aqsa Mosque Museum (General ref. nos. 11 and 12, specific nos. qaf/12 and qaf/14)

The two banners in the Aqsa Islamic Museum are almost identical. Their original size cannot now be precisely determined because they have been heavily restored and re sewn to remove the torn areas. The present size of one of them is approximately 120cm in width by 100cm in height. Made of very fine silk fabric, they are both rectangular in shape with a narrow tube-like hem (10cm wide) sewn on one of the shorter sides of the banner to accommodate the wooden staff (*zanah*) which was inserted to allow the banner to be carried. The main field of the banner on both sides is a light olive green, with a smaller silk rectangle (approximately 65cm wide by 53cm high) of a darker shade of green appliquéd on either side of the central field of the fabric. These rectangles carry an elegant inscription in *thuluth* script with the words of the *Shahadah*: *la illaha illa Allah wa Muhammad rasul Allah*. The inscription is finely embroidered in gold thread (pl. 22.4 and col. pl. XV) using the raised satin stitch, popularly known as the *sarma* stitch, which was particularly popular in the Ottoman period from the 16th century onwards.¹⁸ Short gold fringes provide a finish to the banners on the remaining three sides.

Because the silk fabric is splitting, it was possible for me to examine the lining of the banners. This consists of raw white linen. It was also possible to examine closely the way in which the embroidery has been executed. The individual letters of the inscription have been cut out in

¹⁴ The plural form of '*idda*, the *tabl wa kass*, drums and cymbals.

¹⁵ This information comes from the interview with Shaikh Dari Mujahid.

¹⁶ Verses from the Qur'an, or the name of the saint (prophet) the banner represented. See Canaan 1927 and n.d: 201-3.

¹⁷ 'There is no god but God and Ibrahim [the prophet Abraham, patron of Hebron] is beloved of God.'

¹⁸ According to Berker (1990: 12) it was in the 18th century that the new *divah* technique—a satin stitch using gold or silver thread worked over pieces of heavy card—was introduced into Ottoman embroideries.

cardboard and glued in place to the reverse side of the cloth to form a rigid base over which the gold stitching was worked. This technique also meant that to some degree the embroidery is embossed.

The details of the stitching technique were described to me by Ni'mati al-Imam (Umm Muhammad, see note 2), whose late uncle and his sister-in-law had practised this particular embroidery technique. The uncle was Muhammad Sa'id al-Mughrabi, a tailor and calligrapher (*khattat*), and his sister-in-law, Kaukab Da'ud Arafat al-Qudwah, was the mother of Ni'mati; they had themselves restored, over sixty years ago, the original Ottoman banners of the Aqsa Mosque. According to Umm Muhammad, the original Ottoman embroideries had been worked in the Ottoman period by the Sisters of Charity, who reportedly lined the script with cotton tubing instead of cardboard backing; this had been applied by the uncle and mother of Umm Muhammad. The gold thread (*qasab* or *tir-tir*) was imported from Syria, as was the *sajak/sharashib* for the fringes. The gold thread used for the embroidery was particularly pliable, flexing easily to accommodate the curved contours of the letters.

The circular crowns (*taḥ*) of both the banners are also identical, and are made of heavy metal with a pierced inscription of the word *Allah* (pls. 22.5 and 22.6).

Description B

The following excerpts which describe the event are the passages directly relating to the *bayariq* as they were described by Dr Tawfiq Canaan in 1927. The extracts are taken from his *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*.

The banner is handed over to the Mufti on a plate. After reciting a prayer, he unfolds the banner and it is fastened on its stick. The banner is made of green velvet, embroidered along the border with golden threads, and measures 200 x 140cm. A piece of black silk is sewn at the centre of each side bearing an inscription (the writing is also worked in gold thread). The flag is fastened to a long staff, called *zaneh* ending above in a golden crescent (1927 and n.d: 197).

The procession—which in the time of the Turks used to be accompanied by a military band and a guard of honour—moves slowly to the Mosque of Omar ... After the midday prayer is over, the procession leaves the mosque area ... The Grand Mufti, the banner bearer and the other servants of the Prophet

go ahead. As soon as they are out of the holy area they mount horses and move slowly through the prolongation of the Via Dolorosa, leaving the city by St Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Maryam). Due to the great number of umbrellas which are carried by members of the procession and the spectators, this day has been called *id esh-shamasi*, 'the Feast of the Umbrellas'. The *shabab* (young men) assemble in parties, and each one plays, dances and sings on its way. In the crowd many flags are carried, coming from different *awlia* of the city and the surrounding villages. Each flag has its adherents ... the banner of en-Nabi Dahud [*sic*] and that of the Mosque of Omar are always seen in the procession. They accompany that of the prophet Moses, until the procession reaches Ras el-'Amud, where the mayor of Jerusalem and the members of the municipality welcome it ... After refreshments are served, the banner is carefully folded and the dignitaries continue their journey in automobiles or carriages ...

All *saiyarat*¹⁹ leave Jerusalem for Nebi Musa with great pomp and monotonous music; the procession is headed by the banner. As soon as they pass Gethsemane they furl the banner and march slowly and quietly. As soon as they are in sight of the shrine of the Prophet they rearrange their group, unfurl the banner and begin the formal procession again (1927 and n.d: 197-99).

The ceremonies of Nabi Musa last for six days until Maundy Thursday (the Thursday before Easter Sunday) when 'the official return of the banners' takes place.

... As soon as the *siddari* of the Prophet reaches Ras el-'Amud the procession begins again. The different banners and the '*idad*' which had accompanied the banner in its departure from Jerusalem go out to welcome it back. The *bayariq* and musical bands of the *shiukh* el-Qazzaz, 'Atif, Abu Majid, Hasan, 'Ezariyeh and other villages together with the banners of en-Nebi Dahud, el-Haram, and *esh-shabab* of Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron are to be seen ... The banners of Nebi Musa and Nebi Dahud are carried back to the places where they are kept the rest of the year.

¹⁹ Specific groups in the procession that have banners, horses, carriages and '*idad*'.

But the end of this day does not mark the end of Nebi Musa. On Friday the Haram enclosure is crowded with people celebrating *zeffet al-'alemat*, 'the procession of the flags' The banners of the Sakhrāh (Dome of the Rock) and those of Mohammed are carried after the midday prayer in a great procession from el-Aqsa to es-Sakhrāh. The Qutb family are in charge of this honourable duty. Midway, near el-Kas, they halt. The olive tree just beside the basin, known as Zeitunit en-Nabi is believed to become animated at this

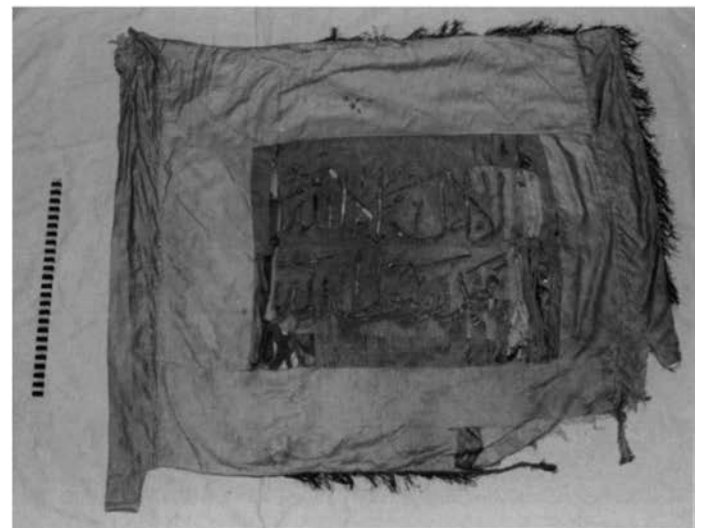
time, when Muhammed and his *sahabeh* visit the mosque area and live in the tree. Under this tree the banners are held and it is believed that the branches bend down to honour them. A representative of the family el-Qutb ascends the *manbar* (marble pulpit) just above the stairs leading from el-Kas to the platform of the Mosque of Omar and receives the flags, which he wraps in a silken cloth (*buqdejeh*) (see above, the Nebi Musa *buqdejeh*) and carries back to their resting place in the Sakhrāh (1927 and n.d.: 213-14).



Pl. 22.1a Ottoman banner in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem (Gen. Ref. no. 11, *qaff*/13): front (above) and reverse (below) (Photograph Garo).



Pl. 22.1b Ottoman banner in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem (Gen. Ref. no. 12, *qaff*/14): front (above) and reverse (below) (Photograph Garo).

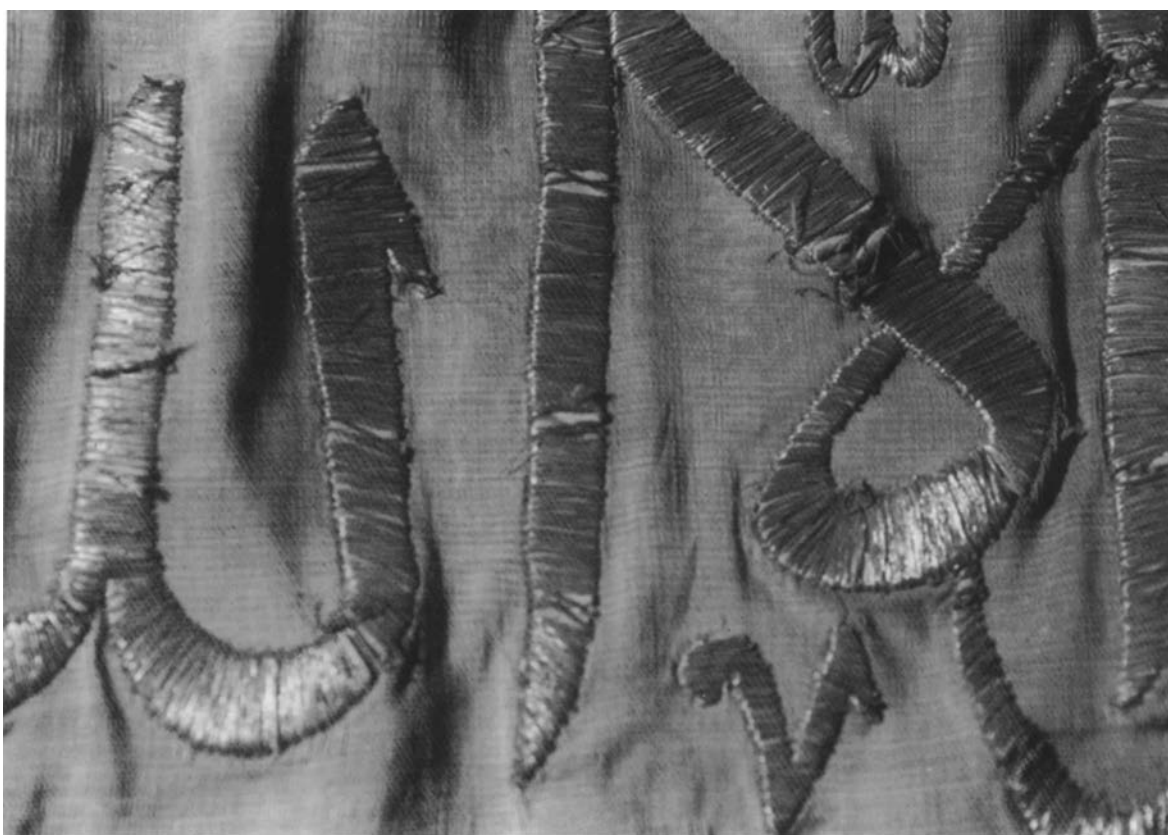




Pl. 22.2 Meeting of banner-bearers in Shaikh Jarrah, north of Jerusalem (Photograph courtesy of Rafi Hanna Safieh).



Pl. 22.3 *Tal'at al-bayraq*—the return of the banners from the Maqam of al-Nabi Musa (Photograph courtesy of Lutfi Abu Omar).



Pl. 22.4 Detail of the raised satin stitch (*sarma*) (Photograph Garo).



Pl. 22.5 The finial or crown (*taj*) of the Ottoman banner, gen. ref. no. 11, *qaf*/13 in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem (Photograph Garo).



Pl. 22.6 The finial or crown (*taj*) of the Ottoman banners, gen. ref. no. 12, *qaf*/14 in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem (Photograph Garo).

Chapter 23

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

David Myres*

No-one, wise Kublai, knows better than you that the city must never be confused with the words that describe it (Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* 1974: 51).

*Acknowledgements

During the two years that I lived and worked in Jerusalem for the Ottoman Jerusalem Project, checking and preparing for publication the surveys in the catalogue of buildings, and compiling the index of architectural details (part II, A Grammar of Architectural Ornament in Ottoman Jerusalem), many people, including large numbers of residents in the city, aided and supported me in my work. To all of them I owe a great debt of gratitude. I must thank individually the following, who, throughout the period of my stay, were patient and extremely helpful—Mr Adnan Hussein, the Director of the Administration of Islamic Waqfs in Jerusalem; Dr Yusuf Natsheh, the Director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology; Mr Khadr Salameh, the Curator of the Islami Museum and Library of the Haram al-Sharif; Mr Issam Awad, the Chief Architect to the Committee for the Restoration of al-Aqsa Mosque, and his staff; Mr George Hintlian, the Curator of the Armenian Museum, Jerusalem; Father Jerome Murphy O'Connor, Professor of New Testament at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française; Dr Marwan Abu Khalaf, the Director, the School of Islamic Archaeology, Jerusalem; Mr Andrew Petersen, the Medieval and Ottoman Survey of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; Professor James W Allan, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Dr Rupert Chapman, the Palestine Exploration Fund; Mr Martin Dow; and the staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London.

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History

On 4 Dhu 'l-Hijja 922/28th December 1516, Jerusalem was captured by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, and was incorporated into the Ottoman empire as a small provincial capital within the Sanjaq of Damascus (al-'Asali 1989: 200). The city had no particular economic or military value. From then, however, until General Allenby walked through Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) in 1917, it was to a greater or lesser extent to be a focus of attention for all Ottoman sultans. In particular it was central to Selim's son and heir, Sulaiman I, known as al-Qanuni (the 'Lawgiver'). As the third holiest city in Islam, after Mecca and Medina, the city was deeply enshrined in the hearts and minds of Muslims throughout the rapidly expanding empire and beyond. For centuries pilgrims had come to the city to pray at two of the holiest of Islamic shrines—al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, the latter of which is the earliest surviving major Islamic monument, and is traditionally associated with the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension.

The officials of the city, no doubt thankful in 1516 to have been delivered from the declining years of an exhausted Mamluk state, recognised the religious significance of the city in their symbolic gesture to their new masters when Selim visited the city some time later:¹

All the Ulama and pious men went out to

¹ Selim is thought to have visited the city soon afterwards on 25 Safar 923/15 March 1517 (Stephan 1938: 147, n. 4)

meet Selim Shah. ... They handed him the keys to the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. He then made presents to all the notable people, exempted them from the onerous taxes and confirmed them (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1938: 147).

The importance of the event was confirmed by Selim, who is said to have prostrated himself and proclaimed 'I am now the possessor of the first *qibla*!' (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1938: 147; St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 76). To make absolutely plain the religious-political importance of the holy sites of the city, Evliya Çelebi states significantly that the Ottoman sultan alone could be the possessor of the House of Allah (Stephan 1939: 95).

The possession of the city, as with Mecca and Medina, was not just a blessing but was also a responsibility. Throughout the four centuries of Ottoman sovereignty over the city, the sultans—and other patrons—were to pay homage regularly to the city and the Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary)—the location of many of the holy sites—by restoring, adapting and adding to the shrines and other monuments there. By doing so they not only demonstrated their own piety, but preserved and protected their Islamic ancestry and heritage for future generations, as earlier sovereign powers had done.

As well as fulfilling their responsibilities as the custodians of the three holy cities, the work to improve the holy sites was also an element in a wider master plan to ensure that the predominance of Ottoman sovereignty was firmly stamped on their new dominions and subject peoples. As in all of the newly conquered lands—and in particular the major provincial cities such as Damascus and Cairo—the imposition of new administrative structures, centred in Istanbul, firmly established the Ottomans as the new masters. The building of new foundations and the embellishment of the holy sites was a particularly visible and symbolic demonstration of the new ruling authorities who could otherwise have seemed remote to the outlying, provincial lands of the empire.

These two factors combined to ensure that the three holy cities received more benevolence than other cities in the provinces (Faroghi 1994: 94). Indeed the scale of the works invested in them, and the fact that the new administration did not, in fact, confine the works to the holy sites, or simply to building religious foundations (as was the case in other provincial cities), suggests that Istanbul had a clear notion of what constituted a dignified pilgrimage city and one which would be an appropriate setting in which pilgrims could come and worship (Faroghi 1994: 111-12). As will become apparent, the imperial administration also aimed to improve the daily lives of the population of the city.

Sulaiman, who took the reins of power in 927/1520, was to pay particular attention to all aspects of the city's welfare. Evliya Çelebi, writing only at the end of the 11th/17th century, gives his version of the motivation behind the works:

When he became an independent king, the Prophet appeared to him in a 'blessed night' and told him: 'Oh, Sulaiman, you will attain the age of forty-eight and will make many conquests. Your offspring will not die out to the end of time. My kindness will always be extended to you. You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse the unbelievers, when they attempt to take possession of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its sanctuary with a water basin and offer annual money gifts to the Dervishes there, and also embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem.' Such being the order of the prophet, Sulaiman Khan rose at once from his sleep and sent from his spoils one thousand purses to Medina and another thousand purses to Jerusalem (Stephan 1939: 86-7).

Sulaiman was to fulfill the aspirations of the 'dream' during the first half of the 10th/16th century by carrying out a series of 'grand projects' that aimed not only to protect and preserve the holy sites, but also the city and its inhabitants. This in turn was intended to demonstrate the advantages of living under Ottoman rule to the population, after the years of economic and demographic decline at the end of the Mamluk period. As well as the restorations to the Haram al-Sharif in general, and the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque in particular, the three main components of the plan included the rebuilding of the city walls and the Citadel, and the restoration of the defunct system of channels and aqueducts supplying the city with water.

His first (rather undiplomatic) act on 18 March 1523 (van Berchem 1923: 403) was, however, to order the expulsion of the Franciscan community from the traditional site of the Tomb of David (al-Nabi Da'ud) on Mount Zion. The order was carried out in 930/1524 (Peters 1993: 222) and, despite the intervention of Francis I of France in 935/1528 (al-'Asali 1989: 206), a thorough renovation of the complex took place, with the conversion of the Crusader hall of the Coenaculum (traditionally believed to be the place of the Last Supper) into a mosque, with a minaret above (van Berchem 1923: 407 and n. 1; cat. no. 1). The adaptations included the addition of a new

domed chamber to the east end of the hall, and the installation of a simple semi-circular *mihrab* in the south wall. The typically Turkish, highly decorative *mihrab in situ* today was, I believe, not added to the mosque until after the end of the Ottoman period; evidence for this is found in a report dated 1920 by Captain Ernest Mackay, the Inspector of Antiquities for the British administration during the Mandate. His report states that 'just below the central window is a plain *mihrab*'.² Judging by the architecture of the surrounding buildings, considerable works were also undertaken on the courtyards and apartments around the hall.

The city walls had been in ruins since 1219 when al-Mu'azzam 'Isa was forced to destroy them for fear of further attacks by the Crusaders (Little 1989: 89; van Berchem 1923 1: 131-6). The Mamluks made no effort to refortify the city, apparently because during much of the period security in the region was relatively stable. However, by the end of the Mamluk period the Bedouin were taking advantage of a run-down administrative system and were raiding travellers in the surrounding country. They were recognised to be a threat to the security of the city, as were the Christian pirates who were known to have been operating along the coast (Burgoyne 1987: 59; Cohen 1989: 469).

The Ottoman works to refortify the city began with what remained of the Ayyubid citadel, which was renovated in 938/1531-2; the remains of the base of the Herodian tower to the right of the main entrance was restored and built up to be put to use as an arsenal and treasury (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1938: 154; Peters 1985: 482). Inside the Citadel, the existing Ayyubid mosque dating to 610/1213-4 was repaired and a *minbar* installed (al-'Asali 1989: 201). An inscription dated 1065/1655 on the present-day minaret of the mosque suggests that an earlier minaret had been built at the same time as the other restorations were being carried out (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 9). A new *mihrab* was also installed in the battlements overlooking the outer moat (known as the 'Masjid al-Saif', cat. no. 27).

Work on the walls surrounding the city seems to have begun a little later, and, given the size of the undertaking, took considerably longer. The funds for the rebuilding of the walls were sent from Damascus and Istanbul, and raised also from tax revenues collected from the surrounding region (Cohen 1989c: 470-2). According to inscriptions on the walls and gates, the works lasted from 944/1537-8 until 947/1540-1, but it is probable that they were started before, and completed after, these dates

(Cohen 1989: 468). The work was carried out in a logical and orderly fashion; the section that was most topographically vulnerable—the north front—was completed first, followed by the east and west fronts. Five new gateways were installed over, or near, the remains of the medieval gates: Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate) (944/1537-8), Bab al-Sitt Maryam (Lion's or St Stephen's Gate) (944/1537-8), Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) (944/1538), Bab al-Nabi Da'ud (Zion Gate) (947/1540) and Bab al-Maghariba (Dung Gate) (947/1540-1). The new walls were punctuated with many towers, among which were the Burj al-Laqlaq (Tower of the Storks) (944/1537-8) located at the north-east corner of the city, and Burj al-Kibrit (Sulphur Tower) (947/1540-1), a short distance to the west of Bab al-Maghariba. Some of the names appear to have changed since the 11th/17th century: Burj Laqlaq, for example, was re-named 'the Tower of Rüstem Pasha' (Stephan 1938: 152). The south and south-eastern walls, founded on the massively-constructed Herodian foundations of the Second Temple period, appear to have been largely unaltered.

The rebuilt walls remain one of the abiding symbols of the Old City; they have, moreover, provided a bulwark that has prevented the city from being sucked into the late 20th-century urban expansion. Well into the 19th century, travellers to the city commented on their impressive height. This is not surprising as little of the city's fabric could be seen from the surrounding countryside except from the Mount of Olives. The impact of the walls was such that many, including Evliya Çelebi, took time to pace around the perimeter, counting towers and measuring the distances:

According to this calculation the circumference of the fortress is seven thousand and fifty paces. It has fifty-seven towers and seventy-three bends which command other walls. There are altogether four thousand and forty embrasures between the battlements of the wall (Stephan 1938: 154).

Broadly speaking, the line of the rebuilt walls followed that of the earlier medieval and Ayyubid periods. Bab al-'Amud is located on the site of the triumphal entrance into the Roman Aelia Capitolina. This gave the builders a good opportunity to construct the magnificent entrance one sees to-day from the much-used road to the north. Recent excavations at Bab al-Maghariba and Bab al-Khalil have also revealed that these gates and their adjoining walls were positioned over earlier medieval constructions. In contrast, the survey discovered evidence to suggest that the Ottoman wall was built on a new line in the north-west corner of the city. Immediately to the south

² Rockefeller Museum Archives, Box 78, Report by Captain Ernest Mackay, Inspector of Antiquities, OETA(S), 1/1/20: 58. I am grateful to the staff of the Rockefeller Museum for allowing me to spend so much time searching through these boxes.

of Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32 and see below), a large square structure—today used as a school—with walls which are approximately 3m thick, incorporates in the west and north walls three (possibly four) large loopholes, raised above floor level. The loopholes are approximately 3m tall and those in the west wall are located within the thickness of the city wall itself. This evidence suggests that the present school is built on the remains of a medieval tower—perhaps Crusader or Ayyubid—which had been previously ruined or destroyed. The Ottoman builders appear to have extended the west wall of the city north of this tower before turning to the east. Staff at the Department of Islamic Archaeology relate that during restorations of the school and the mosque ‘Crusader’ remains were found in the vicinity. This is possibly confirmed by the use of a number of marble columns running transversely through the base of the north wall of the school. This feature is known to have been a common method of strengthening fortified walls in the Crusader period. In addition, a piece of carved stonework is also to be found on site; to judge by its drilled foliate decoration, the stonework also has a Crusader provenance. But both pieces of evidence could equally relate to the re-use of materials, and before a final judgement can be made further investigation will be necessary.

By the time the walls had been completed, the security of the city and its inhabitants had been assured. The builders of the walls were perhaps less fortunate; it is said the two men in charge of the works were executed after the sultan discovered that Nabi Da’ud, newly rebuilt for the benefit of the Muslim population, had not been included within the city boundary (Stephan 1938: 151, n. 3).

During the 1530s, work had already begun on the system of aqueducts and channels which supplied the city with water. By all accounts, these had fallen into disuse, despite restorations carried out by Qa’itba’i during the last half of the 9th/15th century. Two existing reservoirs located at Qanat al-Sabil (Solomon’s Pools) to the south of the city were supplemented by a third pool, and they were all named after their patron (al-‘Asali 1989: 201). Birkat al-Sultan (named after the Mamluk Sultan Barquq), located immediately outside the city walls to the west of Bab al-Khalil, was also repaired (van Berchem 1923: 422). Water-bearing channels, both those already existing and new ones, were taken into the city from this pool; Joseph Ha-Cohen, a Jewish resident in the city in 944/1537, reported that ‘they ... extended the tunnel into the town lest the people thirst for water’ (in Peters 1993: 480). To complete the work at Birkat al-Sultan, a small fountain (*sabil*), with two troughs to provide water for animals (van Berchem 1923: 413), was built at the southern end. Five other fountains, all of a strikingly similar design, which were fed by the newly restored channels, were built in the name of the sultan within the city, mainly in the vicinity of the

Haram. Work on the water-channels continued throughout the 1540s into the 1550s despite documents from 948/1541-2 which record that Muhammad al-Çelebi al-Naqqash, believed to be the Ottoman official supervising the works to the walls and the water system, had reported that the system was already up and running (Cohen 1989: 471).

The six new imperial *sabils* were all built within a six month period from Muharram 943/June 1536 to the beginning of Ramadan 944/February 1537 (see van Berchem 1923: 412-27). The first, Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4), discussed above, was built, as its name suggests, outside the city at the southern end of the restored reservoir. The next four, Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5), Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), and Sabil Bab al-Sitti Maryam (cat. no. 9), were built in highly visible points around the Haram. Cohen (1989b: 2-3) has suggested that some may have occupied the sites of earlier fountains. The remaining fountain, Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8) was built inside the Haram precinct at the northern end close to the gate of the same name. All the fountains except one functioned as points from which the inhabitants of the city could collect water for daily use. Sabil Bab al-‘Atm, the exception to the rule, was built as an ablutions fountain for use before prayer, a fact which is perhaps emphasised by the existence of a *mihrab* in its north elevation, which functions as the *qibla* wall of a small prayer platform built against it.

Although Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (cat. no. 9) no longer has a date, it is clearly one of the group. An analysis of the shouldered arches over the flat niches in the recessed wall of each of the structures—so-called ‘Bursa’ arches (Goodwin 1971: 49) (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Arched niches, N2, N7) which are an Ottoman import—suggests that their design became more sophisticated as time progressed. The example on this *sabil* is the most ‘advanced’, which may indicate that it was the last of the six to be built (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Arched niches, N7). Its location on the east side of the city, furthest of all the fountains from the main supply of water and therefore probably the last to be constructed, gives further credence to this theory.

The works to the water supply system were designed to ensure that water would be available to all. However, even the new additions to the system could not prevent the city from suffering on occasion. A particularly severe drought in 1277/1860 left the channels dry and led to an endemic disease which swept through the city (Prag 1989: 41).

The work to repair the water supplies to the city appears to have been carried out for reasons that were as much religious as practical or secular. The channels all terminated in the Haram where they fed the new ablutions fountains. In addition to the Sabil Bab al-‘Atm, which has already been mentioned, a second, more prominently

located ablutions fountain was built by Sulaiman. This is known as al-Kas (the Cup), which comprised a solid marble bowl set over an octagonal pool with taps in each side, and was placed in the prime position between the two mosques on the Haram al-Sharif, a short distance to the north of Masjid al-Aqsa.

It was not until the other works around the city had been completed that the restorations to the Haram and the holy sites were undertaken. Some work had been done to the Dome of the Rock during 935/1529, when the stained glass windows around the drum had been repaired. Work in earnest, however, seems to have begun around the middle of the 10th/16th century. During the 1550s, the Haram precinct was cleared of all debris (Cohen 1989: 4). Evidence for the clearance is found in the bakery of the Khassaki Sultan complex (959/1552 see below), where a number of stones with incised arabesque ornamentation and fragments of inscriptions were built into the external walls. The fragments are known to have originated from the Mamluk foundation of the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, which had been partially destroyed in an earthquake a few years earlier in 952/1545-46 (Walls 1980: 199, n. 5; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 29, nn. 87 and 88).

The most extensive restorations to the Dome of the Rock were started in the same year of 952/1545-6 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21; al-'Asali 1989: 200). It is possible that for a short time this important work was under the supervision of the great Ottoman architect Qoja Sinan (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 87; Blair and Bloom 1994: 220), for it is believed that he came to the city on the way back from his pilgrimage to Mecca in order to organise the craftsmen and artists engaged in the works on the building. During the restorations, the existing Umayyad mosaics around the outside of the drum and the octagonal ambulatory below were replaced with *cuerda seca* and polychrome underglazed tiles; tile mosaic and blue and white tiles were also used (Richmond 1924: 23-76; Atil 1987: 239; Blair and Bloom 1994: 220; Ch. 27 in this volume). In addition, the lower parts of the octagon were encased in marble cladding. Qubbat al-Silsila, to the east of the Dome of the Rock, was retiled a little later in 969/1561-2 (van Berchem 1925: 180-1). Despite the growing tile industry at Iznik during the middle of the 10th/16th century, the tiles are thought to have been made locally (Atil 1987: 24). Repairs to the leadwork covering the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque were also carried out soon after 987/1579 (Heyd 1960: 157). Once the exterior of the Dome of the Rock had been completed, the doors were repaired (972/1564-5), and later two windows were re-opened (1006/1597-8) (Atil 1987: 21). There seems to have been some delay in the completion of the earlier work undertaken by Sulaiman (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985: 101, n. 38) because 'iron, steel, lead, copper, wood, and first-rate marble bought with government funds' for the purpose

were still in storage in 984/1576 (Heyd 1960: 156). The reasons for the delay are unclear. The leadwork used in the restorations to the domes of both the Sakhra and the Aqsa Mosque around 987/1579 is known, however, to have been imported from Istanbul (Heyd 1960: 157). Later requests sent to Damascus and Tripoli for artists and craftsmen suggest that there was a shortage of skilled artisans in the city (Heyd 1960: 156). If the delays are indicative, then it seems likely that Sinan's visit would have been made some time during the fifth and sixth decades of the century.

From the documents available, it is clear that other works were undertaken on the Aqsa Mosque. Very few inscriptions survive on the building, however, which document any work during the first century of Ottoman rule. Evliya Çelebi describes an inscription in the rotunda under the dome stating that it was restored by 'Sulaiman Khan', as well as other work undertaken on the prayer niche and *minbar*. These were apparently decorated with 'twelve kinds of glass of different, fine and iridescent colours' (in Stephan 1939: 82-3). Other works on the Dome were to continue until the end of Sulaiman's reign. The pavement around the Dome of the Rock was relaid with 'white unhewn marble' (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 85). And, as noted above, the large marble basin, al-Kas, was positioned between the two mosques for use as an ablutions fountain (*şadirvan*) (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 85).

Up to this point, the work in the city had been carried out with two clear purposes in mind. The general aim was to secure the city within the broader context of the empire by protecting it, and thus provide for the needs of the population. By doing so the Ottoman authorities also gained popular support. The second associated aim of the Ottoman sultan, which was more specific within the context of Jerusalem, was to secure his claim to be the custodian of the three holy cities of Islam.

The works that Sulaiman undertook were appropriate for another reason. The sultan considered himself, perhaps not surprisingly, as the second Solomon in the context of Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock was after all on the site of Solomon's Temple. An inscription on Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) describes him as 'the Second Solomon among the Kings of the World' (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985: 39, and van Berchem 1925: 167, and nn. 1 and 2). Another *sabil* in Edirne, which was endowed by his wife Khassaki Sultan—or Roxelana, as she is more commonly known in the West—hails him as the 'Solomon of his Age' (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985: 103 and n. 39). Comparisons have also been made between the planning of the Süleymaniyye and the Haram al-Sharif; and the interior of his mausoleum has been compared to the interior of the Dome of the Rock (Stierlin 1985: 159). From this it is fair to suggest that the sultan was preoccupied not only with the city but also with his own notional, but no less potent,

links to it, and this goes some way to explain the extent of the works attributed to him. There is perhaps one further Solomonic link with the imperial work to be found in the city concerning the six fountains built after al-Kas. It seems curious that so much work should have been done to the system of channels and aqueducts which, even if requiring maintenance, are known to have been extensively restored at the end of the 15th century. As mentioned above, al-Ashraf Qa'itbai (r. 1468-96), as part of his work to consolidate his sovereignty over the three holy cities, is known to have ordered the restoration of the water supplies to the city in 874/1469 (van Berchem 1923: 338-43). This was a few years prior to the foundation of his monumental *sabil* in the Haram (887/1482) (Burgoyne 1987: 606; Bloom and Blair 1994: 93). In addition, Qa'itbai built two further fountains close to the *sabil* named after him (see below). Other fountains too were already in existence during the latter half of the 9th/15th century; Mujir al-Din alludes to one at the southern end of al-Wad Street, where the Stairs of the Fountain were located, and there seems to have been another at the northern end of the Haram.

Why therefore should six new *sabils* have been built? The rationale behind building the new fountains *could* have been simply to do with contemporary water requirements, or with the available space, or the position of existing water channels. There is, however, some textual evidence to suggest that the number of fountains to be built had been pre-ordained prior to their construction. Mujir al-Din's account of Jerusalem which, given the sultan's interest in the city, may well have been known either to him or to one of his advisers, could point to a significantly more symbolic reason which would have appealed to Sulaiman. Mujir al-Din states: 'there were in Jerusalem *six basins* (my italics) constructed by Hazqi I (Hezekiah)—one of the Kings of Israel ... three were in the town ... and the basins were made for the people of Jerusalem' (Sauvaire 1876: 189). The account does not, strictly speaking, concern Solomon. But it is concerned with a king of ancient Israel who actively bestowed his patronage on the city.

A mosque, known as the Kursi Sulaiman (Throne of Solomon, cat. no. 42), which is located against the east wall of the Haram, is another site traditionally associated with the builder of the Second Temple. It was built on the site traditionally believed to have been the place where King Solomon went to pray after he had completed the construction of the Temple (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 81). The building is undated. However, there seems little doubt that it is a mid 16th-century foundation. The evidence is not to be found on its exterior, which appears to have been restored at a later date, but rather inside the building, which consists of a large hall leading to a *mihrab* in the south wall. The space is covered by two shallow domes. A narrow aisle flanks the main hall to the east and

this accommodates a huge 'cenotaph' which extends the length of the building. The shape of the domes indicates the Ottoman date of the building. Other details confine the dating to the first half of the 10th/16th century; situated above the *mihrab*, there is a cavetto frieze decorated with small arched niches carved with a leafy decoration. The frieze is identical to one found over the *mihrab* in the mosque of the caravanserai in the Khassaki Sultan complex (959/1552), and to my knowledge is not found on a frieze in a monument elsewhere in the city (although it is found on the voussoirs of the 16th-century Ottoman Bab al-'Amud). Moreover, the hood of the *mihrab* in the Kursi Sulaiman is plastered and has carved or moulded decoration (see cat. no. 42). This treatment of a hood is only found in one other monument in the city—the Mamluk Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq (Burgoyne 1987: 507-12). It seems fair to suggest then that the Kursi Sulaiman too was begun in the period of Sultan Sulaiman; and even if no secure proof connects it specifically to the sultan himself, it is somehow nice to think that it was included in the *oeuvre* of works which possessed a Solomonic lineage.

The protection afforded by the walls, and the general resurgence of confidence that these and other building activities provided, were only one facet of a general reorganisation of the whole region under the new regime. Jerusalem, like all provincial towns and cities, was fitted into the highly centralised organisation of the Ottoman empire. It became an administrative capital within the province (*sanjaq*) of Damascus, by way of which all orders came from Istanbul. Jerusalem, however, was in an unfortunate position geographically because it was neither on a main trade route nor on the principal pilgrimage routes. Even though it administered a number of neighbouring towns—Hebron and Bethlehem in particular—it had little strategic or economic importance. Traditionally most of its economy relied on local commerce in olives, from which soap, oil, and other associated products were processed, and of course on fruit, vegetables, and meat for local consumption. In better times, when the threat of Bedouin attack was reduced, it also relied on the trade and taxes from pilgrims and other visitors to the city. It was therefore clearly in the interests of the new administration to see that the local economy was encouraged, for by doing so revenue was generated through taxes both from the local population and from the increasing pilgrim trade.

In fact the imperial works thus far completed did have the result of generating a new wave of optimism in Jerusalem. The new-found security of the city and the region around it encouraged a growing stream of pilgrims and other visitors. During the first half of the 10th/16th century, there was an increase in the population from approximately 5,000 to 16,000 in 961/1553 (Peters 1993: 205). As a consequence, there was an economic boom

which had the knock-on effect of a growth in building activities. This was particularly so in the markets (*sugs*), where trade expanded as a direct result of the increased security in the region, which in turn provided the necessary funds for their physical rebuilding and restoration. Evidence for such a boom is provided by the substantial restorations and additions to Suq al-‘Attarin (the Spice Market) in 973/1565, and to the monumental Mamluk foundation, Suq al-Qattanin, in 972-4/1564-6 (Cohen 1989: 6-7). Although documents have yet to be published, and a comprehensive survey of vernacular architecture in the city has not yet been carried out, these works must have been accompanied by building activities in the private residential neighbourhoods. It is possible that evidence for such activities can be found elsewhere; Behrens-Abouseif (1994: 272) has suggested that, soon after the Ottoman conquest of Cairo, the populace of the city preferred not to institute *waqfs* (often set up to evade taxes or to protect family fortunes), but chose instead to invest heavily in upgrading residential quarters. The prestigious house built by the Amir Bairam Jawish over his *ribat* (947/1540) and *maktab* (947/1540-1) (cat. nos. 11, 12 and 13)—the first securely-datable, independent Ottoman foundation to be built outside the Haram precinct—may provide local evidence of such private building enterprises in Jerusalem.

Having encouraged a growth in the local economy, the imperial administration was in a position to address other needs, particularly those of the poorer communities in the city. A large charitable complex, al-‘Imara al-‘Amira al-Khassaki Sultan, which was built in the centre of the city not far from the Haram, aimed to fulfil this requirement. The complex was founded in 959/1552 but the final *waqfiyya* was not drawn up until 964/1557 and seems only to have become fully functional—at least according to census records—some time before 970/1562-3 (Stephan 1944: 171 ff; Cohen 1984: 83-9). It was a new type of institution to the city and wholly Ottoman in conception. In Ottoman Turkey, since the latter half of the 8th/14th century (Blair and Bloom 1994: 134), the administration’s concern for the lower stratum of society and the poorer religious communities had resulted in the sultan (and other wealthy patrons) building large socio-religious complexes, known as *‘imara*, or later *külliye*. These prestigious undertakings had the additional benefit of providing highly visible evidence of the founders’ pious benevolence (Faroghi 1994: 94). The foundations were generally built in the context of a town or city and incorporated a *khan*, *madrasa*, mosque, clinic, the tomb of the founder or of a *shaikh*, and a soup kitchen, which distributed free meals daily to the poor. The complexes were generally built in the context of a town or city. A number were founded in Bursa and Edirne as well as in Istanbul, the most famous of which was the Süleymaniyye

complex built by Sultan Sulaiman in 957-64/1550-6. Their appeal to the people—and in particular to the many pious communities in the holy cities—meant that they were a particularly powerful means of generating support for the new administration. As a result, provincial cities around the empire also benefited from the building of these complexes, which were built in Mecca and Medina by Sulaiman and his wife at the same time similar foundations were being built in Damascus and Cairo (Faroghi 1994: 106).

The Khassaki Sultan complex, which is more generally known today as *al-takiyya*, was begun two years earlier than the more elaborate Süleymaniyye complex (962/1554-5) in Damascus but postdates the *külliye* constructed by Sulaiman for his wife in Istanbul which was completed in 1539.

The Khassaki Sultan complex in Jerusalem was the largest endowment in Palestine (Heyd 1960: 139) and was made possible only because of the founder’s intimate relationship with the sultan (Peri 1984: 47; see also al-‘Asali 1982: 9-25). An impression of the size of the foundation and the resources it required in order to function is given by an imperial document which relates that the complex was consuming half of the entire water supply of the city (Heyd 1960: 147). To meet the requirements of both the complex and the city as a whole, another water channel had to be built, the cost of which was met by Khassaki Sultan Hürrem herself.

The complex was built in and around the large Mamluk palace of al-Sitt Tunshuq which dates to c. 799/1388 (Burgoyne 1987: 485-503). The main elements of the *‘imara* complex were a *khan*, accommodation for a Sufi community, refectory, mosque, bakery, probably a bathhouse, and a soup kitchen, which distributed two free meals daily to the poor and to the Sufi residents. Other buildings were erected to support the main functions of the complex. The survey in this volume (cat. no. 15) is the first time that the complex has been fully published. As a result, a number of other elements mentioned in the *waqfiyya* have been identified (Stephan 1944: 171); these include the so-called ‘high praying place’ which in its planning resembles a *qibla iwan*, but which can also be equated to the Ottoman form of mosque which includes flanking spaces. A *sabil kuttap* was also probably built as part of the foundation. The ground floor of this ‘fountain-school’ formed a large water-storage tank, while the upper level provided a small loggia or schoolroom in which the children of poor parents were instructed in the Qur’an. Only one other example of a *sabil kuttap* is to be found in Jerusalem in the Mamluk Tashtamuriyya complex, which dates to 784/1382-3 (Burgoyne 1987: 460-75). Of note is the fact that the Khassaki Sultan example, although possibly a rebuilding of a Mamluk structure (Burgoyne 1987: 499) was the only one to be built in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, for the

dynasty had a distinct predilection for such structures. In Cairo, for example, over a hundred are thought to have been founded during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries alone (Blair and Bloom 1994: 92; Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 228).

The survey and subsequent research has also revealed that the complex probably incorporated the Ribat and Maktab of Bairam Jawish (947/1540; al-'Asali 1982: 20; cat. nos 11, 12). This was the first new foundation and, as it turned out, also the largest to be built by an 'independent' patron in the city, other than the imperial works. Although it was not fully understood in an earlier period this century, when van Berchem (1923: 430) thought it 'apparently insignificant', it remains one of the most important of all 10th/16th-century endowments. The foundation is located on both sides of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya which it spans by way of a bridge (*qantara*), and it contained a hospice for travellers (usually pious pilgrims) (*ribat*), and a school (*maktab*) for the teaching of Islamic law. The hospice consisted of a courtyard and at least five cells on a balcony overlooking it. The exact extent of the *maktab* is less clear, but it was probably centred on an earlier Mamluk foundation, al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, which was incorporated into the new complex (see below). The *maktab* extended to a series of chambers with decorated vaults which were loosely planned around a small courtyard on the north side of the street. A simple cross-vaulted chamber located at street level, to which the inscription for the *maktab* is fixed, now houses a tomb which, although unidentified, may be that of the patron of the complex. As briefly indicated above, the survey has discovered that Bairam Jawish also built for himself a splendid house with a second floor courtyard in a *qantara* over Tariq al-Wad (cat. no. 13). A previously unpublished inscription over the (now blocked-up) doorway to the residence confirms that it was built soon after 947/1540. Access to the house was originally from the courtyard of the Ribat. The house once had a splendid view up and down Tariq al-Wad, and, despite being well down in the valley, from the roof terrace it has a panoramic view of the Dome of the Rock. A pretty little *madrasa*, previously known as the Rasasiyya Madrasa (a reference to the lead sheeting used between the first seven courses of masonry in the elevation), which is located between the two complexes, has until now remained undated. All the architectural evidence suggested that it was a late Mamluk building, and that it was restored some time during or after the building of the Bairam Jawish complex. These observations were proved correct during 1995 with the discovery of the *waqfiyya* for the Bairam Jawish complex. The document confirms that the *madrasa* was called al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya and that it was indeed renovated and incorporated into the Bairam Jawish complex in 940/1540.³ The combined surveys of Ribat Bairam Jawish,

Maktab Bairam Jawish, the Khassaki Sultan complex and al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya have shown that the last foundation was probably a much larger institution than had hitherto been appreciated. The survey, and the existence of a number of decorative details, blocked up doorways etc., suggests that the *madrasa* once extended to the south into two connected courtyards. Confirmation will have to await further investigation. After it was incorporated into the Khassaki Sultan complex, the *madrasa* almost certainly came to be known as 'al-Madrassa al-Khassakiyya', a foundation which appears in legal documents in the 11th/17th century (al-'Asali 1982: 25).

Given the upward surge in the fortunes of the city during the first fifty years or so of the 10th/16th century, it is no surprise to find that many of the datable Islamic Ottoman monuments were founded during this period. Not all of them, of course, were imperial foundations. The wave of optimism that swept through the city and the region encouraged other patrons, usually those who had held, or still held, high office in the Ottoman administration or in the religious communities. It is also noticeable that most of the datable works are located inside the Haram. Within ten years of the conquest of the city, Qasim Pasha—perhaps the same Güzeldje Qasim Pasha who had been Governor of Egypt in 929/1522 and 930/1523 (van Berchem 1925: 167 and n. 1 and 2, 168)—built an ablutions fountain (*şadirvan*) in the Haram al-Sharif (933/1527) (cat. no. 2). Restorations were carried out on a *mihrab* on the present site of the small domed structure, Qubbat al-Nabi (945/1538-9) (cat. no. 10), for which a new dome was almost certainly also constructed (van Berchem 1925: 169, 171-3 and see below). Other domes too—including Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) and Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30)—may have been built during the century (but see below).

Most of the non-imperial works in the Haram were concentrated on the upper esplanade, and to the western and northern sides of the enclosure. This was presumably because they were the most accessible and—bearing in mind that the foundations were as much about self-advertisement as piety—because they were also the most visible sides. This latter factor is particularly evident in the manner in which, as with their Mamluk predecessors, almost all the new foundations and restorations were accompanied by large inscriptions which, often in florid terminology, extolled the patron. Outside the Haram inscriptions were used in a similar fashion; Sulaiman's *sabils* and the new city gateways are cases in point. Even the smallest foundation had one. The early 12th/18th-century fountain, until now known as the Sabil Shaikh Budair—one

³ I am grateful to Dr Yusuf Natsheh for being kind enough to provide me with this information.

of the smallest independent buildings built in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period—has one of the most beautiful inscription plaques in the city.

The new atmosphere in the city during the 10th/16th century also resulted in the need to accommodate the burgeoning pious communities. The *waqfiyyas* of many of the Mamluk *madrasas* and hospices around the Haram had, through neglect, finally lapsed (Cook 1976: 204). However, as in other places where there had been a rich architectural past, practical needs, perhaps linked to an underlying moral obligation to preserve the Islamic heritage (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 271-2), ensured that the earlier buildings were restored to use and occupied by religious communities (Peters 1993: 204). This was not the pattern in Jerusalem alone but prevailed in other provincial cities at the time, for example Cairo (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 224).

New foundations were, however, also being built for the same purpose within the Haram. The largest body of new buildings was built against the western and northern sides of the upper esplanade in the form of fourteen small, two-storeyed cells (*khalwas*, *hujras* or *odas*—see cat. nos. 14, 16-17, 20-24, 34, 41, 46, 51-53). Only a few of them have foundation inscriptions: Hujrat Muhammad Amir al-Liwa' al-Quds (956/1549-50, cat. no. 14), Khalwat Qitas (967/1559-60, cat. no. 16), Khalwat Parwiz (967/1559-60, cat. no. 17), Hujrat al-Muhammad Agha (996/1588, cat. no. 20; for these, see also van Berchem 1925: 186-9).

The practice of building structures against the side of the upper platform of the Haram al-Sharif dated back to at least the Ayyubid period, with the building of the Nahawiyya at the south-west corner, and the cistern of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (607/1210). It is possible that structures were also built during the Mamluk period, for Mujir al-Din seems to allude to cells being built on the east side of the Haram platform (Sauvage 1876: 118-9). A drawing dated 888/1483, which gives a view of the sanctuary from the east, clearly shows no cells on either the east or west sides (Creswell 1979: 90). Evliya Çelebi stated in 1072/1682 that on all sides of the Shrine of the Rock there were rooms belonging to 'forty *madrasas*' (Stephan 1939: 98). The text is ambiguous for the figure seems to suggest that he is including the Mamluk *madrasas* located outside the Haram to the west and north. However, within the context of the text, the 'Shrine of the Rock' could only apply to the upper esplanade. In any case, the buildings almost certainly functioned as accommodation as well as places for prayer and study for the various dervish communities in the city. Evliya Çelebi writes that in each of them lived 'pious people considered to be the wonder-working Dervishes. Some of them break their fast only once a week, while others may not have tasted meat for forty or fifty years' (Stephan 1939: 98). Their use appears to have continued in

a similar fashion throughout the Ottoman period for Wilson, writing during the 13th/19th century, writes that there were 'underground rooms [presumably the rooms on the lower floor] ... for destitute Muslim pilgrims who ate and slept at the Mosque's expense' (in Ben-Arieh 1984: 477-9). Catherwood states that 'one portion of these (*khalwas*) is devoted to the black pilgrims from Africa' (Bartlett 1850: 152). The clear inference from this is also that the Haram, even in the latter years of the Ottoman empire, still provided for those who made the pilgrimage to the city.

The similarities in planning, construction and architectural detailing shared by the dated and the undated *khalwas* suggest that they had common typological and architectural origins. Most are relatively humble structures, but one cell stands out from its plainer cousins. The so-called 'Mamluk Cell' (cat. no. 22), centrally located in the north colonnade, has earned its sobriquet from the extensive and elaborate use of red and cream-coloured stone and carved decoration. It is one of the most accomplished and beautiful monuments in the city. Until the present survey, it remained undated although it was clear that it had been built by a patron of considerable importance with finances to match. Its general appearance suggests that it could have been built during the Mamluk period, but the planning of the building is clearly Ottoman (see below). The architectural details also serve to support such a suggestion; the capitals and bases of the columns of the portico (although superior) share similarities with other Ottoman foundations in the Haram, the Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) for example. The designs of the decorative cartouches on the south elevation bear a striking resemblance to other mid-10th/16th-century foundations including some of the cells but also, for example, those found in the south gateway to the Khassaki Sultan complex. Such details seem to confirm that the building dates from the late 10th/16th century or early 11th/17th century. Given the undoubted importance of the building, it is sad to find that there are no inscriptions remaining in the recesses clearly intended to house them. [Editor's note: see the catalogue entry, cat. no. 10, where Dr Yusuf Natsheh gives details of the relevant *waqfiyya* where the patron is named as Ahmad Pasha, and where the monument is dated to 1007-9/1598-1601].

Away from the Haram, the establishment of 'private' pious institutions during the 10th/16th century was less widespread. To a large extent this must be attributed to the fact that after the extensive building activities of the Mamluk period there was neither the space nor the need for them. The Mamluk patrons had almost entirely filled the neighbourhoods along the west and north sides of the Haram with their *madrasas*, hospices, markets, *khans* and baths (*hammams*), leaving few gaps in which to build during the subsequent centuries (Burgoyne 1987).

The Ottomans were great and innovative builders of mosques, particularly in the administrative centres of the empire. However, in Jerusalem there seem to have been only four new mosques built: Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32), Masjid al-Hamra' (c. 939/1532-3, cat. no. 3), Masjid al-'Imara al-'Amira al-Khassaki Sultan (957/1552, cat. no. 15) and Masjid al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (1043/1633, cat. no. 35). The focus of the Islamic religious community was the hugely potent presence of the Haram al-Sharif with the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The presence of these great religious buildings, allied to the other factors already mentioned, must have reduced the requirement for more mosques. Masjid al-'Imara al-'Amira al-Khassaki Sultan and Masjid al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya were both elements of larger complexes. Masjid al-Hamra' was an independent foundation, but nothing is known of its original form, for it was subsequently demolished. A minaret, which was probably built at the same time, survives to the present day (see below) but the mosque was replaced by an inferior structure, whose details point to a date some time during the last two centuries. Masjid al-Qaimari, which is located in the far north-western corner of the city, is also undated. On the basis of its design, however, it can probably be attributed to the 10th/16th century with some degree of certainty for it is typically Ottoman. It consists of a single unit, a domed space supported on semi-hemispherical squinches and deep wall arches, and has close parallels with early Ottoman mosques in Turkey—for example Orhan Gazi Cami in Bilecik (8th/14th century) (Goodwin 1971: 19). In spite of Sulaiman's assurances to Francis I, after he had converted the Coenaculum (al-'Asali 1989: 206-7), other Christian churches were converted into mosques, including the Church of St Agnes, which became the Jami' al-Maulawiyya (before 995/1586-7?) (cat. no. 19). A minaret was also built at this time, and the main door into the church was blocked by the installation of a *mihrab*.

If the building of mosques fell something short of expectation, the building of minarets made up for it. No less than five new minarets were built in the city during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries—the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (930/1524, cat. no. 1), the minaret of al-Jami' al-Maulawiyya (before 995/1586-7, cat. no. 19), the minaret of al-Qal'a (938/1531-32?, cat. no. 26), and the minaret of al-Hamra' (c. 939/151532-316, cat. no. 3). The minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud was built soon after the conversion of the Coenaculum into a mosque. The minaret of al-Qal'a was also part of the works undertaken by the sultan to restore the site's mosque. Subsequently renovations were undertaken in 1065/1655 by Muhammad Pasha, but the extent of these works is not clear. Two earlier Mamluk minarets were also probably restored or completely rebuilt during the period—the minaret of Bab al-Asbat (769/1369-70; see Burgoyne 1987: 415) and the minaret of al-

Fakhriyya (745/1345; Burgoyne 1987: 270-2). Of the new minarets, those of al-Nabi Da'ud and al-Qal'a are both rooftop-mounted structures, while the one at al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya adjoins the south-east corner of the converted Crusader church. In contrast to the others, the minaret of al-Hamra' is now, and appears to have always been, a free-standing structure independent of any other building. Indeed, to the author's knowledge, it is the only free-standing minaret in the city.

The locations of the newly-founded minarets give continued credence to Bloom's argument that while minarets in many instances—in the smaller towns at least—continued to function as high places from which to call the faithful to prayer, they also increasingly became symbols—or, as Hillenbrand has commented—'signposts' of Islam (Bloom 1989 and Hillenbrand 1994: 171). Both the minarets of Jami' al-Maulawiyya and Masjid al-Hamra' are located deep within the residential quarter of the Old City; they do not need the modern loudspeakers attached to them today, for they can be identified from a distance. The sites of the minarets of al-Qal'a and al-Nabi Da'ud suggest that in both complexes they were intended as much as symbols of Islamic sovereignty, aimed at travellers approaching Jerusalem, as 'signposts' for the resident community.

Hygiene, in keeping with the notion of a dignified atmosphere appropriate to the pilgrimage cities, was an important element in improvements made to the Holy City (Faroghi 1994: 111). The works to upgrade the system of aqueducts can be seen as a function of this. Baths (*hammams*) were also an integral part of the daily lives of at least the upper echelons of the inhabitants. Evliya Çelebi states that six were in use during the 17th century—Hammam al-'Ain, Hammam al-Shifa', Hammam al-Batrak, Hammam al-Sultan, Hammam al-Sitti Maryam, and Hammam al-Jamal (Evliya Çelebi 1935: 488; Horn 1962: 210). None of them seem to have been precisely dated. Hammam al-'Ain is known to have been built within the Suq al-Qattanin complex during the Mamluk period (Burgoyne 1987: 276) and Hammam al-Shifa', although incorporated into the same foundation, is thought to have predated it (Burgoyne 1987: 273). Hammam al-Batrak is believed to have existed in the 10th/16th century, while the present Hammam al-Sitti Maryam, located close to Bab Sitti Maryam, dates from 1296/1878, but is thought also to have existed in the 16th century in a slightly different location behind Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam. The history of the two remaining *hammams* is less well known.⁴

At the end of the 11th/17th century, Evliya Çelebi paints an optimistic picture of the city: 'Jerusalem has plenty of buildings. Its air is fresh and its water is sweet ...

⁴ I am indebted to Mr Martin Dow for providing these details at short notice. See his Ch. 33 in this volume.

The inhabitants ... numbered 46,000' (al-'Asali 1989: 211). Nevertheless, the two hundred years from the end of the 10th/16th century throughout the region was marked by the long slow decline to the end of the Ottoman empire. The reign of Sulaiman had been the apogee of Ottoman military strength. By the end of the 10th/16th century and beginning of the 11th/17th century, the imperial army had fought exhausting wars against the Persians and Hapsburgs and the empire was becoming too big to maintain effectively (Blair and Bloom 1994: 227; Cook 1976: 79-102). Despite its potent symbolism in Islam, Jerusalem slid into the backwaters of an increasingly uncontrollable bureaucracy. From time to time, it and the surrounding region became prey once again to Bedouin raiders (Peters 1993: 214). In general, the period can be characterised by the bitter internal strife between the various groups contending for power in Palestine, by the intricate relationships with the Sublime Porte and by the blossoming economic relations with the European powers. Administrative upheavals during the first decades of the 12th/18th century led to a deterioration both in security and in economic conditions which inevitably affected the local inhabitants (al-'Asali 1989: 206-10).

Palestine too suffered from its growing isolation from the centre of power and this led to maladministration and the corruption of local governors. This state of affairs reached its nadir during the late 18th century (Volnay in Peters 1993: 203). Ottoman officials and governors were usually only allowed to remain in office for a short time. This was particularly the case in Egypt (Bates 1985: 121-2) and was a deliberate policy by Istanbul to prevent the possibility of anyone gaining ambitions of autonomy within the increasingly fragmented outlying provinces. As a consequence, the prime aim of the governors during their few years in office was to take advantage of their position of power to farm taxes from the region and the local populace for the governor and officials' own personal gain (al-'Asali 1989: 215; Peters 1993: 214). These activities were particularly damaging to charitable foundations. The revenues which had accrued under the *waqf* system, and on which pious foundations primarily relied for the long-term maintenance of the buildings, increasingly became the focus of interest for officials. In theory the *waqfs* were immune to state intervention. However, as Peri has shown with regard to the Khassaki Sultan complex, officials managed to siphon off monies into their own coffers (Peri 1984: 47). *Waqfs* also suffered from the fact that much of the revenue was being used to pay for staff who on occasion outnumbered the people for whom the building had been originally intended. As a result the buildings were neglected (al-'Asali 1989: 214). Equally, the imposition of ever greater taxes on the local populace led to a deterioration in the welfare and material well-being of the inhabitants of the whole region for much of the century. Commerce became

increasingly controlled by foreign trading communities and in some areas became their virtual monopoly. The military and economic stagnation of the city was starkly illustrated in 1214/1799, when Napoleon by-passed the city in his march up the coast from Egypt to Acre (Ben-Arieh 1984: 105). The rapid decline in the local economy during the latter half of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries resulted in local trade suffering, even though pilgrims continued to be a source of income (Peters 1993: 225).

Architecture

Evliya Çelebi, however, continued to be optimistic:

Although the city is small it has 240 *mihrabs*, 7 schools for the teaching of the Hadith, 10 for the Qur'an, 40 *madrasas*, and *zawiyes* for 70 Sufi orders ... There are 6 *khans*, 6 baths and 16 *sabils* ... and according to the *muhtasib* there are 2,045 shops and several markets in Jerusalem (al-'Asali 1989: 211).

The Haram continued to be a focus for both pilgrimage and prayer, and the *madrasas* around it appear to have been well used. The Haram itself employed huge numbers of staff (al-'Asali 1989: 213). However, the building of pious foundations both within the sanctuary and outside it during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries became sporadic. As already explained, revenue and/or available income for such work was greatly reduced, and although there was a continued interest on the part of the sultans in maintaining and continuing to embellish the Haram, the buildings that resulted were in no way comparable to the great works of Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni. Ibrahim I is known to have carried out some restorations to the Dome of the Rock in 1052/1642-3. Indeed, during the 12th/18th century, there were at least four periods of restoration to the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Aqsa Mosque. Ahmad I installed a 'richly gilt canopy ... the cover of which was a curtain studded with gold and jewels' to hang over the Rock (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 92). Mustafa II ordered a restoration of the Aqsa Mosque under the supervision of Mahmud Efendi in 1114/1702-3 (van Berchem 1925: 439-41; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 25). Under Ahmad III (1115-43/1703-30), works were carried out between 1133-4/1720-1. These included the replacement of the stained glass windows in the Dome of the Rock and works to the exterior of the building (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 77-9). Restoration work was also carried out to the *mihrab* in Qubbat al-Silsila in 1174/1760 (van Berchem 1925: 183). 'Abd al-Hamid I continued the work at the end of the 12th/18th century by carrying out further restorations on the Dome of the Rock

in 1195-5/1780-1 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 22).

During the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries the short tenure of the governors prevented them from undertaking grandiose building projects, and they were less inclined to continue promoting the symbols of Ottoman imperial power (Bates 1985: 122). The combined factors of the growing isolation of the city from Istanbul and the increasingly transitory nature of the regional and local administration seems to have resulted in local builders looking for inspiration in their surrounding environment. New foundations reflected the decorative influences of architecture from earlier centuries. In particular, a 'Mamluk revival' period occurred during the first half of the 18th century. The technique of using alternating colours of stone (*ablaq*)—red, white or grey—was frequently employed. In one instance (Sabil Mustafa Agha, more commonly known as the Sabil Shaikh Budair, dated to 1153/1740-1, cat. no. 48), horseshoe-shaped arches and a similarly profiled dome were incorporated into the design. The general economic *malaise* also seems to be reflected in the small size of many of the foundations. The state of the economy was perhaps also a contributory factor to the shape of architecture in the new pious foundations built in residential quarters. Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (1043/1633, cat. no. 35) and al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya (1025/1630, cat. no. 33), both dervish *tekkes*, were undoubtedly Ottoman in concept and organisation, but they were built in a 'dressed up' version of the regional vernacular style with close links to the domestic architecture of the city.

To judge by their numbers, the favourite architectural expression of piety during the period appears to have been free-standing *mihhrabs* (with associated prayer platforms, *mastabas*) and drinking fountains.

But the most characteristic foundations were small domed structures or *qubbas*. Although *qubbas* had been built from the earliest years of the Ottoman reign (see below), a number of new ones were erected and others restored during the late 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. Three of the late 10th/16th and 11th/17th-century *qubbas* were located on the upper esplanade of the Haram—Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 11), Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30), Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) and Qubba Yusuf (cat. no. 38). A fifth, Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa (see Chapter 34) is found under the south-eastern corner of the Haram in a small mosque adjoining the great vaulted substructure known as Solomon's Stables. A sixth dome was built in the Coenaculum over steps leading down to the so-called Tomb of David. Qubbat Yusuf is known to have been built in 1092/1681; the others, however, are all undated (van Berchem 1925: 192).

All the *qubbas* give the appearance of fragility; they consist of a dome supported on slender columns—either four (Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa), six (Qubbat al-Khadr) or eight

(Qubbat al-Nabi and Qubbat al-Arwah). These were invariably of marble and were surmounted by interlinking arches. The dome of Qubbat Yusuf is supported to the north on two columns and to the south on a solid wall decorated with a flat *mihrab* over a re-used marble inscription of Ayyubid provenance (van Berchem 1925: 23; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 15).

The origins of these little structures can be clearly linked to contemporary Ottoman structures, for example those built over *şadirvans* in the courtyards of Ottoman mosques. Qubbat al-Nabi displays many similarities, for example, to the *şadirvan* at the Mehmet Pasha Cami in Istanbul built by Sinan (979/1571) (Goodwin 1971: 274-5). However, in Jerusalem there had already been a long history of such structures, most notably Qubbat al-Nabi and the Ayyubid Qubbat al-Mi'raj (597/1200-1). Setting aside the problems of identification dealt with at length by van Berchem (1925: 169, 171-3, 180; Le Strange 1890: 153-6, 164, 170-1), Qubbat al-Nabi, for example, is known to have existed in the 4th/10th century as a '... dome covered in lead sheet, and ... supported on marble pillars being without walls' (Muqaddasi, in Le Strange 1886: 43-4). It is fair to suggest that the texts in which these structures are described would have been available during the Ottoman period. The existence of Qubbat al-Silsila (Dome of the Chain), which had survived from at least the Fatimid (5th/11th century) and perhaps even from the Umayyad period (1st/7th century), was probably an influential factor in their design. In any case, as Hillenbrand has noted, canopies had been extensively used during the centuries of the early Christian period to mark a holy site where a 'theophany' had occurred: 'The form had in subsequent centuries come to symbolise sanctity or commemoration.' (Hillenbrand 1994: 19). The symbolism of the form was clearly understood in the Ottoman period, for all of the sites marked by a *qubba* are linked in one way or another to an Islamic tradition. This includes Qubbat Yusuf which was located on a site known in previous centuries as the 'Makam al-Nabi' (Nasir-i Khusrau, c. AD 1047, in Le Strange 1890: 158). Qubbat al-Arwah seems to have been named after the tradition which relates that the Temple was constructed by (evil) spirits (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1938: 155 and n. 1). Establishing firm dates for the *qubbas* in existence today presents something of a problem; but it is worth summarising the available information here.

The foundation date of the present Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) is unknown. The pretty red and white stone *mihrab*, described by van Berchem as resembling a 'bath' set on the ground, has an inscription dated 945/1538-9 (van Berchem 1925: 173) but it seems as though a similar building was in existence when Mujir al-Din visited the city at the end of the 9th/15th century (Sauvage 1876: 112; van Berchem 1925: 171; Williams

1849: 148). Although the inscription does not mention a dome, it is almost certain that such a structure was built at about the same time as the *mihrab*. A pilgrim scroll dating from 1545, now in the Topkapi Sarai in Istanbul, shows a schematic view of the Haram with the Qubbat al-Nabi plainly in view (Atıl 1987: 9). Any suggestion that this might have been another case of mistaken identity can be discounted since Qubbat al-Mi'raj (the Dome of the Ascension) is also clearly shown. This structure is not, however, the one we see today, for in 1038/1672 Evliya Çelebi described the *qubba* he saw on this spot as 'a small dome ris[ing] over four slender columns' (Stephan 1939: 96)—the existing structure has eight. It seems then that the present structure must have been built after 1038/1672. Nabulsi, writing a few years after Evliya Çelebi in 1102/1690, mentions the *mihrab* but ignores the *qubba*, suggesting that the earlier structure had either fallen down or had been removed between the two visits (van Berchem 1925: 46 n. 4). It is interesting to note that the eight columns of the existing dome have two sets of four capitals of identical design. This evidence might suggest that the columns from the earlier structure were re-used in the *qubba* as it exists today. There is little else, by way of architectural clues, to suggest a date, except the condition of the stonework (which is quite rough) and the use of alternating colours of stone in voussoirs of the arches. A number of small structures built at the end of the 11th/17th century and the beginning of the next make use of decorative stone, and these features in the present Qubbat al-Nabi suggest that it was probably built not long after Nabulsi's visit. Two small inscriptions inside the dome record later restorations. One is dated 1261/1845 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 18).

The author is not aware that any new documentation in the *sijill* records has been found for the largest of the structures, Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30), which certainly existed when Evliya Çelebi visited the city (Stephan 1939: 103). Little about its architecture gives any further clue, for it is constructed with no significant decoration.

Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) is also undated, and again to my knowledge documentation has yet to be found. However, the evidence suggests that even if this elegant little monument has been subject to the earthquakes of the last four centuries, its origins lie in the first century of Ottoman sovereignty in the city, and perhaps even earlier. Al-Suyuti, writing in 875/1470, describes very precisely a small dome on the site of the present-day structure (Le Strange 1890: 155; van Berchem 1925: 45, n. 5). By 901/1496 Mujir al-Din mentions the flat *mihrab* in the raised platform below the dome but fails to draw attention to the dome itself (Sauvaire 1876: 113), nor does any other writer or illustrator record it until about 1841. However, I have seen a lithograph dating to 1844 which shows the

qubba in plain view.⁵

Nevertheless, leaving aside the re-use of some particularly fine Crusader column capitals—which in themselves suggest an early date (for they would have been scarce by the 10th/16th century and in general such remnants were only used then)—other architectural detail, at least to my mind, conclusively suggests a date of the 10th/16th century (or earlier). The billet moulding around the arches, which had been used in a number of Mamluk monuments in the city (for example, the Salahyia Minaret of 820/1417–18; Burgoyne 1987: 517–18) is only ever found on monuments built during the first fifty years or so of Ottoman sovereignty in the city. Billet mouldings are used in friezes or string-courses on a number of the city gates (for example the Bab al-'Amud), and Sulaiman's fountains (Sabil Tariq al-Wad and Sabil Bab al-Silsila). As a hood-mould it is found in Jerusalem only as part of the early restorations of the Coenaculum and al-Nabi Da'ud (930/1524) and on Qubbat al-Khadr. The floral decoration of the raked cornice was also used only in buildings of the same period—for example at Khassaki Sultan and Bab al-'Amud. This moulding was not used in Jerusalem but *was* used in Tripoli during the Mamluk period—for example at Khan al-'Askar (8th/14th century) (Salam-Liebich 1983: 184, fig. 170) and in Aleppo at the Qaisariyya Miru (Salam-Liebich 1983: 212, fig. 188).

One of the finest examples of re-used Crusader capitals is found on top of the single column which supports the *qubba* in the Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud. No certain date is known for the structure, which is to my knowledge almost completely undocumented. Unfortunately no new evidence has come to light in the present survey. The use of red and cream-coloured stone in the voussoirs of its two arches was fashionable during the early 12th/18th century. The underside of the dome is moulded in plaster with a spiral umbrella-mould which bears, perhaps coincidentally, a striking similarity with the dome of Qubbat Yusuf (1047/1681). Qubbat Yusuf, as has been already mentioned, was also built on a site associated with 'al-Nabi' (which 'prophet' is not known), and this perhaps suggests that the dome in the Coenaculum is of late 11th/17th or very early 12th/18th-century provenance. But that must remain speculation until further documentation is found.

The last dome to be mentioned here is found in the Masjid al-Mahd 'Isa, which is located within the substructures under the south-eastern corner of the Haram adjacent to the great vaults called Solomon's Stables (Fergusson 1867: pl. IV). The site is traditionally thought to have been the place where the Virgin Mary and the

⁵ The origins of this print are unknown. However the following is printed at its base: 'Girault de Prangey, del. 1844 IMP, Le Mesier à Paris'.

infant Jesus hid from the slaughter of the children by Herod before they fled the city for Egypt (van Berchem 1925: 447-8; Schick 1887: 87). A large marble niche laid on its back constitutes the so-called 'cradle' over which the *qubba* is erected. Evliya Çelebi makes no mention of the dome itself and until this study, there has not been a thorough investigation of the structure. The *qubba* remains undated; however, as I show in Chapter 34, it did not exist in the 9th/15th century (Mujir al-Din in Sauvaire 1876: 103) and was built some time before 1249/1833 when Catherwood saw it (Bartlett 1842: 158). The combined documentary and architectural evidence also suggests that, like other such structures built in the Haram during the Ottoman period, it was the successor to an earlier structure standing on the site some six centuries earlier. The primary interest of this little building today is to be found in the painted decoration covering the superstructure and dome which is known to have been carried out in August 1898—shortly before the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm to Jerusalem—and, indeed, the evidence leads to the firm conclusion that it was painted for that occasion.

The various free-standing *mihhrabs* built around the enclosure of the Haram were cheap and easy foundations to erect. The aura of the site, however, invested them with sufficient religious symbolism and iconographic meaning to give them some significance. A number of examples were built during the Mamluk period, including the *mihhrab* of 'Ala' al-Din Basiri (about 800/1397?) (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 17). Sulaiman had already built a small independent *mihhrab* outside the front gate of the Qal'a, probably at the time of the other restorations to the citadel (938/1531-2; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 9, cat. no. 27). The niche was incorporated into the battlements of the glacis of the outer moat. Sulaiman had built another into the north side of Sabil Bab al-'Atm (van Berchem I 1925: 168, cat. no. 8). Nearly all the independent *mihhrabs* are undated. The first dated example comes nearly a century later in 1047/1637-8 (van Berchem I 1925: 191-2) with Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, and this was followed by one close to Sabil Sha'lan built by Yusuf Pasha (1061/1651?); a certain Ahmad Qullari, a military man, built another close to Bab al-Silsila against Mastabat al-Tin (1174/1760-1) (cat. no. 47). Like the earlier foundations, the Ottoman *mihhrabs* invariably stand either on or against the *qibla*-end of a raised prayer platform (*mastaba*; see cat. no. 55) and all follow the same general model of a semi-circular niche set into a free-standing stone structure. The *mihhrab* located under the (later) Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (cat. no. 50) is also undated but incorporates some interesting architectural details. It is built with alternating courses of deep red and white stone, and incorporates what appears to be a re-used scalloped hood dating perhaps to the Crusader period. Two hexagonal marble columns, which are intricately carved and topped by capitals of Ottoman

design, flank the niche. The details strongly suggest that the *mihhrab* was an early Ottoman addition to the Haram. A similarly designed *mihhrab* also once existed on the upper esplanade, immediately to the south of the Dome of the Rock. It was removed this century but is visible in a number of photographs from the 19th century (Richmond 1924: 59, pl. 60). The most decorated of the *mihhrabs* is, however, the Mihrab al-Sanaubar (the name was coined by the staff of the Department of Islamic Archaeology because of its site under pine trees). Although undated, it is plainly Ottoman; on each side of the niche there is an engaged column with the spindle capitals found on other imperial *mihhrabs* (Selimiye Cami, Edirne, Goodwin 1971: 265, pl. 253; Süleymaniyye Cami, Istanbul, Goodwin 1971: 230, pl. 221; Topkapu Sarayi, Istanbul 1971: 326, pl. 325). The only other example of this decorative feature in Jerusalem is to be found in the 20th-century *mihhrab* in the Coenaculum, already mentioned. Surmounting the semicircular niche are a number of rows of corbelled *muqarnas* niches, decorated with carved floral designs. Perhaps the most distinctive of the carvings are the naturalistic tulips and the little vases from which they sprout on the flanking sides of the *muqarnas*. Notwithstanding any discoveries made by Dr Yusuf Natsheh, these may suggest that the *mihhrab* either dates from the time of the so-called 'tulip period' at the beginning of the 12th/18th century, or closely thereafter. This has been described by Goodwin as an *entr'acte* between the classical and baroque periods in Turkey (Goodwin 1971: 364-5). The idea is perhaps confirmed by the similar use of flowers and vases in the shafts of the columns of the fountain known as Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (or Sabil Mustafa Agha, 1153/1740-1, cat. no. 48).

After the numerous fountains built in the first half of the 10th/16th century, no new *sabils* appear for nearly a century. However, in the one hundred and fifty years or so from 1627, seven others were to be constructed. All were built not by imperial decree but by local *shaikhs* or other notables, probably because, like the *mihhrabs*, the *sabils* were small in size and relatively cheap. This new phase of building fountains began with the restoration of Sabil Sha'lan (1037/1627-8; cat. no. 36) originally built by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 613/1213-4, and subsequently restored by the Mamluk al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbai in 832/1429 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 16). If this phase had been the last of the works to this simple little room—or cistern as it was once—it would have remained an unremarkable monument. However, some time after 1847 the plaster domed roof was replaced by a decorative ashlar umbrella dome topped with a stone ball (Ben-Arieh 1984: 153). The dome, which is baroque in style, seems to be unique not only in Jerusalem but in the region as a whole, for I have found no other example similar to it.

All the remaining fountains built thereafter were drinking fountains in the form of a kiosk or mounted basin.

The remaining six can loosely be termed 'three rhyming couplets' by virtue of their shared architectural style—Sabil al-Shurbaji (1097/1685; cat. no. 40) and Sabil al-Khalidi (in Daraj al-Wad; 1125/1713; cat. no. 44); Sabil al-Husaini (1137/1729; cat. no. 45) and al-Shaikh Budair (1153/1740-1; cat. no. 48); and the third pair, Sabil al-Bab al-Maghariba (undated but first endowed in 987/1579; cat. no. 18) and the earlier Mamluk well of Ibrahim al-Rumi (839/1435-36; Burgoyne 1987: 542-3). None are directly supplied with water via channels, although the last two are probably deliberately positioned over rock-cut cisterns under the Haram esplanade. Sabil Bab al-Maghariba is almost identical in design to the Mamluk *sabil* in every way except for the use of a raked cornice in place of a billet mould, and the use of an internal moulded umbrella dome instead of a simple hemisphere. Indeed, given that it has no dated inscription, it would be almost impossible to state with certainty that it is an Ottoman structure without the documentary proof of a relevant endowment.

Sabils al-Shurbaji and al-Khalidi are both in the form of a kiosk and are located at the junctions of main streets in the Old City. They follow the Turkish model from which water—and on religious holidays sherbert (flavoured water)—was distributed (see Wilson 1880: 40). Although one was built nearly thirty years after the other, they are built in an almost identical style with a recessed portal of red stone and windows with grilles. Sabil al-Khalidi is more decorated, with inset turquoise ceramic tiles and carved geometric ornamentation. It was perhaps possible for the patron to bear the extra expense of the decoration because probably only the portal was new; an existing structure is alluded to by Mujir al-Din in the 9th/15th century when he refers to the 'Stairs of the Fountain', located at the southern end of Tariq al-Wad (Sauvaire 1876: 160, 179). Sabil al-Husaini, which was once located against the north wall of the Ayyubid Masjid al-Nahawiyya in the south-western corner of the upper esplanade of the Haram, has been destroyed since the 12th/18th century, but its inscription survives in the elevation of al-Nahawiyya, as do traces of two arches, and the outline of the fountain base can be traced in the pavement. The visible evidence strongly suggests that the fountain would have had a similar appearance to that of Sabil Shaikh Budair (cat. no. 48) which is one of the prettiest buildings on the Haram. It is also one of the smallest, measuring a mere metre square and is in the form of a pavilion. The builder seems to have been inspired by the domes and arches of the Mamluk al-Is'ardiyya (760/1359, Burgoyne 1987: 368-79) on the north side of the Haram, for, like it, the Ottoman fountain is covered by a hemispherical dome supported on horseshoe-shaped arches and columns. As previously noted with reference to Mihrab al-Sanaubar, the columns are exquisitely carved with floral decorations and have capitals

reminiscent of those on a pulpit-like construction in St James Cathedral in the Armenian Quarter.

Other buildings were founded which indicate the continuing interest in patronage of sites in the Haram. On the upper esplanade, the small Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (112/1700-1; cat. no. 43, also known as the Masjid al-Nabi) was founded a few metres to the northwest of the Dome of the Rock and Qubbat al-Mi'raj (Dome of the Ascension). The building was associated with Shaikh al-Khalil, who, as the name suggests, was from Hebron (Prag 1989: 115). This little domed building is unremarkable save for the fact that it is built over a room set within the depth of the upper esplanade. Much of the chamber is filled with a scarp of bedrock that shows clear signs of having been quarried at one end, perhaps in the Herodian period. Within the room there is a small *mihrab* that bears a striking similarity to one in the cavern under the Holy Rock. In 1138/1725-6, al-Dajani carried out restorations and additions to another cistern located under the esplanade a short distance to the south. The cistern had originally been built by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (607/1210-11) and had been subsequently restored in 792/1390 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 16). The extent of the latter works is uncertain but it seems likely that a room to the south of the cistern was added, and that at a later date the tiny domed room at esplanade level was also added (cat. no. 46).

During the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, the Ottoman administration made little impact on the urban fabric in the rest of the city. Houses, shops, and other vernacular architecture which was needed to satisfy the domestic and commercial needs of the population probably continued to be built as and when space required. The various dervish communities housed in hospices, convents and monasteries continued to function—albeit in poverty. Until the 13th/19th century, Sufi and dervish communities are known to have been present in the city, and they continued to study and worship in and around the Haram in particular. Many—perhaps most, as has already been mentioned—had already taken up residence in existing monuments from earlier periods, as well as in the newly-built cells around the upper esplanade. Other types of foundation, however, continued to be built. Studies of *waqfiyya* documents in Cairo have shown that there was a general move away from accommodating Sufis in mosques and *madrasas* to custom-built *zawiyas* and *tekkes* (Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 160). A similar move occurred in Jerusalem; at least three new pious foundations—al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya (before 995/1586-7, cat. no. 19), al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (1025/1630, cat. no. 33) and al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (formerly known as Afghaniyya, 1043/1633-4, cat. no. 35)—were completed between the end of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. All were located in the Muslim residential quarter to the north of

the Haram and were referred to as *khanqah*, *zawiya* or *takkiya*. The word *takkiya* clearly derives from the Turkish term *tekke*, which was applied to complexes in which Sufis lived, worshipped and studied (Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 27). These functions can easily be envisaged in al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya where the foundation includes a series of small cells around two sides of a large courtyard, a large mosque raised up on a platform with good views south to the Haram, and a large communal hall (which, incidentally, bears a striking similarity to the Sufi communal hall in the Khassaki Sultan complex). Similar components can be found in the other foundations. All three are characteristically inward-looking in their planning with, in general, all the areas in the foundations reached from, and facing onto, a courtyard. At al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya the whole compound is surrounded by a high plain wall which would have ensured both peace and privacy from the surrounding city environment. Entrance into the compounds is invariably through a discreet portal entrance (see below).

The abiding impression of travellers to the city during the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries was of a city in poor repair, badly maintained and apparently uncared for; the Comte de Volney writing in 1784 noted the 'destroyed walls, debris-filled moat ... its city circuit choked with ruins' (Peters 1993: 203). Bartlett (1867: 87 and 88) notes, for example, that Sabil Bab al-Nazir, one of the early monuments of Ottoman sovereignty in the city, and testimony to the stillborn bounteous years of the early 11th/16th century, was 'dry ... overgrown ... and ruinous ... trailing a caper plant'. Khassaki Sultan had also become 'ruined' and was occupied by 'the horses of the irregular cavalry service'. He did note, however, that free meals were still handed out from the soup kitchen. In 1833 the Governor himself loudly proclaimed that the Haram was in a 'dilapidated state' (Bartlett 1850: 150). Although many of the *madrasas* and mosques in the vicinity of the Haram had fallen into disuse by the beginning of the century, a number of dervish convents and a *khan* continued to function (Ben-Arieh 1984: 163).

During the 13th/19th century, poverty was apparent throughout much of the city. However, in spite of this, the Ottoman administration continued to be active caretakers of the holy shrines and the Dome of the Rock in particular, as St Laurent and Riedlmayer have demonstrated (1993: 76-84). Some restoration work and new additions to the Haram continued throughout the century. It was not just the practical needs of the monuments themselves, nor the continuing requirement to reinforce Ottoman control over the region, that lay behind the works. During the 13th/19th century, perhaps more than ever, there was also an apparent need to counteract growing foreign competition. Jerusalem increasingly

became the administrative capital of the region, not so much on account of its commercial or economic capabilities but as a result of the growing religious and political interest evinced in it primarily by European governments and religious institutions. Political, economic and social upheavals in Istanbul were having their effect on Jerusalem, particularly after the Tanzimat reforms of 1839 and 1856 under 'Abd al-Hamid and the Young Turks (Vogt-Göknil 1966: 149). But, above all, the century was to be marked by the growing European cultural, religious and economic penetration of the region, which was encouraged by Ibrahim Pasha during the short period of Egyptian rule after he took the city (as well as much of Palestine and Syria) in 1831 (Ben-Arieh 1984: 133-5). Egyptian control lasted only nine years and in 1840 the city reverted to Ottoman rule. But during those years Ibrahim Pasha sought to gain European support for his political and territorial aspirations in the region. Before 1831 the activities—and particularly the architectural activities—of religious minorities were discouraged using corrupt levels of taxation or by banning them outright. Ibrahim Pasha, however, in a radical move, granted equal rights to the religious minorities. As a consequence, European Christian and Jewish groups were able to come to the city and found new institutions from which they embarked on their missionary activities. The Russian, Latin, Greek, Armenian and Prussian churches created or reinstated bishoprics and patriarchates. At a political and administrative level, Western governments were allowed to establish diplomatic missions and to undertake consular activities, usually under the pretext of 'protecting' their nationals within the various religious groups. So great was this European influx that one area of the Old City, close to the Damascus Gate, became known as the Consular Quarter.

As the presence of European Christian and Jewish communities in the city grew, the Haram remained a haven of peace and Muslim sanctity. Indeed, almost certainly because of the infidel presence in the city, the Ottoman authorities increased their efforts to swell the numbers of Muslim pilgrims coming to the city (Ben-Arieh 1984: 135). By the same token, the Muslim community became increasingly protective towards the enclosure. Catherwood recalled in 1842 that, in 1833, he had dared to enter the site to carry out survey work. During the course of the visit he was discovered by occupants of the place and nearly lynched; he was saved only by the intervention of the governor, who was passing in the vicinity at the time (Bartlett 1850: 148-51).

After the works of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid I in 1194-5/1780-1 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21-2), a number of restorations, most of them minor, were carried out on the Dome of the Rock during the 13th/19th century. In 1233/1817-8 Sultan Mahmud II (1233/1817-8) ordered extensive repairs to the exterior of the building; the works

included repairs to the tiles and marble cladding, and a new portico was constructed over the south door (van Berchem 1925: 439-41; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 22). Work begun in 1853 by Sultan 'Abd al-Majid to repair the exterior of the building (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 81) was completed in 1291/1874-5, after which Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz restored the ceilings in the interior. In other areas of the Haram, works were carried out on existing structures. Hasan Agha repaired Bab al-Asbat in 1232/1816-17; and restorations and additions were made to the Mamluk Minbar al-Saif (Summer Pulpit) in 1259/1843 by Amir Muhammad Rashid (Burgoyne 1987: 319). In 1288/1871, radical alterations were made to the Masjid al-Maghariba in the south-western corner of the Haram (Williams 1849: 145). An eclectically designed doorway was installed in the east elevation and a large dome was built over the north end of the hall inside. The only new foundation to be built in the Haram during the 19th century was the Iwan of Sultan Mahmud II (1233/1817-18, cat. no. 50). The structure is a large, rather inexpertly shaped dome supported on four solid piers situated at the corners of the raised platform. Away from the Haram, restorations continued on existing pious foundations. Evidence can be found at the Zawiyat al-Wali Allah Abu Madyan located immediately opposite the Western (Wailing) Wall a short distance from the Bab al-Maghariba, where the restorations and adaptations of 1269/1852-3 seem to have included the addition of a series of cells to an existing foundation.

A sign of the continued significance of the Haram to the Ottoman administration in the face of foreign claims and intervention was amply and purposefully demonstrated in 1316/1898, when the German Kaiser Wilhelm visited the city. His support was becoming increasingly important to the Sublime Porte within the European political theatre, and to ensure that his visit was successful the authorities went to considerable lengths to tidy up the city—or at least those parts that were to be seen by this important visitor. The section of moat between the Citadel and Bab al-Khalil was filled in to enable the Kaiser to make his highly symbolic entry into the city on horseback. The streets were cleaned and decked with flags, and the houses along his route painted with limewash. In the Haram the arcades on the upper esplanade, as well as the north front of al-Aqsa Mosque, were plastered and painted (see Wilson 1880 I: 49). The results were reported in acid tones by Conrad Schick (1899: 116-8). The decorative paintwork was still in existence until at least 1924 (Richmond 1924: 22-3, pl. 14; see also Raven 1929: 17-18). All the work was probably undertaken in August 1898, a few months before the Kaiser was due to arrive. This can be said with some certainty since the recent discovery of a painted inscription on the back of Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa, which was renovated for the visit. The signature

of a Christian artist Theophanes, and his (probably Muslim) assistant is dated August 1898 (see Chapter 34). The decoration is the only painting known to have survived to the present in the Haram from that particular visit. In keeping with the period, the design is characteristically architectural, with *tromp l'oeil* panels and floral motifs.

One of the least conspicuous Islamic restorations outside the Haram al-Sharif was the installation of a new entrance gate at the Masjid al-'Umar, which is situated a few metres to the south of the Holy Sepulchre. The date of the restorations is unknown to me, but it is probable that the work was done some time during the 12th/18th century. Inconspicuous it may be, but insignificant it is not, for the gateway is unexpectedly an almost precise replica of Sabil Bab al-Silsila. The rose window and the other decorative features—including the portal frame and volutes—of the fountain are all faithfully reproduced. Added decoration is provided by the use of alternating red and white courses of stone. The reason for using the *sabil* as a model seems to originate from the relative positions of the fountain and the Mosque of 'Umar. The Sabil Bab al-Silsila is located immediately opposite one of the main gates into the Haram. The gateway to the Mosque of 'Umar is about two metres away from one of the main gates into the courtyard leading to the Holy Sepulchre. As well as providing an attractive entrance to the mosque, the imitation of the *sabil* seems to have been used as a highly visible reminder by association of the primacy of Islam over Christianity.

It is, then, even more extraordinary to find that the *sabil* is again replicated, rose window and all, in the east doorway into the Masjid al-Muhammadiyah in Jaffa. The exact date of this doorway is unknown to the author. But at the beginning of the century, between 1228-30/1812-14, Abu Nabbut, the governor of the city, is known to have restored the mosque, and it is possible that the doorway formed an element of the works at that time (Kark 1990: 19-20). Here the use of the *sabil* as a model should probably be seen as a reminder of the Haram in Jerusalem rather than as being a symbol of religious predominance.

After the Egyptians lost the city in 1840, the reinstated Ottoman administration was not in a position to rescind the relaxations made by Ibrahim Pasha. As the European, and to a lesser extent the American, presence increased in the city, so their building activities gained momentum. Consequently, from 1840 there was a building boom both within and without the walls. New neighbourhoods or colonies were built to the north and west of the city by Christian and Jewish immigrants; the Russian Compound, the German and the American Colonies, as well as other Anglican and Protestant institutions, were all constructed at this time. During the 1860s and 1870s, schools, hospices, monasteries and churches were erected in large numbers. To the east of the

city, wealthy Arab families built new residential neighbourhoods, particularly in Wadi Jauz in the Shaikh Jarrah Quarter. Towards the end of the 13th/19th century and into the next, the building activities were as much a function of the political agendas of Western governments as of the need for new living space. The so-called 'Eastern Question', which had become bound up with the rights of the various Christian groups with regard to the holy sites, allied to the increasingly pressing demands for Jewish settlement in Palestine, encouraged the construction of more and more settlements in and around the walls. The growing nationalistic rivalry between the political sponsors of the Christian churches was reflected in the architecture of the new buildings: Italian *palazzi*, and churches of both English and Russian Orthodox type, proclaimed sovereignty over their individual plots of land.

It is beyond the remit of this book to look in any further detail at the building activities outside the walls of the city. However, the new styles—and in particular the new methods of construction—were to have a lasting effect on the shape of new buildings within the walls, even those in the Muslim neighbourhoods. This was particularly so in the building of new secular monuments. One of the major factors that influenced the later 19th-century building boom was the completion of the road from Jaffa in 1285/1868, and of the railway in 1310/1892 (al-'Asali 1989: 235-7). Better communications made it easier to import new types of material and construction methods to the city. External walls became thinner, and flat ceilings with wooden (later iron) floor joists covered with wooden boarding began to replace labour-intensive vaults and domes. As a consequence, traditional flat roofs gave way to ones that were pitched and hipped and covered with red clay tiles. Floors incorporated multi-coloured tiles laid in geometric patterns. The external decoration was increasingly influenced by a simplified Western neo-classicism; walls were usually punctuated with simple pilasters which supported rectangular string-courses. Door-openings came higher and had rounded arches; windows, ranged regularly along elevations, also increased in size. Both types of opening were usually surrounded by a simple rectilinear frame and surmounted by a round or segmental arch (see, among others, Kroyanker 1993: 37-47). Restorations to earlier buildings can often be identified by this detail. The 13th/19th-century windows and door-frame on Sabil Sha'lan are but one example. The contrast—indeed, some would say, incompatibility—between the new modes of building and those which had been initiated during the reign of Sulaiman Qanuni was starkly illustrated in 1907 when an unlikely-looking clock-tower was balanced on the Jaffa gate on the orders of 'Abd al-Hamid. Constructed of bright white stone, the tower was an unfortunate attempt by the sultan to demonstrate Ottoman municipal reform. The offending clock-tower was

removed by common consent of the populace and the new British administration after 1917 (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 82).

The planning and organisation of foundations built in the new European manner were also plainer and more regular. The new courthouse (Da'irat al-'Adliyya), which was built soon after the foundation of the first Jerusalem Municipality (*Baladiyyat al-Quds*) around 1289/1872, reflects many of the new traits. The courthouse and its associated offices were located in the southern side of the Khassaki Sultan complex after the buildings had been sequestered by the governor as the new seat of the Ottoman administration. The new building is almost exactly square in plan and consists of a series of four vaulted galleries ranged around a central courtyard. The south elevation is centred on a round-arched doorway, surrounded by a simple incised rectangular frame. On either side of the door a series of pilasters and round-headed windows are regularly spaced in regimental style across the elevation. The other offices are covered with pitched roofs and clay tiles.

Other European-style buildings were built within the walls of the city. These included a large formally-planned school just inside Herod's Gate, later to be converted into the new Museum of Antiquities in 1901 (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 81, fig. 7). The exterior of the building displays many of the features of the courthouse, although they are more elegantly expressed. The elevations are divided by a series of regularly-spaced pilasters, and a string-course separates two floors of round-headed arches. The classicism of the building is emphasised in the north elevation by a gabled portico. A similar set of features can also be found on the Dar al-Mamluk, located in the so-called Consular Quarter of the city close to Bab al-'Amud (Chapter 25, app. 25.1). The house was built by a wealthy Muslim trader, probably around the middle of the century. This building also illustrates another practice of the 13th/19th century—it has a painted ceiling. Although not common, and certainly the preserve of the wealthy, this feature is to be found in a number of other buildings in the city. The ceilings were usually timber-panelled in a decorative way, some times—as at Dar al-Mamluk—with a central cupola recessed into the roof-space. The panels were painted with borders of floral bouquets which surrounded a field of plain or more simply decorated panels. The cupola was often painted dark blue with gold stars in imitation of a night sky. The ceiling in the Dar al-Mamluk is the only one known to have survived in a house within the walls of the city, although other examples can be found outside the walls in the American Colony and the Dar al-Sharqiyya (Orient House), both of which are located in the Shaikh Jarrah Quarter (Chapter 30).

Some explanation is needed of the factors—other

than those relating to economics, society and politics—which influenced the way in which buildings were constructed during the four centuries of Ottoman rule. As already explained, Ottoman architecture has to be seen in the context of the imperial system from which it took its name. It will become clear from the descriptions of buildings in the catalogue of this book that the architectural monuments display a wide diversity of style, while the local vernacular in Jerusalem and the region developed its own uniform language. Possible reasons for the uniformity of the vernacular architecture will be discussed later.

The diverse nature of the monuments is primarily a reflection of the fact that the new building activities were undertaken in a city which, for all its rich architectural history, had subsequently been reduced to provincial isolation (Bates 1985: 121). At the same time, it had been absorbed into an empire with a highly centralised bureaucracy through which all imperial projects were organised and administered. The distance from the centre of power, however, made it extremely difficult for the execution of these imperial works to be supervised directly from Istanbul; the actual work on site was the responsibility either of officials who had been engaged locally, or, equally likely, those who had been brought in from Syria or Egypt. More generally, the long period of Ottoman sovereignty over the city—which saw the transition from an atmosphere of optimism in the 10th/16th century to one of decline, economic adversity and maladministration during the following two hundred years, and finally to the increasingly prevalent European influence in the 13th/19th century—was also to have its influence on the style of architecture.

Buildings constructed during the eighty years of the 10th/16th-century imperial rule were almost entirely Ottoman in concept, and often in technique. This may seem something of a bold statement to make. The Old City of Jerusalem, even when the visitor knows that much of what is visible was built during the Ottoman period, is not at first sight ‘typically Ottoman’, or even Turkish. The carefully-planned and regularly laid out complexes found in, for example, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul were not built in Jerusalem during the century, although similar complexes were built in Damascus, for example the Süleymaniye complex (Blair and Bloom 1994: 201); the mosques and *sabil-kuttab*s built in Cairo with accompanying courtyards and porticoes are also not found in Jerusalem, although there is such a formally-planned, ‘typically Ottoman’ foundation in Acre, where the Great Mosque was built by al-Jazzar in 1196/1781. The characteristic eloquence and virtuosity of the architecture found in Turkey is lacking in Jerusalem; there is little of the obsessive concentration on domes, arches and windows, or on the structural achievements inherent in the great mosques of Turkey.

But outward appearances can be deceptive. Many

of the early structures in Jerusalem do clearly reflect the styles of architecture prevalent in Ottoman Turkey at the time. The introduction of cylindrical shafts for minarets almost overnight is a case in point, as will be discussed below. The reasons for the introduction of ‘Ottoman’ architecture at a general level are self-evident, given the wish of the administration to spread imperial hegemony throughout the region. The mechanisms by which it was possible to achieve that process are relevant to an analysis of the architecture. In the highly centralised administration of the empire, the responsibility for imperial undertakings rested with the office of the imperial chief architect (*ser mi‘maran-i hassa*) at the sultan’s court in Istanbul, which consisted of a full department of architects (*cema‘at-i mi‘maran-i hassa*) devoted to the planning and design of imperial projects (Bates 1985: 122). Imperial projects in the provinces would also have come under the control of the office and its chief architect (*bash mi‘mar*). For much of the 10th/16th century, this office was held by the greatest of all Ottoman architects, Sinan (1491/2–1588; Bates 1985: 124). The degree to which the office and its director were directly involved with individual projects in the provinces has been a matter of some debate. It has been suggested that Sinan drew or supervised the plans of every important new building not only in Istanbul but all over the empire too (Goodwin 1971: 108). Sinan was certainly involved in the planning, for example, of the Süleymaniye complex in Damascus (962/1554), which displays all the characteristics of the imperial style (see, for example, Blair and Bloom 1994: 221, fig. 278). But even here, where the Turkish influences are clear, Sinan is not thought to have been involved in the actual building of the complex, leaving it rather to a local practitioner (Blair and Bloom 1994: 220 and n. 28). Sinan is also known to have relegated the building of a complex in Aleppo for the Governor Husrev Pasha to a subaltern (Bates 1985: 122 and n. 8).

Despite the fact that architectural projects in Jerusalem have appeared among those attributed to Sinan, there is no hard evidence to suggest that he was ever directly involved with the planning of any of them, except perhaps the renovations to the Dome of the Rock. Evliya Çelebi—but he was writing a century later—says Sinan was sent by Sulaiman ‘together with the required material’ to ‘embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem’, and that, on his way to Mecca, he stopped in Jerusalem to organise the architects and artisans for the restorations to the Dome of the Rock (Stephan 1939: 86; Peters 1993: 204). The date of his visit to the city is not known. The problem is simple: Sinan could not have been everywhere (Cerasi 1988: 88). Between 957/1550 and 965/1558, he was at the height of his career and directly engaged in a large number of projects spread over the area of modern Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean, the most important of which was the ambitious Süleymaniye complex in

Istanbul (957-64/1550-7, Necipoğlu 1985: 94-5, n. 4). Because of Jerusalem's status within Islam, the city was of prime symbolic and religious importance to the sultan; but it was still a small provincial city in the outreaches of the empire, a mere administrative centre of the *sanjaq* of Damascus (Peters 1994: 207). Any major works that were to receive the direct attention and 'mark of Sinan' (Kuban 1982: 64) were more likely to be found in the larger cities where the status and rank of the architect—and thus the patronage of the sultan or his wife—were of more than token importance.

Since Jerusalem was a third-tier administrative capital, the orders for the imperial works—and perhaps the drawings too (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 224)—came from Istanbul via Damascus. The responsibility for the work was then passed to officials, whose duties would have included the financial arrangements, as well as the works themselves. Cohen has discovered, for example, that the supervision and financial administration for the rebuilding of the walls and the water system—and perhaps the Khassaki Sultan complex itself—was undertaken by an Ottoman official, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (Cohen 1989c: 470-2). In another instance, a document from 987/1579 states that the chief architect (*mi'mar-başı*) in Damascus, a man called Da'ud, agreed to undertake restorations to the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, and that the lead for the roof, which had been sent from Istanbul, was to be sent on to him in Jerusalem (Heyd 1960: 157). The organisation of minor structures in the Haram seems to have been managed in a similar manner. The little building founded by Yusuf Agha (1092/1681, cat. no. 39), a eunuch in the imperial palace in Istanbul, was built on his behalf by an associate who was a pilgrim by the name of 'Ali, presumably with the aid of the local authorities (van Berchem 1925: 192).

If the supervision of the new projects was often the responsibility of Ottoman officials, the construction and the detailing was left to builders from the region, and this was reflected in the architecture. The recruitment of the masons and craftsmen for the imperial projects in the capital was centrally organised (see Bates 1985: 125). However, for imperial works in the provinces, as well as those projects which were initiated locally, the craftsmen were invariably either local or, as was often the case on the larger projects, from the surrounding region. Projects in Mecca and Medina were built by qualified masons and craftsmen from Syria and Egypt (Faroghi 1994: 96; Bates 1985: 125, n. 43). In his account of Jerusalem, Evliya Çelebi states that 'all the master builders, architects and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo' were sent to Jerusalem to undertake the work ordered by Sulaiman Qanuni (Stephan 1939: 87). A similar instruction was issued in 972/1564 ordering the Beglerbeg of Damascus to send 'builders, carpenters and others' to

help with the construction of the Khassaki Sultan complex (Heyd 1960: 143; al-'Asali 1989: 16). In addition to the local builders—who at the beginning of the 10th/16th century would have been accustomed to Mamluk practices, in particular after the projects of Qa'itba'i (see Burgoyne 1987: 589-612)—the experience and practices developed within such a collection of craftsmen would inevitably have had an influence on individual buildings. As a consequence, Ottoman architecture in the provinces was often marked by distinct regional architectural styles (Cerasi 1988: 89). The point is illustrated by a number of mosques in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo that were built in the Mamluk style during the first two centuries of the Ottoman period, as were foundations which are demonstrably Ottoman but influenced by local building techniques and styles (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 222-3). In Jerusalem such a fusion of imperial and regional and local influences is found throughout the whole period.

Apart from the tiles of the Dome of the Rock (Chapter 28), the strongest 'Turkish' Ottoman influence on the form of buildings in Jerusalem is demonstrated by the two new mosques, Masjid al-Qaimari (undated, perhaps 10th/16th century, cat. no. 32) and Masjid al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (1047/1633-4, cat. no. 35) for neither type of domed construction had been built in Jerusalem before the 10th/16th century. Masjid al-Qaimari, which has recently undergone extensive renovations, seems to be the only example in the city of the single-unit domed mosque. The interior comprises a single room covered by a large dome supported on broad semi-hemispherical squinches. The dome rests on a local form of octagonal zone of transition, in which the corners of the main structure below are cut away. The result has close parallels with single-unit domed mosques in early Ottoman Turkey, for example the 8th/14th-century Orhan Gazi Cami at Bilecik (Goodwin 1971: 19). The use of the dome and squinch is also found in the smaller interior of the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, located at the north end of the North-Eastern Colonnade in the Haram (cat. no. 23, known now as the Translation Office; undated, but probably 1598/1601). The mosque in al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya is the largest new mosque to have been built during the period. A rectangular interior is covered by two large domes separated by a transverse arch. The interior space, although lacking the flanking areas found in Turkish design, seems to have close parallels with mosques of the latter half of the 9th/15th century, for example that of Mahmut Pasha Cami in Istanbul (869/1464; Goodwin 1971: 110-12) or the Gedik Ahmet Pasha Cami in Afyon (877/1472; Goodwin 1971: 138-9).

A similar level of Turkish Ottoman influence can be seen in the planning of the small *khalwas* around the upper esplanade of the Haram. Although the cells were nearly all built by different patrons, they follow a similar

format. All comprise two storeys with the upper floor at the level of the upper esplanade. None of them has a connecting staircase between the two levels, which would seem to suggest that the two floors had separate functions. The lower levels, usually consisting of one or two barrel-vaulted rooms, probably functioned as stores or sleeping quarters for pilgrims, or the staff of the Haram. The upper levels face onto the upper esplanade and are slightly raised above it. They usually consist of a single domed or vaulted room. In the majority of cases this room was supplemented by an entrance porch and in at least three instances there is a third room located behind the porch. These spaces provided the main areas for worship and study, and probably also functioned as dormitories. Window-niches situated only a little above floor level would have ensured that the interior was kept ventilated, but they also functioned as seats or as stands on which to cool terracotta water jugs (this is a practice which continues to the present day). To the front of six cells, there is—or was once—a three-bayed portico supported on columns on a raised platform. Here the Sufis would have prayed or studied in the shade away from the oppressive heat of the Haram (Goodwin 1971: 17). Most of the porticoes have either been destroyed or renovated during subsequent centuries; the interiors too have suffered change. It is not difficult, however, to see the similarities between these structures and the early mosques of Ottoman Anatolia, for example, the Hacı Özbek Cami at Iznik (734/1333), and they probably functioned in much the same way (Goodwin 1971: 17).

The combination of Turkish planning tempered by local or regional building methods is most apparent in the 10th/16th-century imperial work in the city. This is best illustrated by examining in detail two building types: the *sabils* and the minarets. The portal form of Sulaiman's *sabils* was a model probably without precedent in Jerusalem prior to the 10th/16th century. It was not, however, (as has been claimed) by any means unique to Jerusalem (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 605). The door or window form of fountain was firmly rooted in the Ottoman tradition, having been passed down from the Saljuqs of Rum (Ünsal 1970: 110). Examples can be seen in Istanbul at the Davud Pasa Cesmesi (890/1485; Yuksel and Mimar 1983: 242 and fig. 365 R). It is perhaps no coincidence then that Sabil al-Wad is strikingly similar to a portal at Gazi Ahmet Beg Medrese, Peçin (777/1375), which has been described by Goodwin as 'in the Selçuk manner' (Goodwin 1971: 29). An almost identical form can be seen at the Muradiyye complex in Manisa (994/1586, Goodwin 1971: 317, fig. 316). The form continued to be used during the subsequent centuries, for example at Top Hane (1145/1732; Gabriel 1962: 32, pls. 30-35). Other examples suggest that it was not unique to Anatolia. There is a small Mamluk fountain built by Muhammad Mubarakshah al-'Ala'i known as 'Ain

al-Tina (816/1413) in Tripoli which bears a striking resemblance to the fountains in Jerusalem, and others have been found in Aleppo (Salam-Liebich 1983: 260, fig. 182). The etymological or symbolic reason why the form of door or window should have been used does not concern us (but see Mostafa 1989: 33 and throughout). However, given the importance attached by Ottomans to providing water not just for religious purposes such as ablutions but also for civic and communal purposes (Ünsal 1970: 73), it is perhaps not surprising that a simple portal door or window—which could easily be fitted into the urban streetscape—should be considered appropriate as a form for the *sabil*. Of course, the first of Sulaiman's *sabils* was not in the city but outside the walls. However, here the structure had to be fitted into the narrow space between the Hebron road and the drop into Birkat al-Sultan (see cat. no. 4). There is a close similarity between the position and location of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan and another later structure built by Pasha Koprulu in 1300/1882 on a bridge in Edirne (Ayverdi 1972: 478, pl. 828 R).

Both Mamluk and Ottoman influences become somewhat confused by their joint roots in the Saljuq architecture of the 13th and 14th centuries. Sabil Birkat al-Sultan and Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. nos. 4 and 8, pl. 15) can be considered as the blueprints for the other fountains, which contain considerable quantities of re-used architectural elements (see below). Both have frame mouldings which terminate close to the ground in circular volutes (*mims*) on each side of the portal opening. Both have pointed arches decorated by chevron (zig-zag) voussoirs and both possess rows of stalactite (*muqarnas*) decoration which is finished with a shell-like motif in the tympanum. The resulting composition clearly has associations with Mamluk portals and, as already explained, with pre-Ottoman Saljuq forms. The Turkish influences are unmistakable. The chevron arch was certainly used in Jerusalem prior to the Ottoman period. The shouldered or 'Bursa' arch, mentioned above in relation to Sabil Sitti Maryam, was wholly Ottoman in origin.

If the basic concept behind the fountains was Ottoman, some of the details were clearly provincial, and, in particular, Syrian. On Sabil Bab al-Silsila, Sabil Bab al-Nazir and Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. nos. 6-8), engaged columns are carved into the leading edges of the portal frame. The column is divided into a series of elongated colonettes decorated with small niche capitals. In addition, the colonettes are plaited half-way up their lengths. A similar design can be seen in a niche over the outer gateway of Bab al-'Amud. This design has been described as local in origin (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 604 and fig. 37.17), and as attributable to the influence of the Crusader columns which are re-used, for example, in the north elevation of the Ayyubid al-Nahawiyya on the south side of

the upper esplanade of the Haram. But in northern Syria precisely the same designs were used in monuments as early as the 8th/14th century, and this practice continued elsewhere in Ottoman times (944/1537-8; Creswell 1923: 134-9). Such evidence suggests that while the use of this type of engaged column may originally have come from medieval architecture, it had already been assimilated into the decorative vocabulary of Ottoman masons, and more particularly—and this is the point—those from the Levant.

It is easier to see Ottoman and provincial influences combined in the ablutions fountain of Qasim Pasha (933/1527; cat. no. 2), which is the only example in Jerusalem of the canopied *şadirvan* found in the courtyards of *madrasas* and mosques in Ottoman Turkey. There are examples elsewhere in Palestine, but built later—at the Mosque of al-Jazzar in Acre, for example. The form can be traced back to the 9th/15th century in Turkey (Goodwin 1971: 144) but continued to be popular, for it is reported by Evliya Çelebi that Murad IV (1033-50/1623-40) installed a canopy over the ablutions fountains of Selim I and Bayezit in Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 172). In general, the dome and roof of the loggia in Ottoman *şadirvans* form a single canopy over the fountain itself. In Sabil Qasim Pasha, however, the builders have made a conscious decision to continue the walls of the storage tank above the roof of the loggia, which has possibly been raised since it was first built. It is possible that the builders of the fountain were inspired by Qubbat al-Silsila to the east of the Dome of the Rock—it is perhaps no coincidence that Catherwood, in 1842, described Qubbat al-Silsila as ‘a building resembling a fountain’ (Bartlett 1850: 152).

The form of the Ottoman minaret is as idiosyncratic as the *tughra*. The style can be seen as a development of those built by the Saljuqs of Rum in the 7th/13th century (Hillenbrand 1994: 161-5). They enjoyed a particular popularity with the Ottomans, being used with a single-mindedness that resulted in the breathtaking achievements of the two or four ‘pencil’ structures to be found at the mosques and complexes in Istanbul and Anatolia. In Cairo and Damascus, following the Ottoman conquest, the shape of the minaret quickly changed from the square ‘Syrian’ tower to the cylindrical shaft. And so it was in Jerusalem. It is on the basis of this observation and its similarity to Minaret al-Maulawiyya that Burgoyne came to the conclusion that the Bab al-Asbat minaret is an Ottoman restoration (Burgoyne 1987: 415-7). All of the Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem are mounted on simple square plinths, with the top corners chamfered back to the base of the shaft. At the minaret of the Qal‘a (the Citadel; cat. no. 26) the chamfers are convex in shape, but this may have something to do with the fact that the west side of the shaft rises flush with the tower below. The plinths in new structures are in general solid, with the entrance to the internal spiral staircase located at the base of the shaft. At

al-Jami‘ al-Maulawiyya the plinth is so high that the entrance is almost halfway up the structure and has to be reached from the second-floor *zawiya* located on the roof of the mosque. It was a wise precaution to have a solid base for any such structure, but in Jerusalem it was especially important in minarets because the city was and still is prone to earthquakes, which perhaps goes some way to explain why the Jerusalem minarets are somewhat stumpier than their Turkish counterparts. The tops of the towers all have single-stage balconies running around them, carried on corbelled *muqarnas* supports of varying degrees of sophistication. The minaret of al-Hamra’ (cat. no. 3) is the most accomplished. Its date, however, is unknown, although the cylindrical shaft almost certainly assures its Ottoman date, for only two minarets of this form are known from the Mamluk period, and both those are in Aleppo (Burgoyne 1987: 416). Decorative features on the Jerusalem minarets are kept to a minimum. Above the balconies, the towers are surmounted by ashlar domes protected on the exterior with plaster, and a copper (minaret of al-Qal‘a) or stone finial (al-Manara al-Maulawiyya) provides the finishing touch. Domes, and ashlar ones at that, are not normally associated with Ottoman minarets, which throughout the rest of Ottoman territory were usually finished with the cone which is their trademark. In the case of Cairo, Behrens-Abouseif (1994: 252) has suggested that the ubiquitous use of the cone was probably the result of an exchange of craftsmen with Istanbul. There can be no doubt that this was also the reason in Damascus, where, in line with true Turkish practice, Sinan erected two slender minarets in the Süleymaniyye complex. In these cities, and as close to Jerusalem as Nazareth, the cone was a dominant feature of the city skyline, and proved a powerful symbol of Ottoman sovereignty (Wilson 1880 2: 37, 143-4). It is surprising, then, that the practice appears to have been almost entirely ignored in Jerusalem, except for one example, namely when the top of the minaret of Bab al-Silsila was restored with a cone some time after 952/1545, to be removed in 1894 (Burgoyne 1987: 244, pl. 35.5 and 63.13). The Ottoman minarets of Jerusalem have curious external profiles which might suggest later restorations: the tower at the Qal‘a, for example, has a particularly pointed profile. An explanation for the stone domes might be found in the suggestion that the Ottomans were unfamiliar with such structures (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 252). If the construction of the towers was left to local craftsmen, who would have been less experienced in the use of wood, stone domes may have been built and covered with a conical top to meet the requirements of the Ottoman overseers, and were subsequently replaced with a layer of plaster. Thus even if the main influence behind the minarets was Ottoman, once again the method of construction was primarily local.

A similar theme can be found in the planning and execution of other works outside the Haram where, even if

the underlying concepts of the institutions are Ottoman, the limitations of the sites and the need to use local craftsmen and masons moulded the architecture inconspicuously into the existing fabric of the city. The concept and planning of the Khassaki Sultan complex (cat. no. 15) is demonstrably Ottoman, for example, but the architecture, like that of some of the other imperial works in the city, is plain and solid, relieved only by the occasional decorative flourish (see below). Similarly, other new religious institutions were plainly Ottoman in origin, but invariably the architecture is a 'dressed-up' form of the vernacular found throughout the city—and indeed the region. This is demonstrated at al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) and the Maulawiyya compound (cat. no. 19), whose entrance is a narrow doorway hidden in a back-street.

The inspiration for the architecture of the city gates appears to be Syrian in origin; as already noted, very distinct similarities can be seen between the gates and citadels of Damascus and Aleppo. The clearest similarities can be seen in Bab al-ʿAmud—the finest of the gates, and, indeed, one of the finest Ottoman monuments in the city. The outer elevation is almost identical, in its decoration to the outer elevation of the citadel at Aleppo. Many of the same decorative elements are to be found in other 10th/16th-century imperial work in Jerusalem, including the projecting bosses. The latter are found, for example, in the *khan* of the Khassaki Sultan complex and the machicolated bastions on the corners of the gate towers are identical to those found at the Citadel in Damascus (Wilson 1880 2: 162). As well as the inscriptions, which are placed at the most visible vantage points on the gates, the walls were decorated by a large number of circular bosses carved with either geometric or floral designs. Similar decorative and constructional characteristics on the gateways and walls can be identified in the south gatehouse and the *khan* of the Khassaki Sultan complex, which perhaps suggests that the same builders—and perhaps the same supervisor, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash—were responsible for the work (Chapter 36).

The new gates were all designed along similar lines. An outer entrance with iron-clad gates leads through into a high tunnel with a left-hand turn. This goes against the traditional right-angled bend of medieval fortifications which exposed the weaker, unshielded, side of the enemy. But by the 10th/16th century, guns and not arrows or spears were used for the attack and perhaps this factor influenced the design of the gates. Curiously, Bab al-Nabi Daʿud does have a right-angled bend, but this may perhaps be explained if it had been anticipated that defenders would have to fight for Nabi Daʿud from *within* the city. Bab al-ʿAmud, Bab al-Khalil, Bab Sitti Maryam and Bab Nabi Daʿud have large outer gateways, while Bab al-Maghariba and Bab al-Zahra (Herod's Gate) had small

postern-like entrances in one side of the projecting tower (the existing wider arches were opened during the British Mandate).

During the Mamluk period, elaborate funerary architecture, tombs and mausolea provided a means of celebrating both the lives and the charitable works of major patrons in the city, and also allowed such notables to be buried close to the third holiest site in Islam. Many such structures were built on the roads leading down to the Haram, in particular ʿAqabat al-Silsila, where passers-by could look into the chambers and pay homage to their forebears. During the Ottoman period funerary architecture, both in Jerusalem and in Cairo, for example (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 229, 261) became more restrained (see below). The mausoleum in the Khassaki Sultan complex is the only foundation in the city to have emulated the earlier foundations. The mausoleum is undated and nothing is known of the man claimed by Nabulsi to be buried there, one Shaikh Saʿd al-Din al-Rusafi. The building is an independent structure comprising a dome and eight-sided drum supported on a square chamber. The architectural evidence suggests that it may have been built later than the Khassaki Sultan complex, which would perhaps make sense given that there was a large Sufi community in the complex for whom a building of this type would have been a fitting epitaph for an important member of the community (Chapter 35). [Editor's note: for a different opinion, see Dr Yusuf Natsheh's analysis, cat. no. 15, where he opines that that the tomb was constructed before the complex].

It seems, however, that during the Ottoman period the desire for such elaborate monuments in Jerusalem seems to have diminished; only four tomb chambers have so far been identified. One of the main reasons for this was that relatively few new pious foundations were built during the first two centuries of the period, which in turn may have been a result of the fact that Ottoman governors and pashas never stayed long enough in the city to die there (Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 27). The few tomb chambers that were built are usually simple vaulted spaces, located on the ground floor as, for example, in Maktab Bairam Jawish. At al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya the chamber, which houses a collection of four cenotaphs, is located at the back of the compound, hidden away in a small vault below courtyard level. The tomb of Hajj ʿAli Rukhiyyun, who died in 1271/1854 (author's notes) is also located in the courtyard, presumably because there was not enough space for it inside the tomb chamber. This was, incidentally, the only inscribed cenotaph of the period found by the author in any of the monuments, though there are must be others. A third, and similar, tomb chamber is found under the 11th/17th-century palace al-Sarayi al-ʿIyafi al-Matbuli which adjoins the Bairam Jawish complex (cat. no. 29). As

a result of 'archaeological' activities by local residents, little of the contents of the tomb or the burial chamber under the room survive. (These activities have also uncovered in the same chamber a large, circular, ashlar cistern.) It seems likely that this tomb chamber was built and was posthumously occupied by a Mamluk patron who was responsible for an unnamed and undated foundation that previously existed on the site (see van Berchem 1923: 431). Alternatively, given that no tomb has been identified for the patron of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya immediately opposite, one wonders whether it was not the patron of that complex who was buried here. Sitt Tunshuq is, after all, buried on the other side of the road from her great palace (Burgoyne 1987: 485-512).

The building techniques used for construction of the buildings followed long-held practice in the city. The basic building material was stone; walls invariably consisted of two outer layers of dressed masonry of varying degrees of fineness of finish, filled with a rubble and plaster matrix. Walls were of almost uniform thickness, irrespective of the building type. Many of the simpler constructions—those without intricate detailing or elaborate decoration—would have been covered in a coating of white or off-white lime-wash or plaster render. This is a fact that is rarely noted even in scholarly works and can hardly be appreciated today with walls almost invariably presented as exposed rough rubble. Early accounts, however, confirm its use. Evliya Çelebi observed that 'the buildings within this town are of masonry; there are no wooden constructions at all. Yet the doors are made of wood. The houses are covered with lime ...' (Stephan 1938: 156). The practice continued throughout the subsequent centuries; Mark Twain, writing in the 13th/19th century, described the houses as being built of 'strong masonry, white-washed or plastered outside' (Osband 1989: 136). In contrast to the sometimes drab, stripped down perception that we have today of buildings with exposed stonework, the urban landscape of Jerusalem during much of the period should rather be envisaged as smoother and certainly lighter, perhaps in a similar style to towns and villages in the Aegean, for example, which have continued to lime-wash, or paint the exteriors of their buildings. As a result the narrow alleys and passages, which sometimes appear dark today, are likely to have been filled with reflected light from above, while at the same time providing the necessary shade from the midday sun. Lime-rendering and lime-washing, as any conservationist knows, had little to do with decoration, for all that it was often a convenient medium. Lime served the practical purpose of protecting the masonry from the elements, including the annual heavy winter rains of Jerusalem. During the later years of Ottoman rule, when the economy was debased and maintenance costs too high, the visible reality was more likely to have been buildings covered with a patchwork of render and exposed stone as

one can often see today in cities like Cairo (Behrens-Abouseif 1985: 72, pl. 22; 79, pl. 26).

Domes and arches are above all the characteristic elements of Turkish Ottoman architecture. During the first century of the Ottoman period in Jerusalem a large number of domes were constructed, particularly in the Haram. Mark Twain, writing in 1286/1869 after a visit to Palestine, recalled 'It (Jerusalem) is knobbly with countless little domes as a prison door with boltheads. Every house has from one to half a dozen of these white plastered domes of stone, broad and low, sitting in the centre of, or in a cluster, upon the flat roof ... (it is) the knobbliest city in the world, except Constantinople' (Osband 1989: 136).

In general domes were constructed of a rubble and mortar matrix which was plastered inside and out. The outer skin was made thicker and coarser to resist the effects of exposure to the weather. In a good many instances this external plaster was later replaced by stone tiles which were more hard-wearing. In three instances the domes were constructed of solid ashlar stones cut and keyed to shape (Sabil Qasim Pasha, the kitchen at Khassaki Sultan and the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha or the 'Mamluk' cell, cat. nos. 2, 15, 22). None of the elaborate decorative stone dome structures found in the Mamluk buildings were used. Nor was the Anatolian Ottoman preoccupation with the use of lead to cover domes generally encountered in Jerusalem. The exceptions were in the domes of the Aqsa Mosque, Dome of the Rock, Qubbat al-Nabi, Qubbat al-Mi'raj, Qubbat Yusuf, Qubbat al-Silsila and Sabil Qasim Pasha which all appear to have been clad in lead. Most lead had to be imported from abroad—in one instance at least directly from Istanbul (Heyd 1960), which made the material expensive and gave it a prestige that made it suitable for use only on special buildings. In general Mamluk domes had a pointed profile (with a slight horseshoe return) (Burgoyne 1987: 91). Usually, however, Ottoman domes were rounder in profile, even on occasion almost hemispherical, as at Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32), the cells around the upper esplanade of the Haram, and the restored north end of Masjid al-Maghariba. Other examples had a shallower profile, as for example Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42), a form which was also found in Cairo (Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 27).

Most domes in the city, as Twain noted, were mounted directly onto a flat roof terrace; all the cells around the upper esplanade are of this type, as are the domes found over the majority of vernacular houses. The earlier practice of building the dome up from a faceted stone drum, which had a small window-opening in each side, although found in only a few instances, continued into the 12th/18th century. This combination of drum and dome is found at the east end of the Crusader hall of the Coenaculum, and over the kitchen and mausoleum in the Khassaki Sultan complex. Another example, perhaps

dating to the 11th/17th century, is to be found in the Saray al-‘Iyafi al-Matbuli on ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya. In some monuments (but more usually in vernacular architecture) an intermediate form of drum was formed by chamfering the upper corners of the exterior of the main reception room at first- or second-floor level just below the dome (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Corbelled buttresses). The dome over Masjid al-Qaimari is supported on such a structure. Strictly speaking, this cannot be termed ‘a drum support’ since all the sides are not the same length. In point of fact this form of construction, whose origins are unknown to me, was primarily a practical method of reducing vertical structural loading at the corners of the building. Hanging or corbelled buttresses on the external walls provided extra support domes’ structures (see Grammar of Architectural Ornaments, Corbelled buttresses). Similar buttresses were also used on the front elevations of buildings, for example the Ribat Bairam Jawish; they were built to provide lateral support to transition arches located between two vaults in the interior of the building. Consequently, the buttresses are a good indicator of the type of internal space situated behind an otherwise plain exterior. Buttresses were used only rarely during the Mamluk period (Burgoyne 1987: 90) and it seems curious that they should have been introduced by the Ottomans. However, their use may be explained by the fact that, in general, the walls—usually around 750mm thick—were thinner than Mamluk walls. It is perhaps worth mentioning that this dimension corresponds almost precisely with the standard Turkish unit of measurement, one *arsun*, which equals 757mm in modern terminology.

Transition zones between vertical walls and domes tended to be in the form of pendentives buttressed by wall arches, as in the mausoleum mentioned above. The type of corbelled *muqarnas* found in many Mamluk monuments was never used in the Ottoman period to make the transition between walls and domes. Squinches, a feature often found in Mamluk architecture and also in Turkish Ottoman architecture as a dome support, were also used, but once again mainly in the 10th/16th century. Both Masjid al-Qaimari and the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (the Translation House, cat. nos. 32 and 23) have semi-hemispherical squinches. The two chambers of Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa’ al-Quds are not exactly square, and as a result similarly scallop-shaped squinches are supported on shallow wall arches. The three-tiered squinches in Qubbat al-Mahd ‘Isa are unusual, not merely for their use so late in the period, but also because the design is reminiscent of Ayyubid or Mamluk squinches.⁶ As

far as I am aware, these are unique to Ottoman architecture in the city.

Fewer domes were built as the centuries passed. In our survey, approximately fifteen monuments included domes during the 10th/16th century, seven in the 11th/17th, one in the 12th/18th, and two in the 13th/19th centuries. Clearly these figures must primarily relate directly to the number of monuments built; they certainly do not take into consideration the large number of domes used in domestic buildings throughout the city. They do, however, reflect a decline in the use of the dome, in preference for the vault, and, later, for modern flat ceilings.

As a general rule, the local use of barrel or cross (groin) vaults, which were popular throughout the Mamluk period, continued in all but the most important chambers (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Vaults). It was the practice to use a barrel vault in the most basic rooms, and these are thus often found in ground-floor storage rooms both in private houses and in public monuments. Examples are found in the ground-floor rooms of the cells around the upper esplanade of the Haram. Cross vaults are generally pointed in section and are found throughout domestic spaces and in those monuments located in the residential quarters of the city, for example al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya. As in the Mamluk period, they were normally employed over square spaces, usually with projecting supports in the corners which either rise from ground level or from corbels in one of the adjoining walls. This latter practice also allowed for cross vaults to be used over rectangular spaces. Sometimes two cross vaults separated by a transverse arch cover a longer area. In the south gatehouse of the Khassaki Sultan complex, a simple cross vault is made unique by the introduction of a small petal-shaped incision in the groin at the junction between the fold and the wall support (cat. no. 15).

Folded cross vaults with an eight-sided drum and domelet at their apex, which were common during the Mamluk period (see Burgoyne 1987: 90-1) (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Vaults), were only found in one instance. This is in the Sufi refectory in the Khassaki Sultan complex where four vaults are supported on a central pillar. The Mamluk practice of occasionally leaving the central cupola open to the sky was not continued into the 10th/16th century. The exception is found as ever in the bend in Bab al-‘Amud. In most cases a domelet was used at the apex of the vault and these come in a wide range of sizes. One general characteristic of Ottoman vaulting in the city is, however, the increasing use of moulded patterns in the plaster lining on the underside of the dome. Spirals, lozenges, circles and fanned umbrella moulds can all be found, with a great number of variations on the theme. The trend can be dramatically (and rather prettily) demonstrated by plans of the series of rooms which are believed to have formed the Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat.

⁶ This assumes that the squinches have not been re-used, which they may have been.

no. 12). One of the rooms has the most unusual feature—perhaps unique in Jerusalem—of a central domelet, from the apex of which is suspended a spiralling pendulum of plaster. Occasionally, particularly in the last hundred years of Ottoman rule, other patterns were continued into the main areas of the vault below the domelet, as, for example, in an upper room of the 13th/19th-century house, Bait al-Mamluk, where a series of geometric patterns are incised into the plaster around the ceiling (Ch. 25, app. 25.1). At other times, the patterns were used to cover the interior of an entire dome, as in the so-called Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 18), where the dome is moulded with deeply incised folds, giving it the appearance of a partially unfurled umbrella. There are a few complex variations on the theme. The domical vault over the main space in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, the so-called Mamluk Cell (cat. no. 22), is a geometrically-planned series of haunched vaults arranged around the walls, on which a large umbrella dome is supported. The design is almost identical to one found in a lobby of the Mamluk al-Madrasa al-Muzhiriyya (885/1480-1; Burgoyne 1987: 579-88, fig. 62.5 and fig. 62.10). A similar example can be found in the western chamber of the *qibla iwan* in the Khassaki Sultan complex.

Arches were usually pointed and are found throughout the period in a diverse range of shapes and sizes. The most concentrated use of arches is found in the porticoes and domed structures in the Haram. Most of the cells on the north and west sides of the upper esplanade of the Haram once had arched porticoes situated on raised platforms in front of them. Although a number of the porticoes have been repaired or restored and still exist, it is difficult to be sure of the original form of the edifices when they were first built.

In Jerusalem it is rare to find the ogival arches used in many Ottoman foundations closer to the centre of power. Those that were in the city generally date to the 10th/16th century. The three most typical examples of this feature can be seen in the small portico of the Ottoman Hammam al-Sultan located at the junction of the Via Dolorosa and Tariq al-Wad (Chapter 33, pl. 33.2, 33.3). Other examples are found used as relieving arches over windows, which was a common practice in Istanbul as, for example, at the Hadim Ibrahim Pasha Mosque (958/1551; Goodwin 1977: 104). The west elevation of Khalwat Bairam Jawish Pasha (cat. no. 34) has a relieving arch of this type, as does another located in a small courtyard adjacent to Maktab Bairam Jawish at first-floor level. Horseshoe arches are rare. Two blind arches located on the outer elevation of Bab Sitti Maryam are probably the earliest examples, and are unusual, for they are the only ones with gadrooned (or pillow) voussoirs. Three other arches of the same shape support the domed portico in front of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, the

Mamluk Cell (cat. no. 22). The dome over the 12th/18th-century Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (Sabil Mustafa Agha, 1153/1740-1; cat. no. 48) is supported on three similar arches constructed of red and white stone which are distinctly Mamluk in style. Other arches have a profile generated by the centre of the radius situated above the spring of the arch, but pointed at the apex. Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), the porticoes at Khalwat al-Ghazali (more properly the Madrasat Ahmad Pasha of 1013/1604, cat. no. 25), Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11) and al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) are obvious examples (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Portals). Trefoil arches are rare and their use is confined to the 10th/16th century. The north portico of the Khassaki Sultan complex is a case in point. A blind trefoil arch is also found in the south elevation of Dar Bairam Jawish and in the west elevation of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Arches and portals). Flat arches, in which the voussoirs are keyed to form a lintel-like structure, were also built during the 10th/16th century. An example is again provided in the portico of the northern gatehouse of the Khassaki Sultan complex. The North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha has what appears to be a unique example in Jerusalem of a Florentine arch, in which the intrados is horseshoe-shaped, while the extrados has a pointed profile.

Pointed arches were some times embellished by carved decorative patterns on the voussoirs. Chevron (or zig-zag) arches were used for porticoes in early Ottoman Turkey, for example the Orhan Gazi Mosque in Bursa (740/1339; Goodwin 1977: 58) but they are also found in Mamluk foundations in Jerusalem. One example is the Turba of Baraka Khan (663-79/1265-80; Burgoyne 1987: 111 throughout). In the Ottoman period, pointed arches were primarily used in the 10th/16th century. They are found, for example, in Sabil Birkat al-Sultan and Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. nos. 4, 8), as well as Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11). Occasionally, however, their use continued into the 11th/17th century as in Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) and the restored portico of al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya (cat. no. 33). Gadroon (pillow) arches were a local remnant of the style inherited from the Mamluk, Crusader and Ayyubid periods; as far as I can ascertain, they do not represent an Ottoman import, although they are found in the Orhan Gazi Mosque in Bursa (Goodwin 1977: 58). Bab al-Nabi Da'ud has two blind gadroon arches around loopholes flanking the outer gate. The portico and all the windows around the mausoleum in the Khassaki Sultan complex are decorated in a similar fashion, and so is the arched recess in the south wall of Qubba Yusuf, which dates to the latter half of the 11th/17th century. A typically Syrian flourish is found in the arches of the south gateway of the Khassaki Sultan complex and Bab al-'Amud, where the voussoirs are

carved with a running frieze of small niches with a leaf-like pattern. The design seems to have been imported after the Mamluk period from Lebanese and Syrian buildings.⁷ As I have suggested in relation to the Qubbat al-Khadr and the Khassaki Sultan complex, this design is not found in use after the 10th/16th century and that is one reason for suggesting that Kursi Sulaiman is a 10th/16th-century foundation. In many of the vernacular buildings around the city, the segmental arches over doorways into houses were decorated with small roundels with geometric designs carved into the voussoirs. Sometimes there is a single roundel in the keystone, but more often there is a second and third example located in the voussoirs on either side.

Away from the carefully designed monuments, the uniformity apparent in the thickness of walls is also to be found in the construction of windows and doors. Rooms at ground-floor level were used primarily as storage or stabling areas. Thus, until the 13th/19th century windows located lower down on external walls were invariably small rectangular openings, providing ventilation to the rooms behind. Windows giving onto the upper floors were larger and positioned either singly or in pairs, and they were also incorporated into oriel windows, which projected on stone corbels over the street below. The corbels are invariably curved at the outer end and often sit two or three on top of each other. Some times the oriels would be made of wood, as in a number of house located on Tariq al-Wad, but more often they are solidly constructed of stone. Pairs of windows are usually separated by a simple stone mullion or some times by a column, as in the double window over the south gateway to the Khassaki Sultan complex. Relieving arches, which bear the load of the masonry above windows or doors, come in a range of different shapes and sizes, but usually they are simple arches which are often incorporated into the masonry above the lintels of windows (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Window lintels/arches). Some times a roughly constructed round arch spans the width of paired windows. The windows would have provided the principal means of ventilation during the summer months. However, smaller ventilation holes located above the main windows served the same purpose at other times. The holes come in a wide variety of shapes and sizes, varying from star shapes to slits and roundels to 'eye-brow' shaped slots (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Window lintels/arches). During the 10th/16th century, the top of the slit was often in the form of two quirked ogival profiles meeting at the apex. This latter shape of arch was new to the city, as far as I am aware. Examples can be found at the Sokullu Mehmet

Pasha Mosque, Istanbul (961/1554; Vogt-Göknil 1966: 78). There is often a simple carved *fleur de lys* motif above the slit-shaped openings. By the 13th/19th century, classical mouldings, or revivals of hollow square mouldings, surround the more common round variety. During the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, round-headed windows, with arches often constructed of only three keyed stones, became common.

During the Mamluk period, windows had been made secure by the addition of a metal grille which was built into the sill, lintel and projecting jambs. With one or two exceptions, Ottoman grilles are both less solid and less finely crafted than those of the earlier period (see Grammar of Architectural Ornaments, Grilles). One or two of the cells around the upper esplanade of the Haram have bars of a comparable size with carefully forged junctions (as for example the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, cat. no. 22). Generally, however, they seem to have been threaded through holes built into the thickness of the strut. *Mashrabiyya* (the wooden trellising that allowed ventilation while preserving privacy) survives in one or two rare instances in vernacular architecture, but for the most part it has given way to modern metal shuttering; it is therefore difficult to assess how widely used this feature was used.

Portals and doorways (see Grammar of Architectural Ornaments, Portals) had been one of the most eye-catching elements of Mamluk foundations, particularly in the narrow streets around the Haram (see Burgoyne 1987: 92-3 and throughout). The largest of all the portals built during the period is the north gateway into the Khassaki Sultan complex. The entrance is covered by a trefoil arch (as already described) and, like the Mamluk portals, has a frame mould terminating close to ground level in circular volutes. During the Ottoman period generally, however, both massive doorways and the exquisite decoration associated with them almost vanished. Most formal entrances, even in the early 10th/16th century, were reduced to a small doorway in a recessed arch with a stone bench on each side for a guard to sit on. Otherwise the practice of publicly advertising the wealth and standing of the original founder was abandoned. The doorways at Ribat Bairam Jawish, al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (restored later) and al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. nos. 11, 33, 35) are all of this type. The reasons for this restraint in their design are unclear but may (as discussed earlier) reflect the comparative scarcity of money available to spend on lavish decoration. It may also have been due to a wish for comparative anonymity in an increasingly unstable city after the end of the 10th/16th century, in which the close confines of a *zawiya* or convent became a welcome form of protection. Dervish foundations were poor communities and the continued use of flamboyant decoration may also have come to be perceived as inappropriate.

Muqarnas stalactites, commonly found in the

⁷ For example in Tripoli at Khan al-'Askar (8th/14th century) (Salam-Liebich 1983: 184, fig. 170) and Aleppo at Qaisariyyat Miru (Salam-Liebich 1983: 212, fig. 188).

earlier Mamluk period in the tympana of portals and arches, were used only in earnest on a small number of monuments—for example, Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, Sabil al-Wad and Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. nos. 4, 5 and 8)—although they are also found in the corbelling of minarets, for example the minaret of al-Hamra’. They follow the Syrian/Egyptian style of pointed niches which are in contrast to the peculiarly Ottoman rectilinear type found in, for example, column capitals (see below). The practice of decorating the backs of porticoes in this way seems to have gone out of fashion and not to have been used again in the city. Instead tympana were generally left flat and, apart from an inscription plaque, unadorned. In the north elevation of Bab al-‘Amud and the east elevation of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, the rectilinear Ottoman style of *muqarnas* has been used to decorate the top of a shallow window recess. But the most accomplished example is found in Mihrab al-Sanaubar, which probably dates to the early 12th/18th century (cat. no. 54). Here the *mihrab* niche is surmounted by a series of corbelled rows of *muqarnas* using Syrian curved niches.

In the same way, the elaborate form of decoration known as *ablaq* which was used in the portals and elevations of the earlier Mamluk buildings was almost entirely abandoned. This technique of alternating courses or decorative features such as voussoirs of arches in different coloured stone had been one of the distinctive features of the Mamluk period in Jerusalem. It had also been used in Turkish Ottoman architecture since at least the early 9th/15th century, for example the mosque of Yügüç Pasha at Amasya (832/1428; Goodwin 1971: 77) and was often used in the great imperial mosques of the 10th/16th century. During the same period in Jerusalem, however, the use of *ablaq* was rare, even in the new imperial or independent foundations. The exception is the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha which owes its popular name, the Mamluk Cell, to its use. Unique in Ottoman Jerusalem, the little cell is a gem of great beauty and extraordinary craftsmanship. Despite one or two later restorations it remains arguably one of the finest pieces of Ottoman decorative architecture in the city. On the east elevation a rectangular panel is inlaid with star-shaped pieces of red stone, an example of stunning technical virtuosity. This is surrounded by an exquisitely carved cartouche of woven hexagons. There are also traces of inlaid turquoise ceramic tiles in the panel and an identical panel survives, hidden away and perfectly preserved, in the interior east wall of the antechamber. Other decorative details include joggled voussoirs over the windows looking to the south. There is another example of *ablaq* in the joggled voussoirs of Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (Khalwat al-Ghazali, cat. no. 25) but this is of a lower quality.

The east side of a bridge (*qanatir*) in the Bairam Jawish complex, which has alternating courses of red and

white stone, probably illustrates the concern felt by successive Islamic patrons not just for the buildings themselves but also how they fitted into the surrounding context. This suggestion, made by Robert Hillenbrand (author’s notes), makes sense for in the distance, framed by the bridge and the sides of the street, are the decorated façades of the Dar and Turba of Sitt Tunshuq, and the Madrasa al-Mawardiyya. Later, a number of minor foundations (Qubbat al-Masjid al-Nabi Da’ud, Qubbat al-Nabi, Mihrab ‘Ali Pasha, Sabil al-Shurbaji, Sabil al-Khalidi and Sabil Mustafa Agha—cat. nos. 1, 10, 37, 40, 44, and 48) were constructed with a combination of grey, cream and red stones, used in general only in the voussoirs of arches. In what appears to have been a revival period, the use of *ablaq* is used to greater effect in the north elevation of a bridge house which spans Tariq al-Wad (Wilson 1880: I, 26). A distinctively Ottoman feature of this elevation is the presence of blind ogival arches over the windows, which also have alternating coloured voussoirs and are apparently the only examples of such arches which incorporate the *ablaq* technique.

Other architectural decoration during the 10th/16th century displays both the influence of the centralised Ottoman style and that of the provinces. The designs of column capitals found in the *qubbas* and porticoes of the cells around the Haram vary a good deal, and often differ from column to column. In contrast, the bases are often very similar. Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30) also, for example, has eight capitals of differing designs. The two southern capitals are of a curious ovoid shape, the closest parallels to which are to be found in the bases of columns in the Summer Pulpit (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Column capitals). Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) equally has six different capitals, including re-used Crusader *spolia* (see below), while Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) uses column bases for capitals (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Column bases). The reason for this disparity is probably that these fragile monuments were ruined by one or other of the frequent local earthquakes; any lost or broken capitals were later replaced with whatever could be found, or made, at the time. The column capitals of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), as has already been mentioned, can be seen almost certainly as evidence for this hypothesis. In general however, designs which incorporate rows of rectangular niches around the circumference of the capital are Ottoman in origin. Those in Qubbat al-Nabi and a number of other monuments bear striking similarities to designs found in the Bayezit II complex in Edirne, for example (891-95/1484-88 Goodwin 1971: 142, fig. 133; Vogt-Göknil 1966: 20) or the complex by the same founder in Istanbul (964/1556 begun c. 1500—see Goodwin 1971: 168-72; Goodwin 1977: 86, pl. 30). The most accomplished examples in Jerusalem are to be found once

again in the portico of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, which also has smaller decorative motifs incorporated into the niches (see Grammar of Architectural Ornaments, Column bases). A capital with a deeply incised triangular design in the double window over the portico of the southern gatehouse of the Khassaki Sultan complex is also remarkably similar to examples in the Bayezit II complex in Edirne (817-22/1414-84) (Goodwin 1977: pl. 82; Goodwin 1971: 78-82, pl. 75).

The Mamluk tendency to use decorative geometric patterns and inscription plaques carved in stone continued into the early Ottoman period, but on a much reduced scale. Most decorative detailing of this sort was restricted to providing a light touch on a heavy structure. Complex geometry underlies the design of the circular bosses which project from the city walls and on some of the buildings within the Khassaki Sultan and Bairam Jawish complexes. Roundels are also to be found in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, and in the north elevation of Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (cat. nos. 22, and 50). Cartouches on the front elevations of the cells in the Haram were articulated with a hexagonal woven design that seems to be Mamluk in origin. Others have chevron patterns, like those in the south entrance to the Khassaki Sultan complex, or the south elevation of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha. Bands of counterchange joggling are found around the shafts of a number of the minarets. Impost stones, from which arches spring, were often carved with one or two rows of shallow arches. They are almost always of curved form, but in one instance in Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12) they are the Turkish rectilinear type (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament, Corbel brackets).

Carved decoration was to become increasingly fluid in its design as the period progressed. A small corbel in the otherwise plain south elevation of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) is a small but fine example of this development. Decorative carving was also to become less geometric and more representational. Floral designs were used from the earliest years of Ottoman sovereignty, even if they were heavily stylised. Some of the bosses on the walls of the city and in the *khan* of the Khassaki Sultan complex include large petals radiating from a small central flower. Hood-moulds and voussoirs in the same monuments also incorporate running friezes of arched niches delicately carved with leaf-like designs. In the south elevation of Khalwat al-Qitas (cat. no. 16) there is an extraordinarily intricate trefoil-shaped carving, which includes flowers and leaves, located over a window. The design of this particular piece originates in similarly-shaped plaques placed above doorways in Turkey, for example over the Soup Gate of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul (begun 1463; Goodwin 1971: 124, pl. 116) or the remarkable 'antique' plaques in the *namazgah* at Gelibolu (Goodwin 1971: 141, pl. 132). A

close inspection of some of the metal cladding on the doors of Bab al-'Amud reveals a number of flower designs impressed into the iron. Floral designs were to become increasingly realistic particularly after the so-called Tulip period in Ottoman Turkey at the beginning of the 12th/18th century (Goodwin 1971: 354). Mihrab al-Sanaubar and Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (Sabil Mustafa Agha, cat. nos. 54, 48), as already mentioned, included carved patterns of tulips standing in vases. During the 13th/19th century, keystones in arches often had a leafy design projecting from them. In the south wall of Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) there are carved flowers which still bear traces of polychromy, applied possibly during the latter half of the 13th/19th century on the occasion of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm to the city in 1898.

In a number of monuments, the need for decoration is met by the incorporation of re-used stones—or even whole building elements—into their structure. The practice was particularly widespread in 10th/16th-century buildings, presumably when such materials were available in larger number. Materials from ruined structures, or entire buildings, were adapted to fulfil the needs of new building projects, whether they were monumental religious complexes, like Khassaki Sultan, or lower down the scale, like domestic housing. This was an inevitable outcome of the continuous requirement to adapt and re-organise the dense urban fabric within the protective confines of the city walls. It was also an easy means of Islamisation. Even before the imperial Ottoman building programme got under way during the first half of the 10th/16th century, the city had had a long history of re-using existing materials. This was primarily a matter of practical considerations of cost, labour and availability. The conversion of the Crusader church of St Agnes, the re-use of the extant foundations of the city walls and the integration of Dar Sitt Tunshuq into the new Khassaki Sultan complex, as well as the Damascus Gate, are ample demonstrations of the Ottoman willingness to take existing buildings and adapt them for their own needs. The re-use of building materials lying around the city fulfilled the need for such materials, and in doing so reduced the cost of the new enterprises. This was particularly the case in such large projects as the rebuilding of the walls, where stones dating from earlier centuries are regularly found. A Greek inscription is used in just such an *ad hoc* fashion—and incidentally upside down—in the north face of Bab al-Zahra (Herod's Gate). A Roman—or perhaps Hellenistic—decorative stone is used as the lintel of an arrow slit close to the same gate. The debris found around the Haram was cleared and some pieces of the ruined *madrasa* of al-Malik al-Ashraf Qa'itbai (887/1482) (Burgoyne 1987: 589-605) found their way into the bakery in the Khassaki Sultan complex (Walls-Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 29 and n. 88, and see Chapter 36). The scarcity of some materials made it vital

that elements of earlier buildings were used. Marble, for example, had been popular throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods but it was invariably taken from earlier structures (Burgoyne 1987: 89). All of the columns in the building—or rebuilding—of the *qubba* structures are almost certainly in re-use. Other pieces of *spolia* were used as markers. The placing of a single piece of red granite—a stone not found in the region—at the base of the south column in Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) was clearly intended to operate as a simple form of *mihrab* to indicate the *qibla*, or direction of prayer.

The integration of highly decorative elements of earlier, usually Christian, buildings could simply be read as another instance of cost-cutting. An almost complete medieval rose-window—probably Crusader—was incorporated into Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), as was an equally complete archway, with beautifully carved floral bosses, at Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7). Here, and at Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5), engaged columns with leafy capitals of either Crusader or Ayyubid origin have been built into the sides of the arch. At least two of the troughs are almost certainly sarcophagi and may be Byzantine in date. The Crusader *spolia* probably came from the Coenaculum, or from the headquarters of the Hospitallers close to the Holy Sepulchre. It is difficult to marry cost-cutting of this sort with the importance of the projects. Given the programmatic nature of Sulaiman's Solomonic aspirations, however, the re-use of material was perhaps

employed in the mistaken belief that they were iconographically representative of the Temple period, and therefore entirely appropriate. On the other hand, and this is the usual argument, it is possible they were used as symbols for the predominance of Islam over the earlier occupants of the city. The use of a column capital, of unknown provenance, as a step outside Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz (both 967/1559-60, cat. nos. 16, 17) and also as a step up to a prayer platform on the west side of the Haram, can be seen to support the argument. The use of decorative *spolia* in a highly visible manner was not limited to the most important sites but also in the humblest of structures. A number of the raised prayer platforms in the Haram incorporate large carved blocks, positioned on the most visible side of the platforms, usually at a corner.

The preceding pages can hope to provide only a brief introduction to the Islamic heritage of the Ottoman city of Jerusalem. It is possible to present only a few of the conclusions reached during the time spent on the project. Any *lacunae*, or blatant mistakes, are my own. Subsequent research by Dr Yusuf Natsheh or Mr Khadr Salameh during their studies of the *sijill* records will have brought to light new information unknown to me at the time of writing. In any case, the detailed chapters and the descriptions of the buildings themselves which follow will provide a more thorough insight into the Islamic architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem.

Chapter 24

STARS, ROSES AND INTERLACE: ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Sylvia Auld

The style of architectural decoration produced in Jerusalem under the Ottomans is less dramatic than it was under their Mamluk predecessors. Where the Mamluks primarily relied on *ablaq* and *muqarnas* to decorate their buildings (Burgoyne 1971: 1-31 and 1987: 89-97), the Ottomans tended towards the use of carved stone roundels or small areas of intricate interlace. The use of *muqarnas* continued but it was less three-dimensional, for the most part consisting of single or double bands which acted as a framing device, although in the earlier 16th-century monuments—three of the *sabils* erected under the patronage of Sultan Sulaiman (cat. nos. 4, 5, 8) for example—larger areas of *muqarnas* were used to fill the niche hoods (pl. 24.1) (*note*: unless otherwise indicated the photographs herein are by the author). The transition in taste is neatly demonstrated by al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28, more commonly known as the Madrasa Rasasiyya from the use of lead plates to bond the courses of masonry; Burgoyne 1971: 23-26 no. 9, figs. 18-19, pl. XIXb). This impressive façade, which gives onto 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, consists of bands of white limestone, red marble and a single, central course of black basalt—a use of coloured stone which is echoed in the *ablaq* joggling over the windows and doors. These are all typically 'Mamluk' features. The central recessed panel, which houses the portal, is capped by a scalloped hood and to either side of it there are panels of *muqarnas*. But it is not stalactite *muqarnas*, consisting instead of four tiers of shallow lanceolate niches. There is an area of stalactite *muqarnas* but it is hidden inside a room on the first floor, which once served as a mosque. The bands of shallow *muqarnas* niches are decorated in the upper arched section with an abstract

palmette that could also be interpreted as an open 'hand of Fatima'.¹ The device, as Canaan (1927: 204) explains, was 'common in popular superstition ... met with in magic formulas and popular medicine.' Its use may, therefore, have been originally intended as a talisman or amulet, to bring blessings on the building or to ward off evil.

The arch over the main opening of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) (pl. 24.23) is framed with a series of lanceolate niches. A comparable band frames the archway over the south portal of al-'Imara al-'Amira (the complex known as Khassaki Sultan, cat. no. 15) (pl. 24.2) and another runs across the north façade. The niches are found again acting as the 'capitals' of columns, both on the 16th-century *sabils*, where the panels at the sides of the recess continue across the tops of the attached colonettes (pl. 24.3), and, more clearly, on some of the small Ottoman monuments on the Haram al-Sharif. On these they form capitals in the more orthodox sense. This is demonstrated by the columns of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) (pl. 24.4) and, more dramatically, those in front of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22, dated 1007-9/1598-1601) (pl. 24.8).

This charming building deserves an entire chapter devoted to its decoration, for it is quite the richest of the period. It is as eclectic as al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, using 'Mamluk'-style *ablaq* and *muqarnas* details that earned it

¹ See Canaan 1927 (reprint n.d.): 204-5, pl. IV nos. 6-7, where a similar pattern is used as the finial to the staff (*za'na*) to which ceremonial banners were fastened. A brass amulet in the shape of an open hand, inscribed with Qur'anic texts, is in al-Aqsa Mosque Museum, Jerusalem.

the nickname of the 'Khalwa al-Mamlukiyya', and borders consisting of trefoils enclosed in split palmettes, reminiscent of Iranian manuscript illumination and metalwork over joggling on the windows to the west (pl. 24.6) and north (pl. 24.7).² The north window also has a cornice of *muqarnas* niches and the west window has two star-polygon roundels set in the cusps of the trefoil apex. The significance of these will be discussed below. In addition, the building features colour. The rose and white stone of a plaque to the east still has traces of turquoise ceramic inlay in the points of the star-polygons (pl. 24.5), while the inlay of the porch of the main entrance is still intact. This rare survival of colour in Jerusalem recalls similar use of coloured paste in contemporary Damascus, where inlaid details occur on the entrance of al-Madrasa al-Salimiyya and al-Takiyya al-Sulaimaniyya. Were all the details once similarly coloured by paint? The question is discussed more fully below.

The firm date for the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha to the turn of the 16th century, provided by Dr Natsheh's discovery of the relevant *sijill* (97: 312, cat. no. 22), adds emphasis to the use of *muqarnas* as column capitals and bases (pl. 24.9), as already discussed. The crisp carving and crystalline stone recall the restrained elegance of work for the court in Istanbul and Edirne (see, for example, Goodwin 1971: 203, pl. 192; 228, pl. 219 and 230, pl. 221; 240, pl. 228). In the Khalwa, neither capitals nor bases fit the columns they adorn. Moreover, the column 'base' is in truth another capital, which has been inverted. Were they then imported? The question cannot be answered with certainty. The niches are either set as a single chamfer at the corner, or are stacked in diminishing numbers over each other to form a deeper bevel, or they surround the column-head as a cornice (pls. 24.8, 24.9). Each niche is crisply outlined in a deeply cut groove.

Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31, dated 1249-82/1833-65) also has a cornice of single niches. The use of *muqarnas* on these small monuments, which date from the end of the 16th to the 19th centuries, is indicative of the popularity of this type of decoration. It became so widespread that it can virtually be seen as a 'signature' for the Ottoman provenance of the buildings on which it appears, sometimes in unexpected places. On Tariq Barquq, the corner of Zawiya Qadiriyya is bevelled to allow the easy passage of loaded animals as the street turns sharply. At the head of the chamfer, three small *muqarnas* niches, undecorated apart from the sharply angled apex and a break across the centre, are flanked by a small area of foliate arabesque (pl. 24.10). The deep groove running

down the middle and the one which surrounds each niche are typical of 17th-century work in the city. The use of shadow to emphasise a motif was already used by the stone carvers of the Mamluk period as found on the Ashrafiyya and Sabil Qa'itbai, to be discussed below, but behind this there lies the so-called 'International Timurid' style. The decoration at the corners of the chamfer on al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya is part of this movement. Another detail, this time within the Khassaki Sultan complex, is contained within a cusped cartouche and consists of an arabesque wholly in the Iranian mode (pl. 24.11)—compare, for example, a metal doorknocker on the Shrine of Ahmad Yasavi, a binding of a *Mathnawi-yi ma'nawi* of Jalaluddin Rumi³ or, in the Ottoman period, lobed medallions on tiles from the tomb of Sultan Selim II.⁴

Carved stone decoration was becoming popular in Jerusalem by the end of the Mamluk period—witness the Ashrafiyya and the rebuilt Sabil of Qa'itbai,⁵ which in this instance reflect contemporary Cairene taste. Influences from Egypt were not the only ones at work in Jerusalem in the earlier period, however, for the Dar and Turba of Sitt Tunshuq, dating to c. 790-800/1388-98, already demonstrate the presence of an Iranian style. The Turba has a carved stucco design of fleshy vegetation in the scallop of the *mihrab*, while the eastern portal of the Dar has a large panel of geometric interlace which terminates in an ambiguous flourish of birds/split palmettes in the four corners (Burgoyne 1971: 12, fig. 7, pls XIIb and XIIIb-XIVa).⁶ Both the Ashrafiyya and the portal of the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq are important, for they bear directly on one of

³ Lentz and Lowry 1989: 208, fig. 68; and cat. no. 38.

⁴ Atasoy and Raby 1989: figs. 411, 412, 413, 416 and 417 all display a similar lobed medallion.

⁵ The Ashrafiyya Madrasa was begun in the name of Sultan Khushqadam by Amir Hasan ibn Tatar al-Zahiri sometime after Jumada II 869/February 1465 and continued under Sultan Qa'itbai, as recorded in the inscription now under the portico of the Bab al-Sakina which carries the date 1 Rabi I 875/28 August 1470, completed 887/1482, and was seen during its construction by Felix Fabri. It has intricate relief-carved octagons in the vault centres over landings 1 and 5 (Burgoyne 1987: 604-5 figs. 63.12 and 63.13). The Sabil was rebuilt for Qa'itbai in Shawwal 887/November-December 1482 according to Mujir al-Din (Burgoyne 1987: 606) and has a dome encrusted with carved stone vegetal tendrils bearing split palmettes which are organised in an intricate interlocking arabesque, as well as a wide band of carved vegetal zig-zags on the south-west engaged corner shaft and geometric strapwork on the north-east corner shaft. The form of the dome as well as the decoration is clearly derived from the contemporary Cairene style (Kessler 1976: 4; Burgoyne 1987: 91 and n. 17) but the rather clumsy work probably demonstrates that it was undertaken by local rather than imported craftsmen (Burgoyne 1987: 609).

⁶ See too Burgoyne 1987: 487 pl. 48.2 and 509 pl. 49.11. The panel also appears in Bourgoin 1873: pl. 11 fig. 51. The Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq is dated to c. 790/1388 and her Turba to before 800/1398 (Burgoyne 1987 nos. 48 and 49).

² Compare the border on small inlaid brass jugs in London (British Museum 1969 6-20.1) and Tehran (Iran Bastan Museum 9772), both illustrated in Komaroff 1992: 115 nos. 38 and 40.

the great imperial edifices of 16th-century Jerusalem—al-‘Imara al-‘Amira of the Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). The palace of the Lady Tunshuq was incorporated into the ‘Imara and stones from the Ashrafiyya, which was damaged in an earthquake in 902/1496, were used in the fabric of the complex, in a building running east-west along the ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya. Indeed, one explanation for the relatively undecorated façade of the north gateway of the ‘Imara is that the highly decorated portal of the neighbouring palace was used for the Ottoman complex.

The portal of the ‘Imara is decorated by carved stone roundels in a mode unlike its earlier neighbours (Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq and al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya) although it also has a narrow band of shallow *muqarnas* niches used as a framing device, discussed above. As well as the two portals of the ‘Imara, the street wall has two star-polygon roundels (fig. 24.1) (*note*: all the motifs are sketches of the underlying designs, rather than accurate, measured drawings of the roundels as they now exist), which lead the eye down towards the Haram al-Sharif by way of Bab al-Nazir. The northern portal has a curiously awkward five-petalled open-flower device (fig. 24.2) above the door, from which hangs a suspension ring (presumably for a lamp), and there is another large roundel with an interlaced eight-petalled flower device to each side of it, with a further small whorl incised into the stone (pl. 24.12, fig. 24.3). The position of this 5-petalled device demonstrates its importance—above a lamp over the gate and below an inscription which doubtless named the royal patron. This inscription (now lost) was featured in a rectangular frame of linked hexagons, with an inner frame which terminated in ogees (see Burgoyne 1971: 18–39, fig. 11 and pl. XVIb). The main, southern, entrance to the complex is similarly marked out by roundels; on the street façade there are three, two with twelve-pointed star-polygons with different centres—one floral, one stellar (pls. 24.2, 24.13)—to left and right and in the middle an open-flower device, once again immediately over the door itself (pl. 24.14). This example is a more complex variation on the theme, and is directly in line vertically with a central boss. Inside the porch there are no less than nine of these open-flower roundels with different detailing at the centre of each—either a simple boss surrounded by a plain fillet (fig. 24.4), or a hexagon, or a six-petalled flower.

The open-flower motifs are reminiscent of the naturalistic blooms familiar from mid 16th-century Ottoman ceramics⁷ and are quite different from the more formal, decorative flowers found in earlier Timurid and

Mamluk artefacts, which are always more obviously based on an underlying geometric design. By the end of the 15th century, a fashion for chinoiserie arabesques, which had flourished in Timurid Iran, was also popular in Ottoman Turkey.⁸ The style featured large ‘naturalistic’ blossoms set into a tightly coiled stem. But the Ottoman ‘naturalistic’ style is different from the earlier Iranian and Egyptian versions. Both the earlier styles had tended to be based on variations of the lotus blossom, both full-face and in profile. The increasing freedom of expression does not disguise the inherent symbolic nature of the blooms found in this Timurid and Mamluk work.⁹ But it is noticeable that 16th-century Ottoman taste takes on the chinoiserie of the Timurid court and then develops them further, beginning a tendency towards naturalism. The bookbinding of the illustrated history of Sulaiman the Magnificent, the *Süleymanname* (Atıl 1986: 81–83),¹⁰ the transcription of which concluded in 965/1558, includes formalised lotus blossoms (*hatayi*) set against scrolling bands of clouds and

⁸ See Lentz and Lowry 1989: 208–210 for a discussion on the *haft qalam* (seven scripts) idiom in Timurid wood-carving, based on the work of the *kitabkhana* artists. Similarly, the taste for deeply incised designs laid one over another is to be found in the later 15th-century carved masonry domes of Cairo, already mentioned above (Kessler 1976). On this taste in Turkey, see Atasoy and Raby 1989: 76, where Raby uses the terms *rumi* for the abstract, geometrically arranged Islamic motifs of Western Asiatic origin, and *hatayi* to distinguish the scrolling Ottoman floral elements inspired by the chinoiserie taste. He uses the term *rumi-hatayi* for a specific style popular in the court of Mehmed Fatih in the 1460–1470s. In Mamluk Egypt, Chinese-style lotus blossoms had been popular on 8th/14th-century metalwork. See, for example a basin of c. 699/1330 made for Sultan Nasir al-Din Muhammad (London, British Museum no. 51.1–41) or a Qur’an box of c. 730/1330 (Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art no. 183) (Atıl 1982: nos. 26 and 27). They had also featured in contemporary and slightly later Qur’anic illumination (see for example James 1988: cat. nos. 29, 30, 32, 65).

⁹ The point is vividly illustrated by a cloud collar point of c. 1400–1450 (Lentz and Lowry 1989: 194, cat. no. 96). The drawn design sets mythological beings—an angel, a *qilin* (Chinese mythical deer), a dragon and a crane mounted on a tortoise—in a fantastic landscape at the centre of which is a large lotus blossom shown both in profile and full-face, flanked by wind-blown bamboo shoots. Above, Chinese cloud trails surround the angelic being and below, under the tortoise, a carp swims in the turbulent water. The association of fantastic animals and landscape with the lotus underlines its own mythological connections; for a discussion on the origins of the lotus and its appearance with animals, see Rawson 1984: 64–88.

¹⁰ The *Şahname-i Al-i Osman* composed in Persian verse by Fethullah Arif Çelebi, known as Arifi, was the first illustrated official history of the Ottoman house, and used Firdausi’s *Shahname* as a model. Volume V of the work was the most important, being devoted to the history of the Sultan. It was illustrated by five artists, and its transcription was completed in mid-Ramadan 965/late June–early July 1558; it is held in the Topkapı Palace Museum, AH 1517, and has been published by E Atıl (1986).

⁷ See, for example, Rogers and Ward 1988: 192–3 no. 132, Çinili Köşk 41/55, a dish dated to the later 16th century, or Rogers and Ward 1988: 194 no. 134, British Museum OA 1969.7–21.1, a dish of a similar date. The most comprehensive treatment of decoration on Iznik ceramics is to be found in Atasoy and Raby 1989.

arabesques, but also has developed *hatayi* blossoms, serrated leaves and over-lapping floral motifs that look forward to the fashion for *saz* leaves and naturalistic botanical specimens that were to become so prevalent in the following generation. The illustrations in this book are equally a mix of stylisation and naturalism. In folios 37b-38a, *A Meeting of the Divan-i Hümayun*, for example, where the tiles and floor covering are shown tilted towards the spectator and are static and strictly geometric, the gardens of the second courtyard of the palace are shown in 'correct' perspective and with trees of recognisable species—various conifers (the *pinus* varieties), juniper, cyprus, cedar, and deciduous, which are probably plane trees. By contrast, the clumps of flowers set into the lawns are identical but for colour—they each consist of three spikes of formalised stems, bearing red, yellow, blue or orange flowerheads. The illustrator (called by Atil 'Painter A') portrays similar trees in another pair of folios (108b-109a), showing the siege of Belgrade. Here again carefully observed specimen trees are set into the formalised banks of the River Danube, which are studded with clumps of unidentifiable flowers. Developed Ottoman 'naturalism' is based on the study of real, botanic specimens, although the blooms are usually symmetrically arranged and are idealised. The tendency is already established in a lacquer binding of c. 1540 where the doublures and flap are adorned with rose plants, tulips, flowering prunus, violets, dianthus, and iris (Rogers and Ward 1988: 80, cat. no. 24a).¹¹

In Jerusalem, there is little evidence of the love of flowers in the Ottoman court that led to the phenomenon of tulipomania (*Laleh Devri*) which flourished in the early 18th century.¹² Already by 1554 Busbecq, the horticulturist ambassador of the archduke of Vienna to the Ottoman court in Istanbul, who imported tulips, lilacs and hyacinths into an avid Europe, wrote 'Turks cultivate flowers with great care and do not hesitate to spend for a particularly beautiful blossom a considerable sum, though otherwise they are thrifty people.'¹³ Ceramic tiles were also exported to Europe where they had a high reputation. An order for 16th-century tiles is known to have been received

from Vienna; they were shipped from Istanbul via Venice (Gervers-Molnár in Fehér (ed) 1978: 365). Although panels of tiles with naturalistic flowers do not still exist¹⁴ in Jerusalem, a late example of the fashion is to be found on a curious *mihrab* on a *mastaba* in the Haram al-Sharif, known as the Mihrab al-Sanaubar (cat. no. 54) (pl. 24.15). It has been 'restored', or rebuilt, with an 'incorrect', top-heavy *muqarnas* cornice. Floriate roundels flank the apex of the niche in the northern façade and a whorl is cut into the keystone. The individual niches of the *muqarnas*, which face in the direction of the *qibla*, are carved with individual flowers among which a carnation, tulip and hyacinth can be recognised.

To return to the roundels in the Khassaki Sultan complex in Jerusalem (figs. 24.2, 24.4, 24.5), the question as to the derivation of these prominent five, six and eight-petalled motifs must be raised. The number five is noticeably unusual; it is more common to have a division into an equal number. This makes it possible that the five-petalled version may reflect a botanical specimen as inspiration. The Turban Buttercup or Scarlet Crowfoot (*Ranunculus Asiaticus*, in Arabic *sharquq al-nu'man*) has five petals; it is easily confused with the common anemone (*Anemone Coronaria* or *Anemone Hortensis Fulgens*; in Arabic *barquq*)—which grows prolifically in Palestine and has six petals—and with the Pheasant's Eye or *Adonis Annua*, which is equally common and has eight or more petals (Polunin and Huxley 1965: nos. 25, 27, 30 and 32). All are found in the region, can be a strikingly brilliant scarlet, and appear in early spring.

In a different medium, the closest parallel to the architectural feature of the open-petalled Jerusalem roundels so far discovered by me is on a mosque lamp dating to c. 1560-80 in the British Museum (no. G.1983.122, Rogers and Ward 1988: 208 no.155; Atasoy and Raby 1989: fig. 768) (pl. 24.16). Here the rosettes are fashioned with three superimposed layers of six open petals and have a six-petalled floral centre. They are displayed on a plain white ground between much larger roundels filled with a six-pointed star of the familiar *khatam sulaiman* form, discussed below. Another multilobed and multilayered floral device is found at the centre of a deep, rimless dish dated by Atasoy and Raby (1989: fig. 454) to c.1575, which was found at the bottom of a well in

¹¹ Rogers and Ward (1988: 80) comment on this remarkable botanical display that it is 'the first appearance of florists' flowers in Ottoman court art'.

¹² Compare, for example, the panel on the north-west wall of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque, Istanbul (Seherr-Thoss 1968: pls. 130-131) or a panel to the left of the *minbar* in the Söküllü Mehmed Pasha Mosque (Seherr-Thoss 1986: pl. 134). On the tiles of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque, see W B Denny in Fehér (ed) 1978: 269-75.

¹³ A possible reason for the motivation for the new style is explored by Raby (Atasoy and Raby 1989: 233) who suggests that symbolism may provide an explanation, with a reference to Busbecq's report that the Ottomans 'believe that the rose sprang from the sweat of Mahomet ...'

¹⁴ Before the 1967 occupation of the Old City, a small tiled edifice stood within the moat of the Citadel, below the main eastern gateway. Unfortunately I did not record the details and it has since disappeared during the extensive 'restorations' of the Qal'a. As I recall, the tiled panels depicted trees and were a late derivation of those found, for example, in the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Istanbul (see Seherr-Thoss 1968: pl. 137). On the use of trees in ceramic tiles of the 16th century, see Atasoy and Raby 1989: 223.

Aleppo.¹⁵ The relative rarity of the device makes its appearance on a carpet fragment (col. pl. XVI) now in the Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque all the more surprising. The carpet, which must have been large, is believed to have once been in use in the Aqsa Mosque.¹⁶ A repeat pattern of six-petalled flowers covers the red ground. The flowers, now badly faded, were originally blue or green with a yellow centre. Could it be 16th-century? Further research is necessary to determine its origins.

The six-pointed star-polygon, made from two interlocking equilateral triangles and known as the *khatam sulaiman* ('Seal of Solomon' or 'Star of David') (fig. 24.6), with which the floral motif under discussion appears on the mosque lamp in the British Museum, is one of the more 'natural' of geometric forms. Anyone using a set of compasses will soon chance upon the six-part division of the circumference, and, by joining alternate points, discover for themselves the geometric basis of the device. It has been long believed to have apotropaic powers,¹⁷ and seems to have been popular in the time of Sultan Sulaiman,¹⁸ to judge by its appearance on the city walls of Jerusalem and as a background design in contemporary manuscript painting.¹⁹ Its association with the open-flower

motif may be significant. The two appear again, both independently and combined, on the city walls (figs. 24.6-24.11), as well as on a tile of similar date and provenance (Madina Collection, New York, inv.no. C.161; Atasoy and Raby 1989: fig. 100). An anonymous mid 16th-century Venetian woodcut²⁰ (pl. 24.17) shows Roxelana (the Khassaki or Haseki Sultan, also known as Hürrem Sultan, the patroness of the Jerusalem complex and the favourite of Sulaiman Qanuni, later to be his wife) wearing a jewel at her throat in the form of a five-petalled flower, while her undergarment or chemise is embroidered with open flowers with five and six petals; her gown has alternating crescents and lozenges. She is described on the woodcut as '*La piu bella e piu favorita donna del gran Turcho dita la Rossa*'. It would seem, then—not only because of its appearance here, but also because of the frequency and position of its appearance on the city walls and building—that the open-flower motif may be a personalised device of the Ottoman rulers.²¹ This supposition is increased by the appearance of a similar roundel over the portal of Roxelana's complex in Istanbul, the Haseki Külliye, which is the first work attributed to Sinan in the Ottoman capital (Goodwin 1971: 204-6). The position of the flower motif is particularly striking—as in Jerusalem—for in each case it appears in the prime position, and in close proximity to the name of the ruler-patron.

The more complex form of the open-flower motif in Jerusalem, over the southern portal of the 'Imara, has seven layers of twenty-four petals creating a shallow chrysanthemum-like blossom (pl. 24.14).²² This is reminiscent of the different versions of the motif which decorate Haseki Hürrem's Türbe at the Süleymaniye in Istanbul. Although the multiple examples directly associated with Haseki Hürrem, as already discussed, might seem to indicate a personal connection with the motif, it is not so straightforward. Similar (albeit even more complex) flower-roundels appear in connection with

¹⁵ Now in the Antaki Collection, Aleppo. The motif is surprisingly uncommon, although the inevitable loss of large quantities of ceramic wares makes any sweeping statement unwise. Somewhat similar layered blooms appear, for example, on a cylindrical tankard of c. 1550 in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, inv. no. 834 (Atasoy and Raby 1989: no. 362) and on a deep dish with a gently foliated rim of c. 1545-50, in the Musée de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen, inv. no. Cl.9419 (Atasoy and Raby 1989: no. 370). The decoration on the tankard consists of delphinium, tulip and lily plants; the leaves and thorns on the stem of the ten-petalled flowers under discussion would point to its identification as a rose.

¹⁶ Mr Khadr Salameh, Director of al-Aqsa Mosque Museum and Library, gave this as his opinion in a conversation in February 1998. The carpet has no accession or inventory number, and its provenance is equally unrecorded.

¹⁷ See for example the talismanic shirt of white linen (TKS 13/1133, Rogers and Ward 1988: 175-77 no. 111), which is covered with magic squares both back and front, and with an Arabic inscription for Şehzade Selim in which he is named (although he only acceded to the throne in 1566) as co-ruler with his father Sulaiman-Qanuni. There are two Seals of Solomon to either side of the neck opening which spell Selim's name by including one letter within each of the small triangles in the points of the stars. The shirt is dated 972/1564-5.

¹⁸ The two motifs are found in conjunction on a hexagonal tile in the Madina Collection, New York, inv. no. C161, dated by Atasoy and Raby to c.1520 (1989: fig. 100).

¹⁹ I have explored elsewhere (Auld 1997-8: 467-79) the coincidence of the appearance of the Seal of Solomon, its use on Ottoman artefacts, and its appearance on the mosque lamp. See too Milstein 1995; on the wider associations of the Biblical Solomon in Islamic thought and more particularly with Sulaiman Qanuni see Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1993: 109-34 and Soucek 1976: 73-123.

²⁰ Published by Mathio Pagani, Venice c. 1550, British Museum 1878.7-13.4166 illustrated in Rogers and Ward 1988:17 fig. 4b. Roxelana's gown is mistakenly described by Rogers and Ward p.51 as decorated with 'alternating crescents and stars'.

²¹ A similar multi-layered device of eight petals is found in the *tabhane* courtyard of the Fatih Complex in Istanbul (1463-70) on rectangular piers in the centre of the open side of the double-domed east and west *iwans* (Goodwin 1971: 125-26).

²² The form of the roundel can be compared to a similar image on Iznik pottery. See, for example, a 16th-century dish, British Museum OA 1969.7-21.1, no. 134 in Rogers and Ward 1988: 194, or a dish c. 1550-70, British Museum G.1983.48, Rogers and Ward 1988:197, no. 139, where similar flowers appear in the cavetto. A dish dated c. 1560-80, British Museum G.1983.100, Rogers and Ward 1988: 209-9, no. 156, has a bole-red seven-petalled flower in the centre. Rogers and Ward comment that 'The concentric rosette design, rather exceptionally, has analogues in a number of later sixteenth-century Bursa silks.'

Sultan Sulaiman himself—in Istanbul on his Türbe (pl. 24.18), and on the Süleymaniyye. They are also found on the portal niche of the Takiyya Sulaimaniyya in Damascus,²³ as well as on one of the Ottoman forts specifically built by Sulaiman to protect the Darb al-Hajj al-Shami (the Syrian pilgrimage route).²⁴ The fort in question was constructed at Ma'an in 1531 on the orders of Sulaiman-Qanuni, who was continuing the work begun by his father, Selim I. Not only was the fort constructed at this time, but also a storage system for the precious water provided by a Roman reservoir 3km away (Petersen 1989: 100, 114). Above the main entrance to the fort, now blocked up, there is a large limestone roundel with a central boss. A similar roundel appears in the centre of an octagonal frame formed by two interlocking squares. The concave space between central boss and fillet circumference is, in each case, filled by multi-layered and many-petalled flower motifs. Between the two roundels there is a modern copy of an inscription recording the work of Sulaiman-Qanuni (Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 75).²⁵ In the same year a fort was constructed at Qatrana, also in modern Jordan (Petersen 1989: 100, figs. 8, 16). Although the machicolations are similar to the one at Ma'an, the gateway is decorated not by roundels but by spherical bosses, similar to those found on the city walls of Jerusalem, where the Damascus Gate also has a machicolation similar to the two forts. These similarities point to an important element in the message communicated by the decorations—one of Ottoman supremacy. But beyond this, they also point to a connection between the Ottoman capital and her provinces in the design of the architectural decoration.

Only one other building of the 16th century in Jerusalem is decorated with carved roundels, as far as I am aware, although there are later, 19th-century examples of private dwelling houses with simplified geometric patterns

incised into the walls, as, for instance, on a *qantara* house in St Francis Street, while occasionally more complex detailing was used. Close to Nabi Da'ud on Mount Zion, for example, a building has a well-executed star-polygon over the double window-opening, below which, to each side and immediately above the windows themselves, there is a cusped frieze, crisply outlined by a groove (pl. 24.19). From it depend two carved discs and four extraordinary tusk-like spikes, which are perhaps a distant shadow of the trumpets that featured on certain Mamluk blazons. It is possible that the roundels on the 16th-century building mentioned above are to be read not as associated with the house in question—the Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13)—but with the street on which it is sited. The house is a *qantara*, a bridge over Tariq al-Wad, where it meets the 'Aqabat al-Takiyya and Bab al-Nazir Street, which leads into the Haram al-Sharif. The roundels are placed at the apex and to each side of the arch leading under the *qantara*, and in relation to the window above it. They consist of versions of the now familiar open-flowered device (pls. 24.20–24.21) and an eight-pointed star-polygon (pl. 24.22). They closely resemble the roundels already discussed on the Khassaki Sultan complex (figs. 24.2, 24.4–24.5), which is located nearby, and in particular one of the two roundels on the wall in 'Aqabat al-Takiyya leading down to Bab al-Nazir. Their position—on a thoroughfare leading to the sanctuary at the heart of the Holy City—may be significant.

The siting of the decorated roundels on the walls and gates of the city, as well as on these monuments, is particularly interesting and is illustrated in fig. 24.26. Details are given in Appendix 24.1. It is noticeable that the roundels appear at prime locations, associated with openings or architectural features. It has been cogently argued by Dr Jane Jakeman in her doctoral thesis, *Abstract Art and Communication in 'Mamluk' Architecture* (1993: 137–48), that the use of the star-polygon motif should be seen as more than merely ornamental.²⁶ She has noted that the device appears on portals, on doors of mosques, and at the entrances to *iwans*, on cenotaphs, on *mihrabs*, and in the opening pages of Qur'ans. She has concluded that 'it

²³ A drawing of the niche is found in Wulzinger and Watzinger 1924: fig. 24. Although it is only a sketch, the multilobed and multilayered style of the two roundels, which are placed to either side of a central *muqarnas* detail within a stepped frame, are carefully indicated. It is worth mentioning too that an 8-pointed star-polygon is placed directly above the doorway into the Takiyya Sulaimaniyya minaret.

²⁴ The Darb al-Hajj was altered in the 16th century to follow the edge of the desert because of the problem of security posed by attacks on the Hajj pilgrims by bandits. Used as an alternative to the King's Highway and known as the Tariq al-Bint (after a daughter of Selim), its location meant that protection of the sources of water became vital; see Petersen 1989: 97–99. It is tempting to see the interest of Sultan Sulaiman in the problem as yet another fulfilment of his role as supplier of water to the pious thirsty. See the discussion on the Jerusalem *sabils* by Natsheh in this volume, Ch. 36.

²⁵ It is not now possible to be sure of the precise arrangement of the original decorative elements at Ma'an because of extensive repair work.

²⁶ I am most grateful to Dr Jakeman for assisting me in access to her fascinating thesis. The use of the star-polygon as a decorative device in similar positions was known in Palestine before the Mamluk period. It is found, for example, on the pulpit made in Aleppo that was commissioned by Nur al-Din Zangi and placed in al-Aqsa Mosque in 1187 by Salah al-Din as one of his first actions on the retaking of Jerusalem from the Franks (van Berchem 1927: 393–402; Herzfeld 1943: 57–59). It also features on the doors of a similarly inlaid wooden *minbar* dated 1092–3 in the Great Mosque in Hebron. The continuity of practice into the Ottoman period is demonstrated by the doors of the Süleymaniyye, Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 231, pl. 222), which, incidentally, are also prominently adorned with geometric interlace bosses.

seems to have been emphasised at particular locations accompanying a particular action, that of embarking on a new undertaking or activity, of entering a different spiritual state, including death as a transition to another existence' (Jakeman 1993: 143). It is, she thinks, 'intended to accompany that activity and to influence its outcome'. In other words, in her opinion the star-polygon acts as a talisman. Her findings certainly concur with the analysis of their appearance in Jerusalem—at the city gates—where they are particularly prominent on the Damascus and Jaffa Gates (figs. 24.15, 24.18–24.19), on portals (figs. 24.3, 24.23), over windows, on roadways leading to the Haram al-Sharif (fig. 24.1), and at the entrance to a major Muslim cemetery (figs. 24.9, 24.14). A similar interpretation of the *khatam sulaiman* device as a talisman, as discussed above, adds another layer to her suggestion for the role of the star-polygon.

There are some 120 carved stone roundels on the walls of Jerusalem (see Ben-Dov 1983: 87–118, especially 99–100 where roundel motifs are illustrated) as well as custom-cut blank roundels, bosses, sections of column laid horizontally within the fabric, and items of *spolia* like the lions of Baibars that flank St Stephen's Gate (Lion's Gate, Bab Sitti Maryam) (pl. 24.23). Perhaps, like the re-used church rose window incorporated into the Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6) (pl. 24.3) and decorated moulding on the Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), the use of artefacts of defeated predecessors were intended as a tangible symbol of Ottoman sovereignty.²⁷ As we have seen, the specially carved Ottoman decoration on the city walls is particularly prominent around the main gates to the city that survive more or less in their original state—Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) (pls. 24.24–24.25), Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra), and Zion Gate (Bab Nabi Da'ud, pl. 24.26). Sadly Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) and Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba) have been reconstructed so many times that it is impossible to be sure of their original appearance, although a photograph of 1870 shows Jaffa Gate in the later 19th century and one of 1958 shows the Dung Gate before its most recent restoration (pls. 24.27–24.28).

The roundels also appear at prominent points in the circuit of the walls—on the towers such as the Burj al-Laqlaq (Tower of the Storks; figs. 24.6, 24.13), one close to the site of the Crusader Tancred's Tower (Qasr Jalut) by the New Gate (fig. 24.7) and others, unnamed (see fig. 24.26; figs. 24.10, 24.16–24.17, 24.21). Here too, as at the gates, there are prominent carved stone bosses placed at strategic

points to catch the eye (fig. 24.26, pls. 24.23–24.24, 24.26–24.27). It is notoriously difficult to recapture the aesthetic of a previous age, particularly as no written evidence or analysis has come down to us. But it is at the very least possible to state with confidence that the use of carved stone denoted conspicuous consumption, underlining the wealth and prestige of the patron. Sometimes the bosses project from the centre of a roundel (pl. 24.30). Several frames are made up of a series of small circles, reminiscent of the typical Sasanian 'pearls' (pl. 24.31). The number of 'pearls' and intermediary 'petals' seem arbitrary²⁸ and perhaps indicate a local craftsman who was copying a model and was unaware of the basic rules governing strict geometric pattern.²⁹ Another type of 'frame' consists of a whorl, and yet another at the Zion Gate has six interlaced petals. Some bosses are unframed. On the interior face of Damascus Gate there are three bosses set like jewels around the plaque that originally held an inscription which would have named Sultan Sulaiman as patron (pl. 24.29). Curiously turban-like in appearance, the bosses are carved with complex star motifs. These geometric knots leave the central star and surrounding hexagons and kite-shaped lozenges as concave negative shapes, read with comparative ease as dark shadows (pl. 24.11). Other bosses display a whorl reminiscent of a folded turban or knotted rope (pl. 24.30), or a design based on the Anatolian *rumi*—for example the one on Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5). It is indicative of their importance that similar bosses are shown above the sultan's throne in a miniature of the *Presentation of gifts to Sulaiman the Magnificent on the occasion of the circumcision of his sons Bayazid and Cihangir in 1530* ('Arifi, f. 412a). In this illustration the sultan's throne is on a raised dais in a small domed kiosk. In another miniature of the same manuscript (f. 360a),³⁰ which shows *Sulaiman receiving his Grand Admiral* (kapudan-i derya) *Haireddin Barbarossa*, the sultan sits on a gold chair in front of a pavilion. The architectural detailing is carefully portrayed, from marble columns with triangular 'leaf' capitals to a porphyry revetment in the spandrels. Over each column there is a disc with what appears to be a star-polygon motif. The two immediately above the sultan are shown as red, the two to

²⁸ They vary from 29 to 40 'pearls' round the outside with an intervening band of 14 to 20 daisy-like 'petals'.

²⁹ Whether or not there was a mystical connotation to number and proportion is debatable. For an introduction to the underlying geometry in Islamic pattern, see El-Said and Parman 1976.

³⁰ 'Arifi, *Süleymanname* dated Ramadan 965/June 1558 copied by 'Ali ibn Amir Beg Shirvani (Topkapu Sarai H.1517, f. 412a). The manuscript has been published by Atıl 1986. The miniatures under discussion are featured there as nos. 35 (186: 168–9, and 40 (1986: 178–81) and are also illustrated in Çağman and Tanındı (trans. and ed. Rogers) 1986: pls. 153 and 154.

²⁷ The use of *spolia* is discussed in Auld 1997–8: 467–8; Dr Jane Jakeman examines in her thesis (1993) the use of Pharaonic fragments in the architecture of 14th-century Cairo. Her work focuses on the rise of sufism in the city at that time and analyses the consequent effect on contemporary aesthetics.

either side as blue. The typical 'flat' execution of the scene does not allow a three-dimensional interpretation so it is not possible to say whether the discs are relief roundels or bosses, but their appearance in close proximity to the sultan may well be significant, particularly because bosses were used to decorate the Treasury of the Topkapi Sarai, previously used by the sultan as a *selamlık* or suite of reception rooms, and on the great doors of the Süleymaniyye Mosque (Goodwin 1971: 231, pl. 222). If it is right to associate the person of the sultan with architectural bosses, then their presence on the Jerusalem walls may have served to indicate that the rebuilding work was an imperial commission. But equally the bosses may have indicated that the city was under Ottoman 'protection'.³¹ In either case, the colour and gilding as portrayed in the miniature paintings would seem to point to the stone bosses—and perhaps also the roundels—in Jerusalem having also once been coloured in some way. This topic is discussed more fully below.

Only two extant bosses do not feature the pattern of star-interlace, and these are both associated with Sabil Tariq al-Wad (pl. 24.1). One is set into a band of scrolling stems, above the cornice of the *sabil*; it is decorated with a geometric 'y' interlace based on a hexagon once described as a 'swastika', and was popular as a background pattern on metalwork from the Jazira in the golden age of Mausili inlaid brass.³² Circular cavities in the fabric of the fountain reveal that there were once four other bosses, now lost. One remains in the centre of the hood of the arched opening, and this is decorated with a four-part *rumi* motif, a pattern of split palmettes that divide and meet again to form dart-shaped petals (compare fig. 24.17). This type of *rumi* arabesque was popular from Timurid times and was used throughout Anatolia to decorate everything from metalwork to carpets.³³ A similar form of the *rumi* is to be found on either side of the north portal to the Khassaki Sultan complex, but here it forms an eight-pointed star-

polygon around the central eight petals of a flower (pl. 24.12, fig. 24.3). This is reminiscent of a version of the motif decorating the frontispiece of a Qur'an made for Sultan Sulaiman in Istanbul dated by colophon to 930/1523-4, which alternates eight- and four-fold devices (Rogers and Ward: 1988: 66-7, no.14). Where only four dart-shaped split-palmette frames are used to surround a trefoil, the result is a cruciform motif. It is this that features on the *sabil* boss, but it is also found in two versions on roundels on the city walls (pl. 24.33, fig. 24.17).

The decorative roundels on the walls are varied in design and are particularly interesting. Set too high to be easily read, they are nonetheless highly visible and deliberately sited to be so. Many of the designs are reminiscent of the motifs found in Qur'anic frontispieces, as has been already mentioned, and they may therefore bring with them an aura of the holy and have a talismanic function. The motifs they feature were certainly not new even to the Mamluks, but are found, for example, on earlier woodwork.³⁴ Even the interlocked squares already described in connection with the fort at Ma'an and which appear again on Burj Laqlaq and the east wall of Jerusalem (fig. 24.13) are found on an early frontispiece of a Qur'an possibly executed in Syria c. AD 900.³⁵ But in two versions of the Jerusalem roundels, the interlocked square frame surrounds an eight-pointed star-polygon (Ben-Dov 1983: 100, bottom right). Star-polygons are highly favoured as a motif. A version at Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) develops outwards to contain small, irregular hexagons between its ten points (fig. 24.15)—an adaptation of the twelve-armed star-polygon pattern used so extensively in later Mamluk Qur'ans from the time of Sultan Sha'ban (1363-76).³⁶ One roundel has a version of the ten-armed star-polygon which terminates in a petal-like scalloped frame (fig. 24.1). The colour—predominantly blue and gold—of the Qur'anic illumination is breathtaking.

³¹ The bosses, reminiscent of the royal turban, might in this case operate like the Roman imperial portraits at city gates, say, or like the images of Justinian and Theodora in S. Vitale, Ravenna. Equally they might act like the Cross or Lamb in Byzantine churches, where the symbol was a visible sign denoting that the ultimate patron of the building was God. On Sinan's use of the architectural language of the Byzantine Empire, see G Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1993.

³² It is found, for example, on the upper band of the so-called Blacas Ewer, which is signed by Shuja' ibn Man'a and was made in Mosul 649/1232 (British Museum, London OA1866.12-29.61). The hexagonal 'swastika' device also appears on the ewer in a band running round its belly. Because of the associated images and the long history of the device, it is seen as having astral connotations (Allan 1982: 61).

³³ For Timurid carpets see A Briggs 1946: 146-59 and for metalwork see L Komaroff: 1992. The Ottoman examples are innumerable, but see for example Rogers and Ward: 1988: figs. 14, 15a, 24a, 62, 66, 80, 110; Goodwin n.d: pls. 51, 88.

³⁴ See, for example, the *mihrab* from the Mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayya dated 1154-60, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, the *minbar* of Nur al-Din b. Zangi once in al-Aqsa Mosque, and a Fatimid *minbar* in the Great Mosque at Hebron. See note 26 above.

³⁵ Chester Beatty Library, Dublin Ms. 1406. Here too the device acts as a frame for a roundel. No suggestion is intended that the stone-mason who carved the Ottoman roundel knew of this manuscript, but the Roman origins of the motif may be significant. It continued a familiar motif into the Byzantine period; for example see the frontispiece to the Byzantine copy of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* made for Princess Juliana Anicia, dated c. 512, National Library Vienna.

³⁶ See James 1988: 147 fig. 98, the frontispiece f.2r of a Qur'an probably produced in Damascus in 1338-9 and James 1988: 188 fig.131, f.1v of a slightly later Qur'an from Cairo dated 1356. Both examples predate the 'classic' Qur'ans of the star polygon group which culminate in the Qur'ans made for Sultan Sha'ban (1363/76) and his mother, or for officials of his realm. See James 1988: figs. 132, 134, 136, cats. 28, 29, and 30.

This is the place to return to the question of whether or not the roundels too were once coloured. No trace of paint remains,³⁷ but Ottoman Damascus is renowned for its coloured paste inlay,³⁸ and in Jerusalem too coloured inlay still exists in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, dated 1009/1601 (cat. no. 22). It seems highly likely that the roundels which are now blank—at least those cut and set in deliberately eye-catching positions (see Appendix 24.1 and fig. 24.26)—were once capped by plaster which was then coloured, or gilded.³⁹ It is also possible that they were covered by ceramic discs fashioned to resemble semi-precious stone or marble.⁴⁰ The blank roundels on Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, for example, are worked less finely than the rest of the masonry block on which they appear. Perhaps the rougher surface provided an anchor. Colour would have rendered the carved stone patterns easier to see and was popular in contemporary architecture in Istanbul and Anatolia, as shown by the use of ceramic tiles.⁴¹ The use of colour in association with the person of the sultan is particularly vivid in the *Süleymanname*, as already discussed, and the striking colours of Iznik ceramics and contemporary textiles point to a world where colour was much appreciated. It was, after all, the reign of Sultan Sulaiman that in the 1550s saw the introduction into ceramic manufacture of the most eye-catching colour of all—red bole—and areas on ceramic vessels that now appear white were once gilded. It is known too that ceramics were deliberately fired to imitate stone such as porphyry, which had not been quarried for centuries and which had had imperial connotations from before the time of Constantine (Atasoy and Raby 1989: 90, 244).

Open flowers of different kinds appear frequently on the carved roundels, either as a motif in their own right

(figs. 24.12, 24.21), or as a scalloped frame to a central boss (pl. 24.28), which in one instance (pl. 24.32) is itself an open flower surrounded by concave petals. Small six and eight-petalled flowers are set within the cusped terminals framing an inscription at the main gate of the Qal'a, an unnamed 'tower' (no. 3) to the south of Burj Laqlaq, and 'tower' 22 (fig. 24.22). The last two examples have been relocated—one, to the east of Herod's Gate (Tower 22, Appendix 24.1), has been set into the wall vertically; the other, which is now no longer associated with an inscription, is set close to the base of the wall (Tower 3, Appendix 24.1). Occasionally a scalloped roundel is now blank (pl. 24.34). One example is in a prime position, set above the apex of the arch at St Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Maryam); there is now no way of knowing if they were always undecorated, for, as discussed above, they may once have been painted or gilded. One version of an open flower appears at the centre of an eight-pointed star-polygon, which is shown as a series of zig-zags floating in the space created by another, larger eight-pointed star (fig. 24.20). Another version has six petals that are left blank as the centrepiece of a complex 'daisy' with sharply outlined petals. This particular motif (fig. 24.21) is far and away the most naturalistic of all those appearing on the walls, as much for the three-dimensional way in which it has been cut as for its botanical accuracy. And yet there is still an echo of the lotus flower in the way the daisy-petals have been carved, as if the concept of the lotus—so universally popular in Mamluk Egypt from c. AD 1300-1500—overlays the depiction of any six-petalled open flower.⁴² Yet there is no appearance of the lotus blossom as such among the varieties of roundel designs on the Jerusalem walls.

The same blank six-petalled flower appears in one roundel at the central of a six-pointed star which is based on the *khatam sulaiman*. Cinquefoils are set in the interstices between the arms of the star-polygon and the outer frame (fig. 24.10). And another is found in a similar position in a roundel on Burj Laqlaq (fig. 24.6). The *khatam sulaiman* appears in a purer form on the inside of Bab al-Zahra (Herod's Gate) (fig. 24.8). This gate has been altered on more than one occasion and it is not certain that the roundels with the device are now in their original position—or, indeed, even if they are original. It is possible that, like the modern examples which now surmount the interior façade of Jaffa Gate, they are later 'copies' of 16th-century work.⁴³ There are two versions—both with a

³⁷ Colour does not remain either on Mamluk roundels, but the evidence of Mamluk glass and metalwork, as well as the painting known as *Reception of the Ambassadors*, c. 1488-96, Paris, Louvre no. 1157, suggests that it was once prevalent.

³⁸ See, for example, the inlaid decoration on the entrance to the 16th-century Mosque and Madrasa Salimiyya.

³⁹ Atasoy and Raby note, for example, that whole areas of the tomb of Bayezid's son, Şehzade Mahmud, in Bursa, the tiles of which dated to 912/1506-7, were gilded (Atasoy and Raby 1989: 90).

⁴⁰ F. 360a of 'Arifi's *Süleymanname* (Atil 1986: 168-69), which shows Sulaiman the Magnificent receiving Barbarossa Haireddin Pasha, presents the sultan in front of an arcade in the third courtyard. In each spandrel there is a 'stone' disc—two shown as blue-green, two as red. The red roundels are perhaps intended to represent porphyry, while the others may be marble.

⁴¹ The examples are too well known to list in detail, but see Seherr-Thoss 1968: pls. 123-24, 129-131, 133-34, 136-37. The use of colour in architecture was of course not new—witness for example the brickwork of the Ulu Cami at Eski Malatya of 645/1247 (Seherr-Thoss 1968: pl. 107-8) or the brilliant blues and greens of the tiles in the Karatay *medrese* of 650/1251-52 (Seherr-Thoss 1968: pls. 117-118).

⁴² The examples are too numerous to quote, but see Atil 1982: nos. 19, 25, 26, 29, 35, 40 and compare, for example, the 16th-century dish in the British Museum, BM OA 1969.7-2.21.1 where a central lotus is surrounded by open daisies or chrysanthemums (Rogers and Ward 1988: 194, no. 134).

⁴³ I am grateful to Dr Yusuf Natsheh for this suggestion.

central triangle subdivided into four small equilateral triangles in the central hexagon (pl. 24.35, fig. 24.8). One version has trefoils pointing inwards from the frame between the points (Ben-Dov 1983: 100 third row right). Yet another version amalgamates the *khatam sulaiman* with the open flower by surrounding each point with a part circle (fig. 24.11). One such example on the cemetery wall near St Stephen's Gate (fig. 24.9, ii on fig. 24.26) extends the arms of the basic triangle to form kite-shaped lozenges which meet in the centre; another, very similar version has a central star (Ben-Dov 1983: 100, second row right). In this second version, the kite-lozenges are cut away to allow deep shadows to form the star motif. The use of shadow to enhance legibility was well understood, for several roundels and bosses have grooves that follow the lines of the pattern in outline. The same phenomenon appears on two large roundels in the voussoirs of the arch surmounting the main entrance to the Qal'a. They both bear twelve-armed star-polygon motifs round a central twelve-pointed star that develop outwards to enclose irregular hexagons and five-pointed stars (pl. 24.36, fig. 24.23). The outer arms are cut by a zig-zag band that weaves its concentric route round the main motif to form yet another band of hexagons and half-stars. The roundels appear in the prime position to either side of the restoration inscription which names the 'Great Sultan and Magnificent Emperor ... the Second Solomon' (van Berchem 1922: 146-7, no. 45; Hawari, Ch. 32). There are traces of coloured plaster here, but this must be discounted for it is in all probability modern, perhaps originating in the preparations for the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm in 1898.

It has been suggested to me⁴⁴ that the roundels may have served not only to announce the imperial Ottoman hegemony, but also that the city was holy—that they may have acted in some way like the Qur'an frontispieces they closely resemble. It is possible to take this subtle idea further. Inside the city, as on the north façade of the Khassaki Sultan complex, and on the north and south façades of the Dar Bairam Jawish, they may have served as markers on the route to the Haram al-Sharif. It is not possible to substantiate this idea in full detail, but it lends extra piquancy to the discovery that the small fountain formerly known as Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (cat. no. 48) has pilasters carved with vases, carnations, tulips, roses and chrysanthemums (pl. 24.37). These appear only

on the *qibla* side, while those to the north have a more sober, geometric design. So much care has been taken to decorate this exquisite small fountain that the undersides of the niches of the *muqarnas* capital have little flowers as terminals, in much the same spirit as similar capitals at the Süleymaniyye in Istanbul. The Jerusalem fountain is dated to 1153/1740-41 in an inscription naming the patron as Mustafa, governor of Jerusalem and the builder as 'Uthman Beg al-Fikari. The panel includes a reference to the waters of Paradise (see cat. no. 48). It adds credence to the speculation that the foliate columns also refer to the heavenly gardens.

Another example of intricate decoration may be equally significant. A triangular cartouche is carved above the door to the *khakwa* on the Haram platform, identified by inscription as constructed in 967/1559-60 by Qitas Beg (cat. no. 16). It is likely that the cell was built either for teaching or for recitation of the Qur'an. The carved panel recalls, both by its shape and its motif, details of manuscript illumination,⁴⁵ or a stamped leather book-flap (James 1992: 28-29, no. 5). The carving of the panel is similar in technique to some of the roundels on the walls, and is even closer to the spandrels on the corner chamfer of Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, already discussed—a deep groove follows the line of the design, adding legibility by means of deep shadow.

If it is right to see some special significance in the choice of place and pattern in the carved stone decoration in Jerusalem in the early years of Ottoman rule, then it seems probable that later the meaning was lost. Houses in subsequent periods were decorated with engraved whorls, stars, and geometric patterns, cut into the fabric of the wall itself. These were not imperial commissions or sites of piety—they are ordinary houses for ordinary (if well-off) citizens. It is possible, however, that a remnant of the old meaning remained. Perhaps the designs were intended to bring blessings on the inhabitants or to ward off evil—or to commemorate a particular event. Modern houses, where the owner has recently completed the *hajj*, are painted in celebration. Perhaps the engraved ornaments on the domestic houses were executed for a similar reason. If so they reflect in more ways than one the carved stone roundels that probably once glittered like jewels on the walls and monuments commissioned by the 'Second Solomon' and his consort.

⁴⁵ See for example James 1988: 196, fig. 138 for a margin decoration, or James 1992: 140-41, no. 37. See too James 1992: 242-3, no. 60. The latter illustrates folio 1b of a single-volume Qur'an from Istanbul, dated by colophon to 985/1577. The intricate frame to the text breaks into the surrounding paper with arabesques framed in a triangular gold scallop.

⁴⁴ By Dr Avinoam Shalem in a seminar at the Fine Art Department in Edinburgh University—my thanks to him for his suggestion.

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION: APPENDIX 1

The following is a list of the 16th-century decorated roundels, bosses and blank roundels to be found on the walls of the city al-Imara al-Amira (the complex of Khassaki Sultan), the Dar Bairam Jawish, the Qal'a (Citadel) and the *sabils* commissioned by Sultan Sulaiman-Qanuni. They are marked by symbols on fig. 24.26, which accompanies this appendix and should be used in conjunction with it: \triangle denotes a boss, \odot a decorated roundel, and \circ a blank roundel. The present locations are not necessarily the original ones, because there have been many subsequent repairs and alterations, especially to the gates.

The Gates

The gates are marked by letters A-[H].

- A** *Damascus Gate (Bab al-Amud)* 944/1537-38 (exterior façade pl. 24.24, photograph dated 1941, interior façade pl. 24.25, photograph dated 1935) (inscription detailed in van Berchem 1923: 438, no. 120)
- Main NW façade exterior **5 bosses**; 1 lost from within the blind arch over the entrance, where a hole shows the original position); 1 over the apex of the arch; 1 over the window slits to left and right of the entrance
- Main NW façade **4 decorated roundels**—to left and right, an 8-pointed star-polygon with regular hexagons contained within the outer arms and a central flower are at each extremity; the inner pair, immediately flanking the gate, are 10-pointed star-polygons containing irregular hexagons in the outer arms (fig. 24.15).
16 blank roundels—these are carefully placed and appear to have been specially carved. Were they once faced with a different stone, gilded or painted? See the discussion in the accompanying chapter.
- E and W façades **1 boss** between the upper and lower window slits.
- Interior A photograph of 1935 (pl. 24.25) shows that, within the arch, there was a centrally-placed panel for a dedicatory inscription (now lost).
1 boss is set at the apex of the inner arch, above the panel.
2 decorated roundels appear, 1 to each side of the panel, each with a 6-petalled flower.
3 blank roundels are set to each side of the outer arch, 1 in each spandrel, and 1 above the apex.
- SW façade **1 blank roundel** set above 2 window slits.
- B** *Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra, or Bab al-Sahira)* (fig. 24.27).
- Exterior: **1 boss** above the central window. Above this, there was N (main) probably a second, now missing, at the centre of the façade decorated roundel (see below).
- 1 decorated roundel**—this is a 16-petalled flower motif surrounded by a frame of 'Sasanian' pearls. The centrepiece is missing and may have once held a boss.
- 2 blank roundels**—these are to left and right of the central window.
- E façade **2 bosses**—1, a geometric knot, is set within the blind arch over the panel that once contained an inscription. The frame of the panel terminates at each side with a trefoil. Another boss is centred above the machicolation. These elements, together with an inscription panel, usually decorate a main façade; this would indicate that the gate was originally entered from the side, in the same way as the Jaffa Gate (pl. 24.27).
- 1 decorated roundel**: an 8-lobed flower with a scalloped frame, is placed between two projecting, undecorated, segmental triangles in relief, which act as 'spandrels'. A hole above may indicate a lost boss.
- W façade **1 blank roundel**.
- Interior **3 decorated roundels**—1 is centred above the arch over a panel which once presumably contained a dedicatory inscription. It is an 8-pointed star-polygon (fig. 24.20). To left and right, placed just below the panel, two roundels contain versions of the *khatam sulaiman* device (fig. 24.8).
1 blank roundel is placed above the window.
- C** *St Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Maryam, Lion's Gate)* 945/1538-39 (pl. 24.23, photograph dated 1870) (inscription in van Berchem 1923: 439, no. 122).
2 bosses; fig. 24.28. 1 is at the apex of the inner arch and 1 is centred at the level of the cornice above the top of the machicolation.
4 decorated roundels are found flanking the main arch. An 8-petalled geometric 'flower' is placed between the pairs of affronted lions; to each side, one course below and immediately to left and right of the outer lion, there is a multi-petalled rosette.
9 blank roundels—above the machicolation there is a blank roundel set into a frame split at the cardinal points. A small blank roundel is set at the apex of two blind arches on each side of the machicolation. The position and size of these roundels suggest that they may be reworked bosses. A larger blank roundel is placed under each of these arches; another is at the apex of two dumb-bell slit embrasures. Centred, below the machicolation, is a blank 8-lobed 'flower'. Within the arch above the entrance (which has been altered) there is a panel for a dedicatory inscription (now lost), with a blank roundel to each side of it.
- D** *Golden Gate (Bab al-Rahma wa Bab al-Tauba)* (closed).
1 boss placed in the centre of a large blank framed roundel, centred between and above the two arches, which each contain an empty niche for an inscription plaque.

5 blank roundels—3 are placed immediately above the double-arches; another blank roundel is placed over each of 2 slit window embrasures (pl. 24.30).

E *Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba)* 947/1540-41 (pl. 24.28 dated 1958) (inscription in van Berchem 1923: 442-3 no. 129)

2 decorated roundels: 1, above the apex of the pointed arch, is a concave 8-petalled flower framed by an 8-lobed flat fillet. In the centre there is a flower-like boss. Blank segmental triangles in relief flank the moulding which defines the arch. Within the upper section there is a panel for an inscription. Below this, immediately above the opening, there is a roundel, very worn, with a *khatam sulaiman*.

F *Zion Gate (Bab al-Nabi Da'ud)* 947/1540 (pl. 24.26, photograph dated 1857; fig. 24.29) (inscriptions in van Berchem 1923: 441-2, nos. 126, 127).

3 bosses (originally 6)—3 bosses, now missing, once marked the centre of decorated roundels (see below). There is 1 above each corbel-like structure. A photograph dated 1857 (pl. 24.26) shows a 'knotted rope' boss above the entrance below an inscription panel, and the other bosses were then still *in situ*.

5 decorated roundels—1 is set immediately below the machicolation at the apex of the pointed arch at the level of flanking 'corbels'; roundels with 'knotted rope' motifs are to each side of the central entrance; 1 8-petalled 'flower' motif is above the arched window embrasures to each side of the entrance. The mouldings of the arched apices are surmounted by flat, segmental triangles in relief which repeat the profile of the arch.

G *Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil)* 945/1538-39 (pl. 24.27, photograph dated 1870; fig. 24.30) (inscriptions in van Berchem 1923: 439-40, nos. 124, 125).

A 19th-century woodcut (Steckoll 1968: pl. 1) shows Jaffa Gate from the inside. It is not possible to see the details, but the image includes a semicircular machicolation over which is placed a decorated roundel, and there is an inscription panel within the blind arch over the entrance. A roundel is shown to each side of the entrance at the level of the springing of the arch. Projecting corbel stones are also shown to either side of the apex of the arch, two courses below the machicolation. The city wall blocks the area now used as a roadway. A photograph of 1870, pl. 24.27) shows the gate from the exterior. It was entered from the NW.

Exterior NW (main) **1 boss**—a geometric interlace forming an 8-pointed star-polygon is set immediately below the machicolation and above the apex of the arch. The boss is surrounded by a frame of 'Sasanian' pearls. A window slit originally also appeared to each side of the machicolation

2 decorated roundels: there is 1 to each side of the entrance, at the spring of the arch. Each consists of geometric interlace emanating from a central 6-

pointed star-polygon. The interlace transcribes double kites and hexagons (fig. 24.18).

3 blank roundels—1 is above an inscription panel within the blind portion of the inner arch, another is set to each side of it.

SW
façade
Interior
of gate

3 blank roundels—1 is set above, and 1 to each side immediately below, a window slit.

1 boss—is in the centre of a decorated roundel with a central 8-point star-polygon.

2 decorated roundels—1 is above an inscription panel which has an unusual frame of 'Timurid' *rincaux* bearing trefoils. The roundel consists of a 4-part *rumi*-motif. Another, similar, roundel is placed above the arched opening to the slit window.

Interior
façade

(Much renewed)

3 decorated roundels—1 is set above an unusual semicircular machicolation, and consists of a 5-pointed star interlaced with another, with concave sides, from the points of which trefoils emerge. The word 'Allah' is inscribed at the centre. 1 roundel is set to each side of the entrance at the springing of the arch, both with a 4-part *rumi*-motif, as above. An inscription panel appears in the blind inner arch.

[H]

New Gate (Bab al-Jadid, Bab 'Abd al-Hamid) 1887.

Built by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II to provide access to the new suburbs, the only decoration consists of heavy, rusticated masonry.

The Towers

The towers are given Roman numerals.

1 *Stork Tower (Burj al-Laqlaq)* 945/1538-39 (fig. 24.31) (col. pl. LVI) (inscription in van Berchem 1923: 438, no. 121).

N façade **1 boss** which is placed at the centre of a large decorated roundel, see below.

5 decorated roundels are located 6 courses above the lowest level of decoration, described below, of 3 blank roundels. The outer roundels (1 and 4) to left and right consist of 4-part *rumi*-motifs. Roundel 2 (reading from the left) is an 8-petalled flower; Roundel 3 is a whorl reminiscent of a turban. 1 large roundel, a 20-petalled rosette with a 'Sasanian' pearl frame and a central boss, appears above the slit window embrasure.

6 blank roundels—these are both custom-made and deliberately placed. In each case, the circle is in relief against a square masonry block. 3 are set in a single course and form the lowest level of decoration; a further 2 blank roundels are placed to either side, of and in the course above, the large decorated roundel with a central boss described above; 1 blank roundel is placed centrally immediately below the crenellation.

E (main) façade **7 decorated roundels**—4 are in the course below dumb-bell slit window embrasures. Roundel 1 (to the left or south) contains a *khatam sulaiman*, with a 6-petalled flower at the centre, within a plain fillet frame (fig. 24.6); Roundel 2 has a similar plain fillet frame and has two interlocked squares forming an 8-pointed

star enclosing an 8-petalled flower (fig. 24.13); Roundel 3 contains an 8-petalled daisy-like flower with an 8-petalled central rosette; Roundel 4, to the north, in all respects resembles Roundel no. 3. To each side of the central arched window embrasure, and at the same level, there is a slit window. Above each there is a large decorated roundel with a central projection; the motifs in both consist of a 16-petalled flower, each petal framed by a rounded fillet moulding, and the centre forms a 16-part flat-faced boss. Above the apex of the arch there is an inscription panel and, two courses above, centred, there is a prominent roundel in a fillet frame with an 8-petalled flower. Each petal is concave to derive benefit in legibility from the strong sunlight and contrasting shadow.

4 blank roundels—here again the blanks have been cut to order. Three blanks form the lowest level of decoration, as on the north façade. The fourth appears above the dumb-bell window slit within the arched embrasure.

S façade **1 decorated roundel**—as on the east façade, this is located above the slit window and is of similar design—a 16-petalled flower with a projecting central boss.

3 blank roundels. 1 is in the same course as those described above in the main façade; 2 others appear at the level of the 4 decorated roundels also described above on the main façade.

2 *Unnamed.*
No decoration.

3 *Unnamed.*
Here there are clear signs of rebuilding. Set into the wall, near the base, is a stone bearing a carved trefoil with an additional small 6-petalled flower (fig. 24.22). The stone, which resembles those flanking the Ottoman inscription on the main entrance to the Citadel (see below), has been placed vertically rather than horizontally, so that the trefoil points upwards. See too Tower 22 below for a similarly misplaced carved stone.

3 decorated roundels—these are placed three courses above the stone described above. Roundels 1 and 3 consist of 4-part *rumi* motifs (fig. 24.17). Roundel 1 has a small 4-petalled flower at the centre. Roundel 2 is badly weathered—the central part is missing—and its frame is formed of ‘pearls’.

1 blank roundel is centred, 5 courses above the decorated roundels, between two slit window embrasures.

4 *Unnamed, close to St Stephen’s Gate.*
1 boss, centred.

5 blank roundels—2 are placed below the boss; 1 surmounts a small window opening; 1 appears over each of two window slits.

As the wall nears St Stephen’s Gate, each window slit is marked by a blank roundel over it, 3 in all.

5 *Sulphur Tower (Burj al-Kibrit) 947/1540-41 (inscription in van Berchem 1924: 442 no. 947/1540-41).*

NE façade **1 blank roundel** is between 2 slit windows on the same course as those described below.

SE (main) façade **3 blank roundels:** a central slit window has the dedicatory inscription panel below it; below this again there are 3 blank roundels, with 2 slit window embrasures between them.

SW façade **1 blank roundel**, as NE façade.

6 *Unnamed.*
No decoration.

7 *Unnamed* (close to the remnants of a square Ayyubid tower built in 1212 and dismantled by order of al-Malik al-Mu’azzam ‘Isa in 1219).

5 blank roundels—2 blank roundels flank a slit window set below a projecting corbel centred at the top of the tower. 3 further blank roundels are placed to either side of, and between, two slit windows below a dedicatory inscription plaque.

8 *Unnamed.*
2 bosses—1 is set above a ‘corbel’ with, below it, a slit window; the other is in the centre of a large, blank roundel.

2 decorated roundels both with the same interlaced 6-part motif, reminiscent of antique guilloche, are set above a panel for a lost inscription. Immediately below there are 2 slit windows.

9 *Unnamed.*
3 window slits but no decoration.

10 *Unnamed.*
7 blank roundels—1 is above a window slit on the north and south side façades; on the main, west, façade, overlooking Birkat al-Sultan, there are 2 blank roundels in the upper section with a single window slit between them; below there are 3 blank roundels set above 2 window slits.

11 *Unnamed.*
3 blank roundels—all 3 are in the main, west façade, set between 3 window slits which are arranged 1 above, 2 below.

12 *Unnamed.*
2 blank roundels set above and below a central window slit.

13 *South Tower of Citadel.*
Undecorated, although 4 re-used column sections are visible in the fabric of the wall. These each have a different circumference and protrude from the wall in an apparently random way, for there is no pattern to their position. It is seems clear, therefore, that these sections were used for technical rather than decorative or propaganda purposes.

14 *Unnamed.*
3 blank roundels— 3 roundels are set below a window slit with, above, a projecting square stone adorned with an 8-petalled rosette in a scalloped frame.

- 15 *Unnamed.*
1 **blank roundel** set above a window slit.
- 16 *Unnamed.*
A new inscription panel is centred over a window slit. There are no roundels.
- 17 *Unnamed.*
1 **blank roundel** set over a window slit.
- 18 *Tower close to Tancred's Tower (Qasr Jalut).*
NW façade (main) 5 **decorated roundels** set at two levels. The lower level consists of (1, left) a 6-petalled flower with small petals between and behind each main petal, and with another 6-petalled rosette at the centre; (2) a *khatam sulaiman* with a hexagon at the centre and small 'leaves' (fig. 24.7) emerging from each obtuse angle; (3) as (1) but without the secondary, outer layer of petals. Above are 2 decorated roundels, both with 4-part *rumi* motifs.
- NE façade 3 **blank roundels**—1 above, and 1 to each side of, a window slit.
- SSW façade 3 **blank roundels**, as above.
- 19 *Unnamed.*
No decoration.
- 20 *Unnamed.*
1 **boss** set directly below 2 blank roundels.
4 **blank roundels**—1 set high in the wall at the level of the crenellations; 3 blank roundels are at a lower level with 2 window slits between them.
- 21 *Unnamed (staggered)*
2 **plain 'nipple' bosses** on each SW step of the façade of the 'tower', set above a decorated roundel over a window slit.
2 **decorated roundels**—each is an 8-petalled rosette formed from intersecting half-circles, round a central concave-sided square.
- In each case, the decoration faces towards, and is visible from, the Damascus Gate.
- 22 *Unnamed 944/1537-38 (inscription in van Berchem 1923: 437, no. 119, shown at A on his fig. 69).*
Main north 3 **bosses**—1 (broken) is in the middle of the central decorated roundel on the façade at the lower level of decoration (see below). A geometric **knot** is to either side of the blind arch (see below) above a window slit, set within an 14-petalled rosette with a 'Sasanian' pearl fillet.
Another boss may have once filled the centre of a roundel with an 8-petalled flat-faced flower above the apex of the arch.
8 **decorated roundels**—at the lowest level, close to the present street, there are 2 roundels with *khatam sulaiman* motifs, 1 to either side of a damaged whorl with a broken central boss. The *khatam sulaiman* in

each case has a 6-lobed flower at the centre, and a half-palmette between each of the 6 points at the frame (fig. 24.10). 4 courses above these roundels, there is an inscription panel. Set above this there is a carved stone, decorated with a small 6-petalled rosette and a trefoil. This has been incorrectly placed after restoration work and originally would have acted as part of a decorated frame—compare Herod's Gate and the main gate to the Citadel. It is a pair to the one found within the fabric of the wall (fig. 24.22) described under Tower 3 above. To either side of this stone, at the same level, there is a decorated roundel, each with a 6-petalled 'daisy' round a central 6-lobed flower (fig. 25.21). To either side of the blind arch in the upper level there is a decorated roundel with a 14-petalled flower set within a 'Sasanian' pearl frame, and with a knotted boss at its centre, placed in each case above a window slit. A roundel with an 8-petalled flower is set at the apex of the blind arch.
1 **large blank roundel** is set above a window opening within the blind arch described above. There is an undecorated projection at the centre of the roundel, which should be compared to similar discs on the Golden Gate and Tower 8 to the west of Zion Gate.

- W and E façades 2 **blank roundels**—1 in each side façade.
- 23 *Unnamed.*
2 **decorated roundels**—1 set immediately below 2 window slits; in each case they consist of a 12-pointed star-polygon, formed of two interlaced 6-pointed stars, around a central 6-petalled flower.
2 **blank roundels**—in each case, they are set above the window slit described above.
- 24 *Unnamed.*
Undecorated.
- 25 *Unnamed.*
2 **decorated roundels** set at the same level as the dumb-bell base and to each side of a window slit. To the left there is a 6-lobed flower with another at its centre; to the right there is an 8-petalled flower with another at its centre, and small subsidiary 'petals' between them at the frame.
1 **blank roundel**, above the window slit.

The Walls

The walls are cut at regular intervals by window slits. At irregular intervals column sections have been set transversely through the fabric, but as this is for structural rather than decorative purposes (see Burgoyne, Ch. 31) these are not listed here. The main wall is otherwise largely undecorated, with two noteworthy exceptions: (i) to the north of Jaffa Gate, and (ii) close to the location of the Gate of the Tribes (Bab al-Asbat), which no longer exists, at the northern entrance of the Muslim Cemetery.

(i) North of Jaffa gate A blind arch contains an inscription panel—now replaced by one in Hebrew. Corinthian capitals mark the spring of the arch.

5 blank roundels—1 to each side of, and 1 above, the inscription panel, and 1 in each spandrel. Above the apex of the arch there is a ‘corbel’, decorated on its outer face with an 8-petalled rosette within a scalloped frame, and with a stone sphere resting on it.

(ii) Muslim Cemetary **5 decorated roundels** from left to right, starting close to St Stephen’s Gate—No.1 is above a window slit, a 6-pointed star (*khatam sulaiman*) around another, secondary 6-pointed star. To the left, there is No. 2, a roundel with a *khatam sulaiman*, the points converging at the centre to form darts (fig. 24.9). Around the points of the star, lobed frames form a 6-petalled flower. No. 3 is decorated with two intersecting squares to form an 8-pointed star polygon (fig. 24.14). Within this, there is another star polygon, the tips of which cut the sides of the squares at the middle point. A small 8-pointed star-polygon is formed in the centre. No. 4 is set above a window slit and consists of a 6-pointed *khatam sulaiman*, the points converging at the centre to form darts (as in No. 2 above). No. 5 is badly worn, but it is just possible to make out a 16-pointed star-polygon similar to those found at Damascus Gate.

The Sabils

The fountains are marked on fig. 24.24 with the letters a-f.

a *Sabil Birkat al-Sultan* 943/1536 (cat. no. 4; inscription in van Berchem 1923: 412-13 no. 110).

2 blank roundels are set in the spandrels of the arch. The circular projection is finely cut, as if to offer a toothed grip for an addition, while the remainder of the block is smooth. A zig-zag moulding frames the arch. Two layers of small *muqarnas* niches act as ‘capitals’ at the springing of the arch—the upper layer has 7 lanceolate niches to each side, with alternating motifs of vertical striations and a foliate upper section; the 8 lanceolate niches of the lower level are identical, each with a motif of 5 ‘petals’. The hood of the arch has a central stalactite *muqarnas*. The lowest course has 6 flat, broad niches; this level acts as a sort of dado to the *muqarnas* proper above. Here the lower level has plain lanceolate niches with stalactite attachments at the corners; the apex is formed of 3 plain niches below a scalloped hood.

b *Sabil Tariq al-Wad* 943/1536 (pl. 24.1) (cat. no. 5; inscription in van Berchem 1923: 413-14, no. 111). **2 decorated roundels** (two others are now lost). 1 is set outside the frame of the fountain, and is probably in re-use. It consists of a 6-pointed star of the *khatam sulaiman* profile, but is more reminiscent of the hexagon-based geometric interlace found widely on metalwork.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ See, for example, the ‘swastika’-like roundels on a penbox dated 680/1281, signed by Mahmud ibn Sunqur, British Museum OA 1891.6-23.5, or on a wallet in the Gambier-Parry Collection, no. 209. For a discussion on the motif see Baer 1983: 127-33.

Within the arch, in the *muqarnas* hood, there is a large boss, called here a roundel to distinguish it from the Ottoman bosses; it has a 4-part *rumi* interlace design through which another emerges to form an 8-pointed star, but it is now worn. Other roundels were once in the spandrels (see van Berchem 1920: pl. xciv, no. 111). The inscription panel is set into the lowest of three levels of *muqarnas*.

c *Sabil Bab al-Silsila* 943/1537 (pl. 24.3) (cat. no. 6; inscription in van Berchem 1923: 414-15, no. 112).

A photograph on the title page of Wilson 1865 shows the fountain with **3 decorated roundels**. 1 appears at the apex of the arch. It is shown as an 11-petalled rosette, but as this irregular number of petals is most unusual, the drawing is probably inaccurate. A roundel is also shown to either side at the spring of the arch (the right-hand one is missing). The sketch of the surviving roundel indicates that it probably contained a geometric motif. Modern replacements give the information that the fountain is a *waqf* of the Haram al-Sharif. The spandrels contain re-used acanthus scrolls, and the arch, where the inscription panel is placed, has a re-used rose window in its upper section. A zig-zag moulding frames the arch, which terminates in a *muqarnas* moulding. The water-trough is also in re-use, being originally an antique sarcophagus.

The roundels were lost by 1939, when the fountain was photographed by Elia Photo Service (no. 198) as they already were in an earlier but undated photograph, copyright the American Colony (pl. 24.39).

d *Sabil Bab al-‘Atm* 943/1537 (cat. no. 8; inscription in van Berchem 1923: 415-16, no. 113).

Undecorated triangles in low relief mark the spandrels, and there are 4 tiers of *muqarnas* within the apex of the arch. The decoration otherwise relies on crisp, high-relief moulding and elaborate capitals and columns.

e *Sabil Bab al-Nazir* 943/1537 (cat. no. 7, inscription in van Berchem 1923: 417-18, no. 115).

Low-relief triangles mark the spandrels. The decoration otherwise consists of elaborate mouldings and decorative bosses in re-use. An octagon, which is set above the inscription panel and surrounds a 12-petalled rosette with a central boss, dominates the inner arch.

f *Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam* (cat. no. 9).

The remnants of triangles in low relief mark the spandrels. There are no bosses, no roundels and no *muqarnas* in the hood. The inscription panel survives, but the inscription itself is lost.

KS *Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan)* 959/1552 (cat. no. 15).

North façade **3 decorated roundels** over the doorway within the arch of the portal. The angles of the door are moulded and finished with incised arabesques (pl. 24.12). The roundels to left and right are identical, filled by an

octagon with concave sides, each point bearing a trefoil. Woven through this is a swathe of palmettes (fig. 24.3) The centre is filled with an 8-petalled flower. The central roundel is a 5-petalled, 3 layered flower (fig. 24.2) placed immediately above a hook from which, presumably, once hung a lantern. There are two further roundels, carved into the corners of the stones with the left and right hand roundels. These are small 12-spoked whorls. In the course above the decorated roundels there is the frame of an inscription panel. It is now covered by a modern sign, Burgoyne (1971: 17-20, n. 7, fig. 13 and pl. XVIb) shows that the inscription was originally set within an inner panel that terminated in ogees. A narrow band of lanceolate *muqarnas* niches with foliate decoration within the upper arches acts as a cornice.

Wall on 'Aqabat al-Takiyya **2 decorated roundels** are to the east, that is on the all of the complex as it descends the street towards al-Haram al-Sharif; (i) is a roundel with a 10-pointed star-polygon where the points extend to form looped 'petals' (fig. 24.1) and (ii) is a geometric interlace forming a star-polygon, with trefoils borne on the points of the secondary motif; here the centre is marked by a subsidiary 'flower'.

South façade (main) **1 boss**—a geometric interlace forming an 6-pointed star is set immediately over the apex of the arch within the moulding which forms the frame (pl. 24.14). The moulding is formed from a series of lanceolate *muqarnas* niches, each with an exterior incised palmette. Originally the moulding terminated in shell-like additions between the niches. Four only remain—one at the apex of the arch, two to the west, one to the east.

4 decorated roundels—1 is in the centre, immediately above the apex of the arch (pl. 24.14). This is a complex, multi-layered and multi-petalled rosette. To each side of the arch there is a roundel of geometric interlace forming a 12-pointed star-polygon, similar to those found on the main façade of the Damascus Gate (see above).

The upper level of the façade has been rebuilt. Above the double window over the portal there is a moulding with a twist over each keystone. In between the twists there is a roundel with a geometric interlace forming a 10-pointed star-polygon.

Interior **9 decorated roundels** which are placed within the entrance porch. On each of the walls to left, right, and facing the portal, there are 2 roundels with a 6-petalled flower, with varying centres (fig. 24.4). Above the archway into the courtyard, centred above a (modern), inscription there are 3 roundels with 6-pointed star-polygons.

BJ North façade *Dar Bairam Jawish* 947-70/1540-62 (cat. no. 13)
5 decorated roundels, 1 decorated octagon—the octagon, which contains a multi-petalled, multi-layered open-flower motif in the centre of a frame of 8 twists, is located directly above the apex of the archway over Tariq al-Wad, immediately south of Sabil Bab al-Nazir. 2 roundels, each with a complex design based on the 4-part *rumi* motif, are to either side of the octagon. All three are difficult to see because they are partially obscured by a modern protective grille (pl. 24.22). A 6-petalled, multi-layered open flower roundel and an 8-petalled variety are placed above, to either side of the arched apex of a recessed window niche over the central octagon (pls. 24.20, 24.21). Another, similar, roundel is set to the west.

South façade **3 decorated roundels, 2 decorated octagons**—the roundel, which is similar in design to the 4-part *rumi* examples described on the northern façade, is placed centrally above the apex of the arch over the street. A smaller octagon is set two courses lower to each side. Above, a recessed panel terminating in a trefoil blind arch frames a window. To each side there is a decorative roundel, again based on the 4-part *rumi* motif.

Q *The Citadel (Qal'a)*

Main façade **2 decorated roundels**—these flank the arch. Each is a complex, geometric 12-pointed star-polygon, the outer sections of which contain hexagons (fig. 24.23). Both show traces of red, yellow and blue paint. This is probably of 19th-century origin. There are three inscription panels; the lowest is set in a panel with ogival terminals, which enclose an 8-petalled flower set within a scalloped frame. From the tip of the ogee sprouts an elaborate trefoil with a small 8-petalled flower to each side.



Pl. 24.1 Sabil Tariq al-Wad, 943/1536 (cat. no. 5) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.2 Detail of the south portal of the 'Imara ai-'Amira 959/1552 (cat. no. 15) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.3 Sabil Bab al-Silsila 943/1537 (cat. no. 5) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.4 Qubbat al-Nabi 945/1538 (cat. no. 10)—detail of a *muqarnas* capital (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.5 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22)—detail of the east window (Photograph Joe Rock).



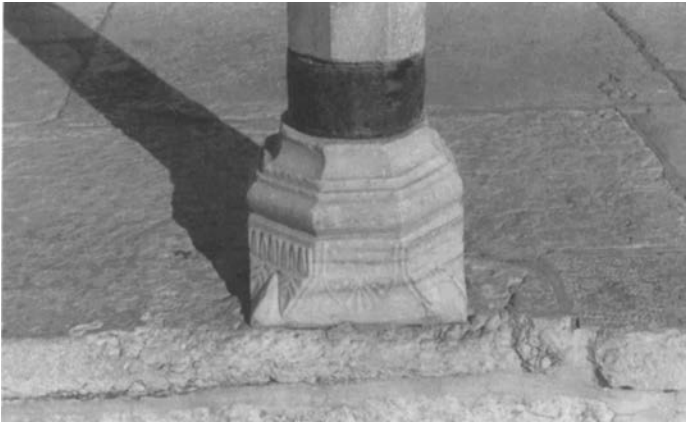
Pl. 24.6 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22)—detail of west window.



Pl. 24.7 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22)—detail of north window.



Pl. 24.8 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22)—detail of a capital (Photograph Joe Rock).



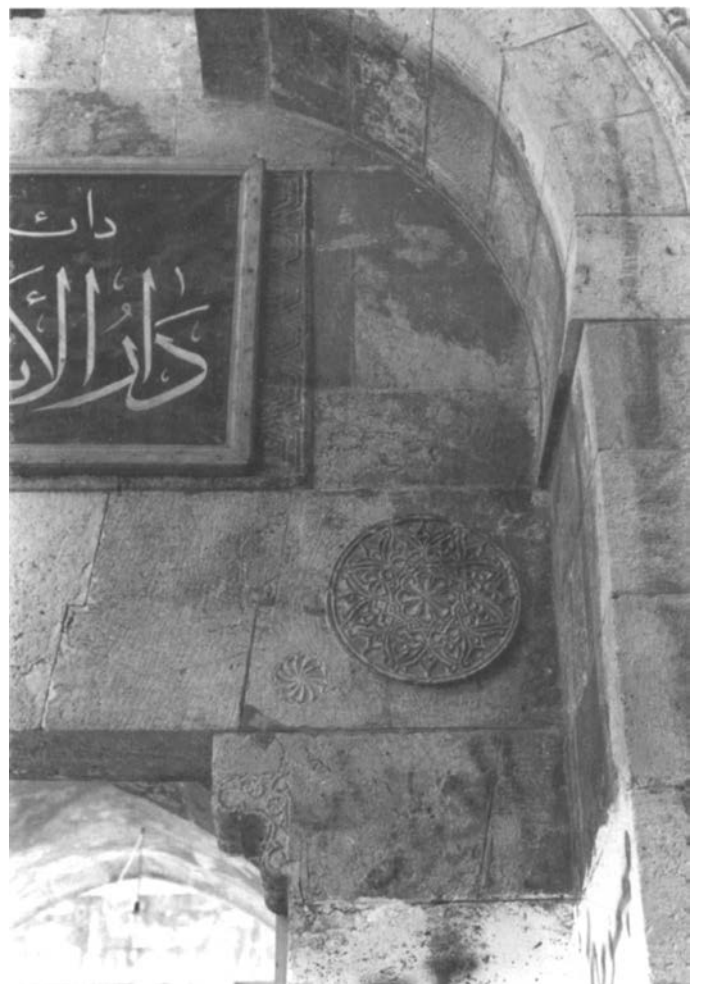
Pl. 24.9 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22)—detail of a capital re-used as a column base (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.10 Corner of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35), showing *mugarnas* niches decorating the bevelled edge (Photograph Joe Rock).



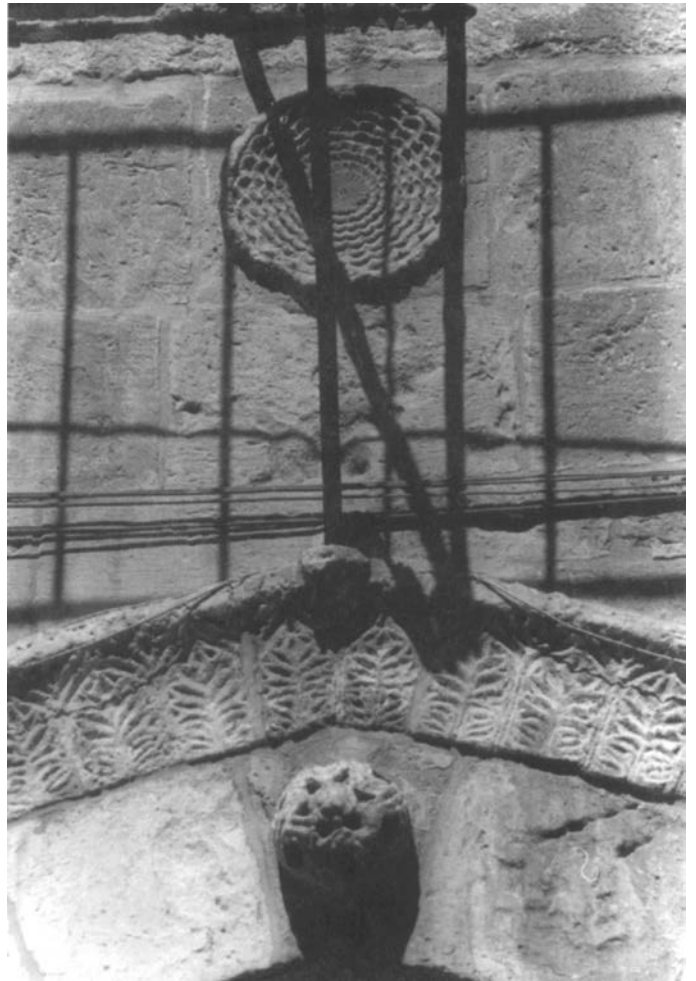
Pl. 24.11 Detail of a carved stone lobed medallion in the 'International Timurid' style (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.12 The al-‘Imara al-‘Amira 959/1552 (cat. no. 15)—detail of the north portal (Photograph Joe Rock).



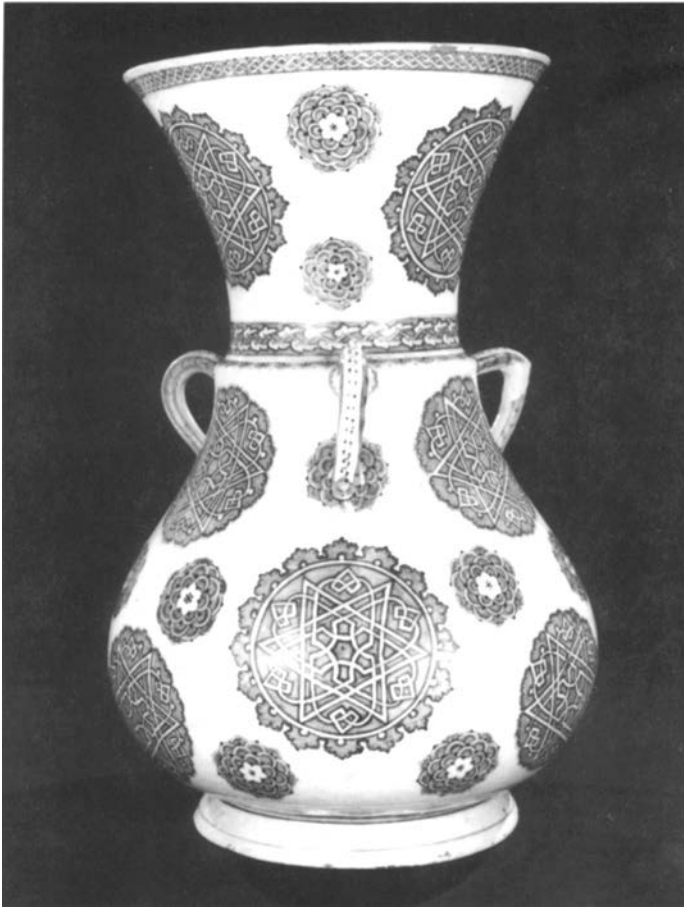
Pl. 24.13 The 'Imara al-'Amira 959/1552 (cat. no. 15)—detail of the south portal (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.14 The 'Imara al-'Amira 959/1552 (cat. no. 15)—detail of the south portal (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.15 Detail of the *muqarnas* cornice on the Mihrab al-Sanaubar (cat. no. 54) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.16 Mosque lamp, British Museum OA G.1983.122 (Photograph courtesy of the British Museum).



Pl. 24.17 Venetian woodcut published by Mathio Pagani in c. 1550 of Roxelana (the Khassaki Sultan Hürrem). British Museum 1878.7-13.4166 (Photograph courtesy of the British Museum).



Pl. 24.18 Detail of a roundel on the Türbe of Sulaiman-Qanuni at the Süleymaniye, Istanbul.



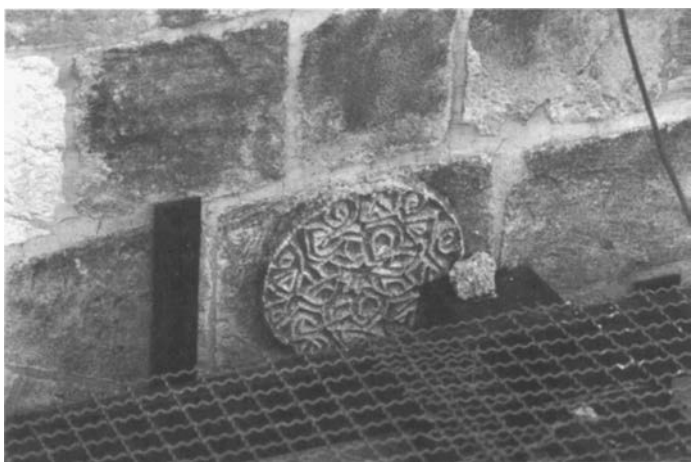
Pl. 24.19 Detail of the carved stone decoration on a building close to Nabi Da'ud, Mount Zion.



Pl. 24.20 Detail of a carved stone roundel on Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.21 Detail of a carved stone roundel on Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.22 Detail of a carved stone roundel on Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.23 St Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Maryam) in a photograph of 1870 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.24 The exterior of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) in a photograph dated 1941 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.25 The interior of Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) in a photograph dated 1935 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.26 Zion Gate (Bab Nabi Da'ud) in a photograph dated 1857 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.27 Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) in a photograph dated 1870 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.29 Detail of the interior of Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) showing the position of bosses.



Pl. 24.28 Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba) in a photograph dated 1958 (Photograph © Elia Photographic Service).



Pl. 24.30 Detail of the Golden Gate (Bab al-Rahma wa Bab al-Tauba), showing the position of the boss and the use of undecorated roundels.



Pl. 24.31 Roundel with a boss and ‘Sasanian pearl’ frame.



Pl. 24.32 Roundel with a turban-like boss and ‘Sasanian pearl’ frame.



Pl. 24.33 Roundel with the 4-part *rumi* motif.



Pl. 24.34 Blank open-flower motif.



Pl. 24.35 Roundel with a *khatam sulaiman* on interior façade of Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra).



Pl. 24.36 Roundel on the main portal to the Citadel (Qal'a).



Pl. 24.37 Detail of a column on Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.38 Detail of a capital on Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48) (Photograph Joe Rock).



Pl. 24.39 Sabil Bab al-Silsila (undated) (cat. no. 6) (Photograph American Colony).

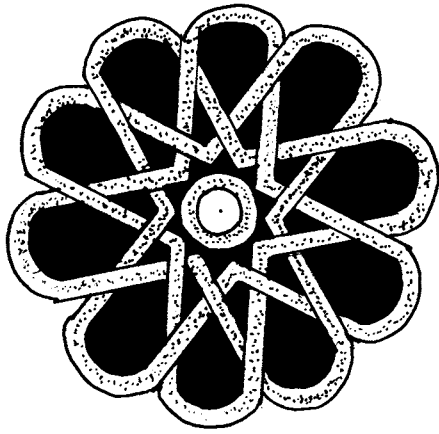


Fig. 24.1 Star-polygon device on a carved stone roundel in 'Aqabat al-Takiyya.

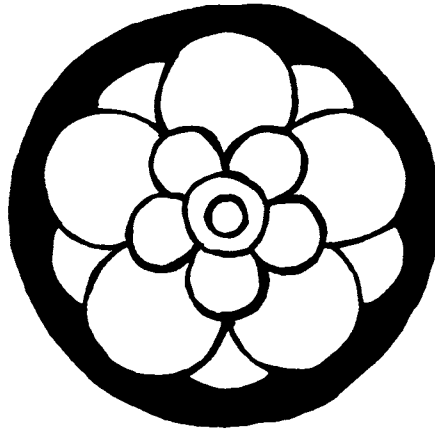


Fig. 24.2 A five-petalled device found over the north portal of al-'Imara al-'Amira.

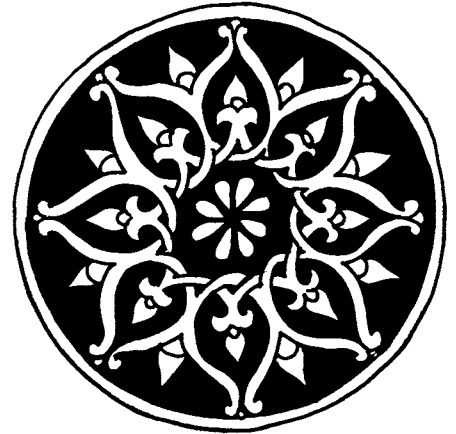


Fig. 24.3 A star-polygon flanking the five-petalled device on the north portal of al-'Imara al-'Amira.

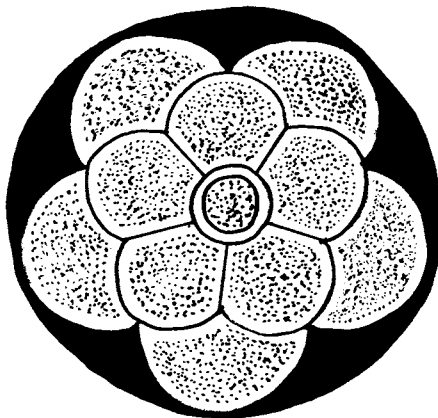


Fig. 24.4 A five-petalled device found in the south entrance porch to al-'Imara al-'Amira.

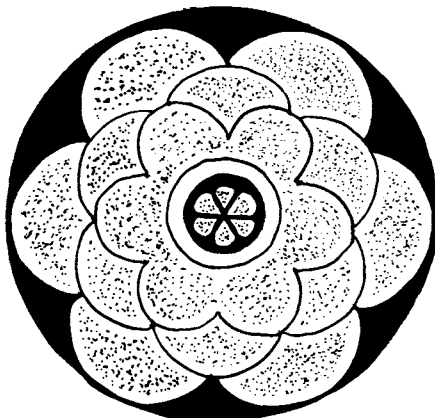


Fig. 24.5 A variant of the six-petalled device found in the 'Imara al-'Amira.

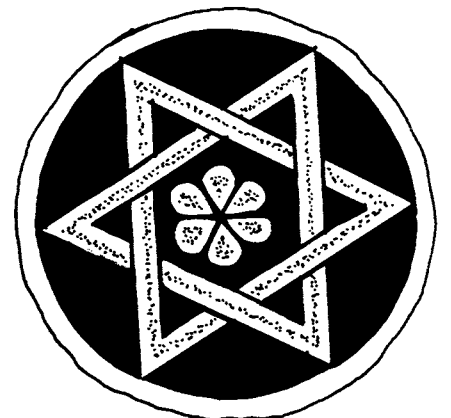


Fig. 24.6 The six-pointed star-polygon known in Arabic as the *khatam sulaiman* (Seal of Solomon). This version has a six-petalled flower at its centre. On Burj Laqlaq (Stork's Tower) east façade.

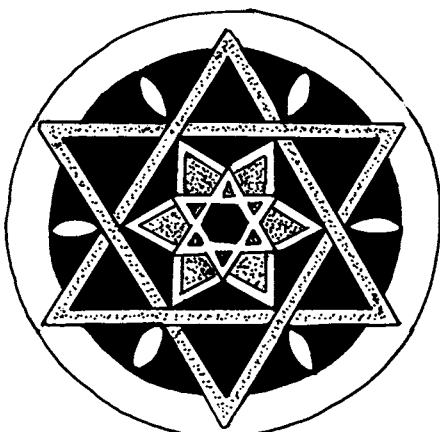


Fig. 24.7 Variant of the *khatam sulaiman*, near Tancred's Tower.



Fig. 24.8 Variant of the *khatam sulaiman*, on the interior façade of Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra).



Fig. 24.9 Variant of the *khatam sulaiman*, in the Muslim Cemetery.

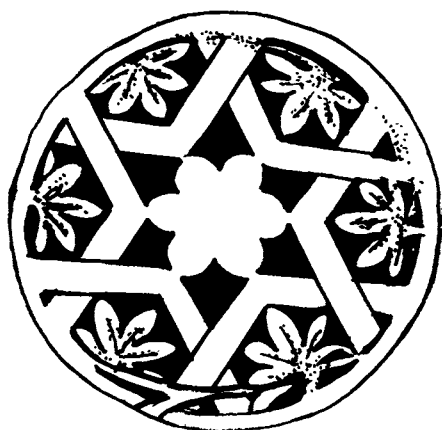


Fig. 24.10 Variant of the *khatam sulaiman*, on 'Tower' 22.

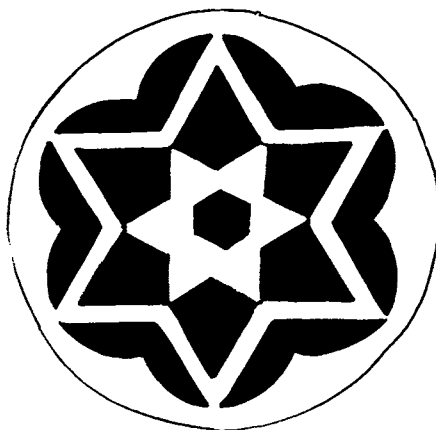


Fig. 24.11 Variant of the *khatam sulaiman*, surrounded by an open-flower frame.

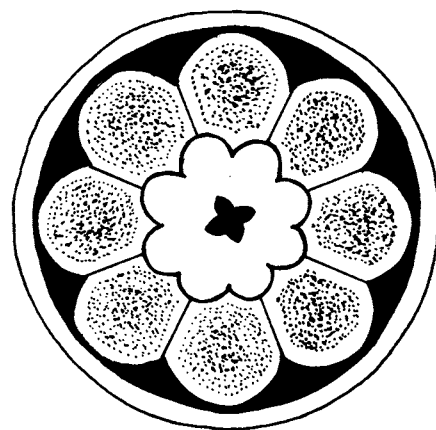


Fig. 24.12 Roundel with 8-petalled flower motif, 'Tower' 24.

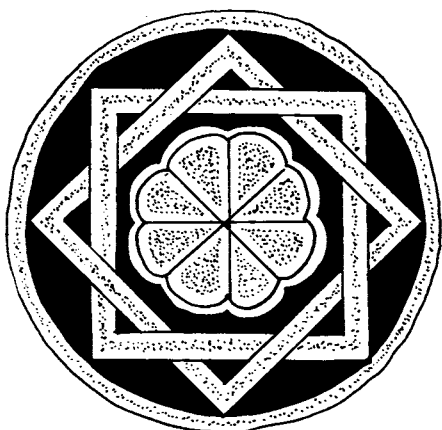


Fig. 24.13 Roundel with a motif of interlocking squares forming an octagon, Burj Laqlaq.

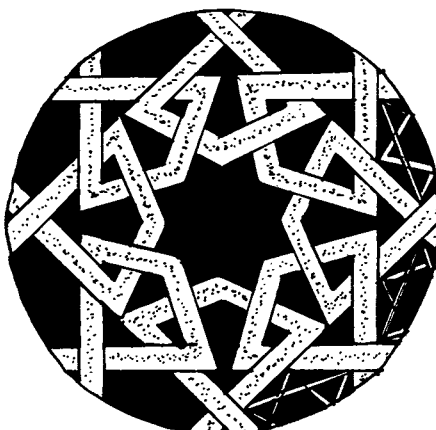


Fig. 24.14 Roundel with a motif of interlocking squares forming an octagon with 8-pointed star-polygon at the centre, in the Muslim Cemetery.

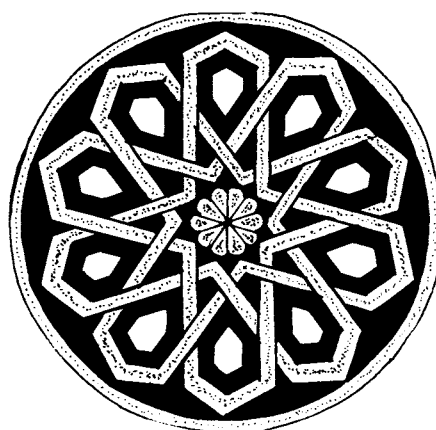


Fig. 24.15 Star-polygon with 10 points, flanking the Damascus Gate.

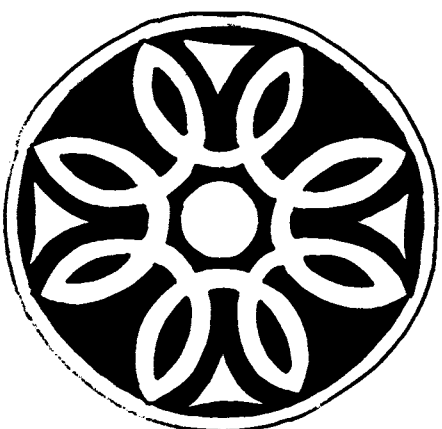


Fig. 24.16 Roundel with an 8-part motif on 'Tower' 21.

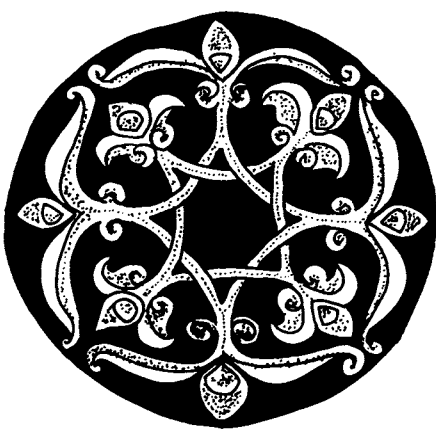


Fig. 24.17 4-part *rumi* motif on 'Tower' 3.

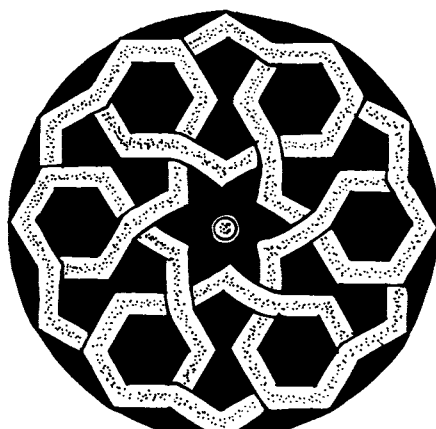


Fig. 24.18 Hexagonal geometric interlace—the basic design on a roundel at Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil).

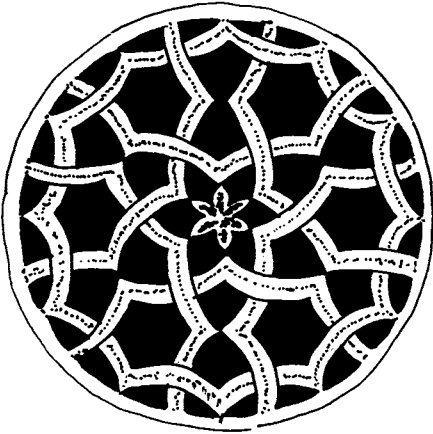


Fig. 24.19 Hexagonal geometric interlace on a roundel at Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil).

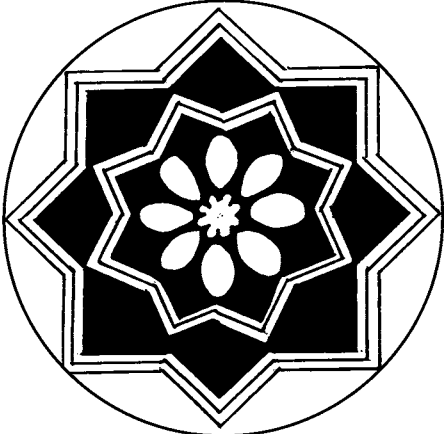


Fig. 24.20 8-pointed star-polygon on the interior façade of Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra).

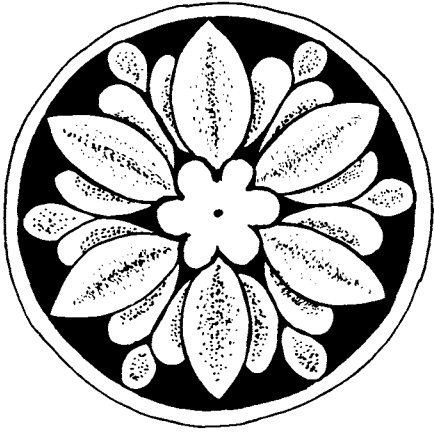


Fig. 24.21 Roundel with naturalistic 'daisy' on 'Tower' 22.

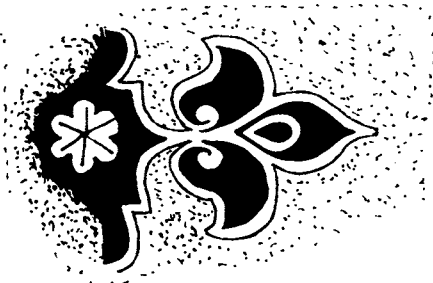


Fig. 24.22 Detail of a stone with a carved trefoil in re-use on 'Tower' 3.

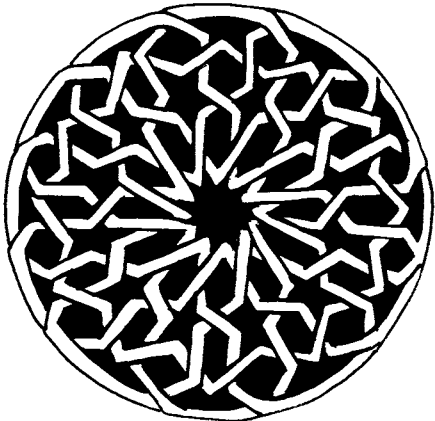


Fig. 24.23 Roundel on the main portal of the Citadel (Qal'a).

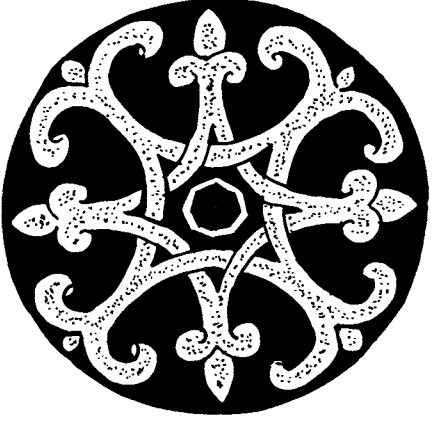


Fig. 24.24 4-part *rumi* design in a cruciform arrangement.

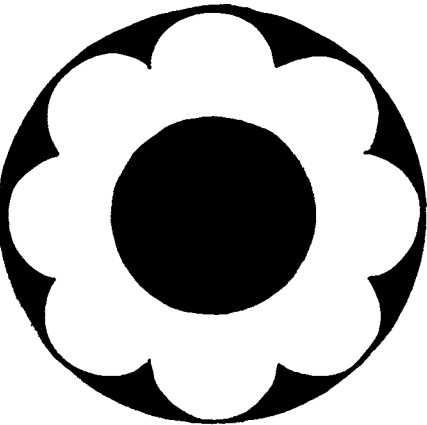


Fig. 24.25 8-petalled frame on the Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba).

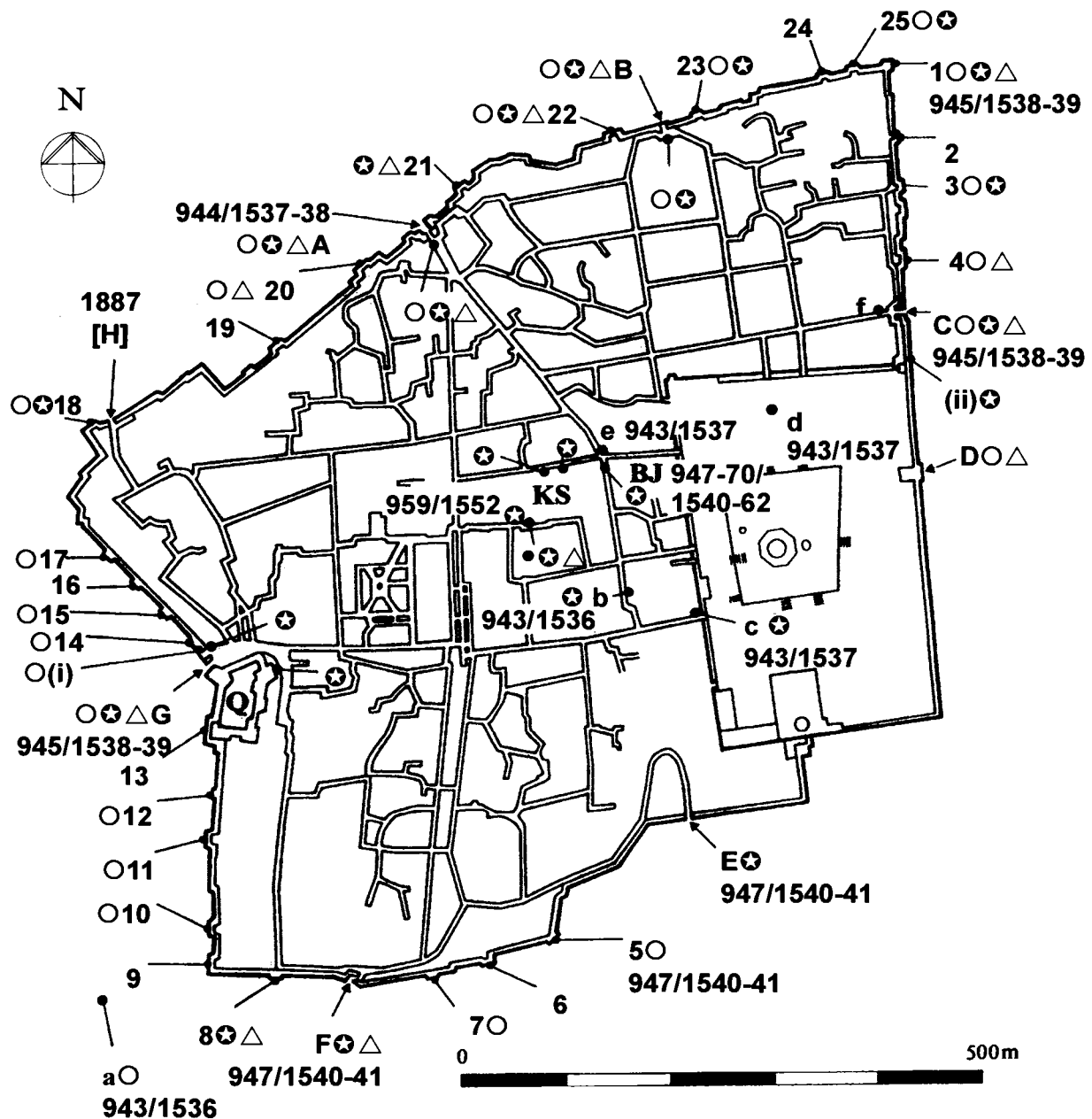


Fig. 24.26 A plan of the Old City, showing the position of the 16th-century roundels and bosses.

The Gates

- A** Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) 944/1537-38
- B** Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra) (fig. 24. 27)
- C** St Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Maryam) 945/1538-39 (fig. 24.28)
- D** Golden Gate (Bab al-Rahma wa Bab al-Tauba)
- E** Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba) 947/1540-41
- F** Zion Gate (Bab al-Nabi Da'ud) 947/1540 (fig. 24.29)
- G** Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) 945/1538-39 (fig. 24.30)
- [H]** New Gate (Bab al-Jadid) 1887

The Towers

- 1** Stork Tower (Burj al-Laqlaq) 945/1538-39 (fig. 24.31)
- 2** Unnamed
- 3** Unnamed
- 4** Unnamed
- 5** Sulphur Tower (Burj al-Kibrit) 947/1540-41
- 6** Unnamed
- 7** Unnamed
- 8** Unnamed

- 9** Unnamed
- 10** Unnamed
- 11** Unnamed
- 12** Unnamed
- 13** South tower of Citadel
- 14** Unnamed
- 15** Unnamed
- 16** Unnamed
- 17** Unnamed
- 18** Tacred's Tower (Qasr Jalut)
- 19** Unnamed
- 20** Unnamed
- 21** Unnamed
- 22** Unnamed
- 23** Unnamed
- 24** Unnamed
- 25** Unnamed

The Walls

- (i)** North of Jaffa Gate
- (ii)** Muslim Cemetery, close to Bab al-Asbat

The Sabils

- a** Birkat al-Sultan 943/1536
- b** Tariq al-Wad 943/1536 (pl. 24.1)
- c** Bab al-Silsila 943/1537 (pls. 24.3, 24.39)
- d** Bab al-'Atm 943/1537
- e** Bab al-Nazir 943/1537
- f** Bab Sitti Maryam

Monuments

- KS** 'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan) 959/1552
- BJ** Dar Bairam Jawish 947-70/1540-62
- Q** Citadel (Qal'a)

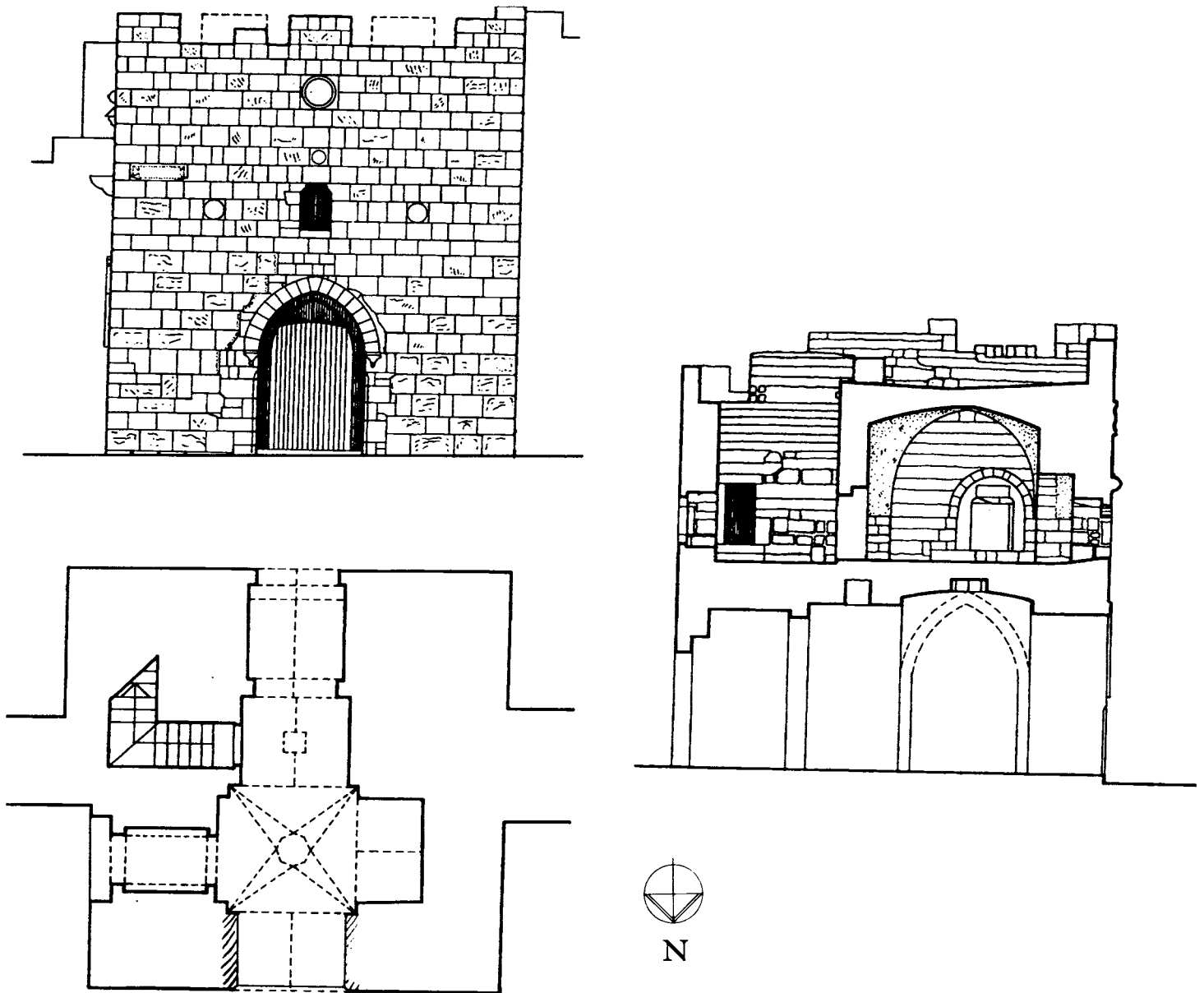


Fig. 24.27 Herod's Gate (Bab al-Zahra) (B)—North elevation; N-S section; and ground plan.

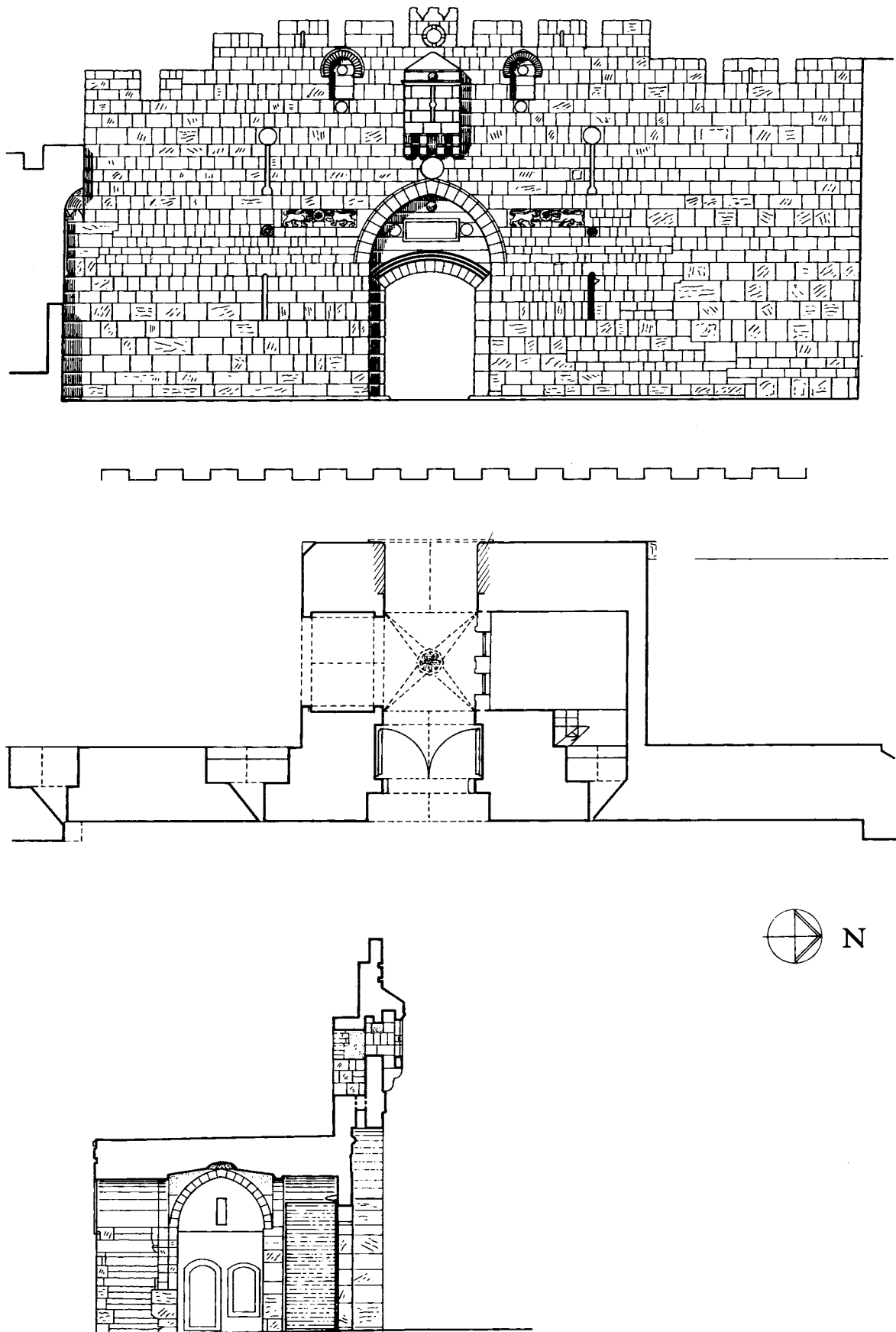


Fig. 24.28 St Stephen's Gate (Lion Gate, Bab Sitti Maryam) (C)—East elevation; ground plan; and EW Section.

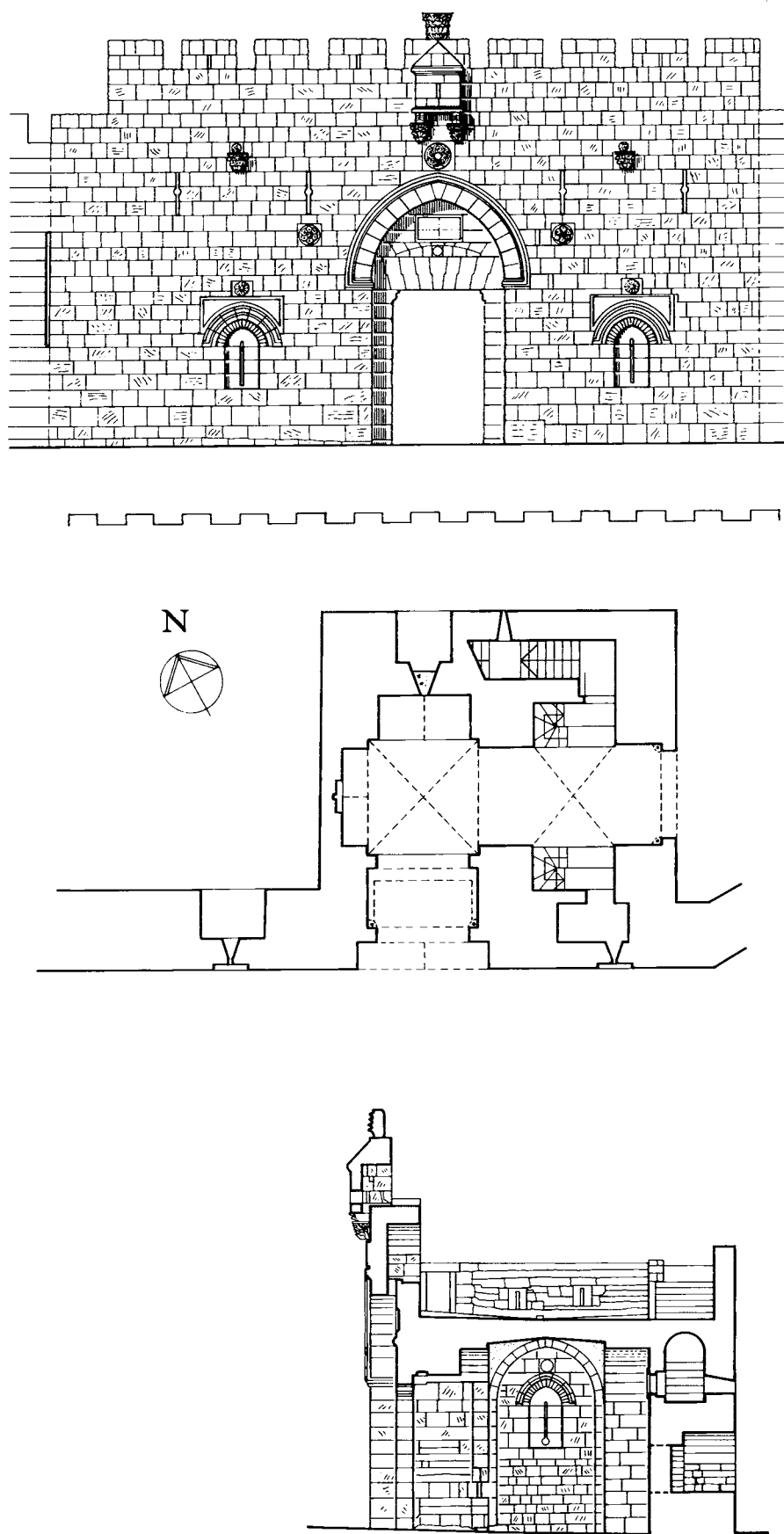


Fig. 24.29 Zion Gate (Bab al-Nabi Da'ud) (F)—South elevation; ground plan; and NS section.

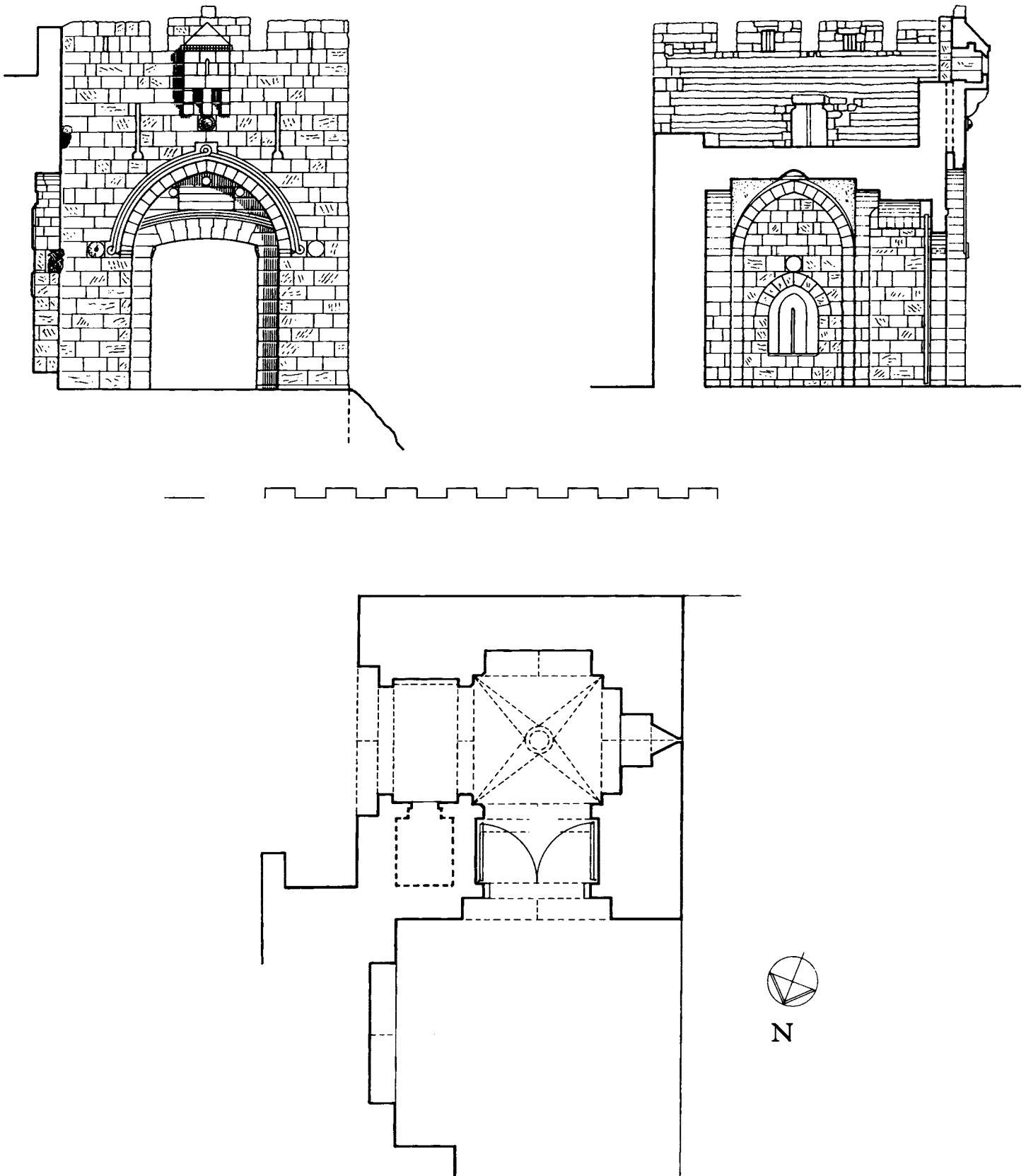


Fig. 24.30 Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) (G)—North elevation; NS section; and ground plan.

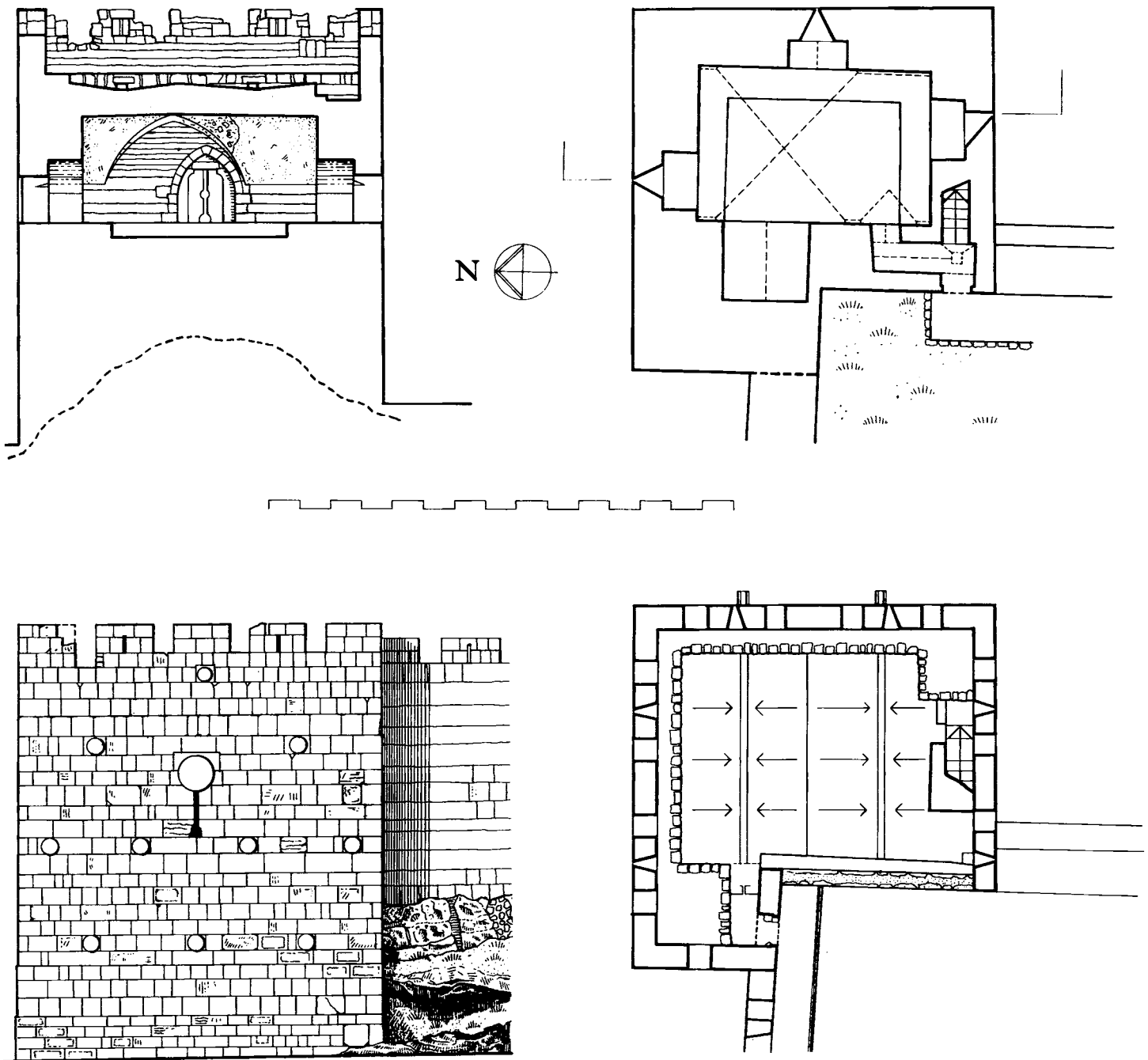


Fig. 24.31 Burj Laqlaq (1)—N-S section; ground plan; north elevation; roof plan; and east elevation.

Chapter 25

LIFE IN 19TH-CENTURY JERUSALEM

Susan Roaf

Between the years 1800 and 1900 Jerusalem experienced changes that were almost to drag the city and its inhabitants from the medieval era into the modern world. These critical developments, which occurred largely during the latter half of the 19th century, owed much to the dual influences of the decline of the Ottoman empire and the rise of the city as a crucial pilgrimage centre for the Christian, Jewish and Muslim faiths.

Affairs in the Ottoman empire had generally reached a low ebb by 1800. By then Jerusalem had already been under Ottoman rule for almost three hundred years, and while the comment of one 19th-century observer that 'beside their thorough repair of the city walls between 1536 and 1539 the Turks had neither built nor encouraged any building in the city' (Schick 1884/5: 264-76) is seriously exaggerated, it is interesting as a gauge of contemporary views. The whole region had become increasingly unstable politically when in 1798 Napoleon invaded Egypt and then Syria. Although his campaign ended in a fiasco before the walls of Acre, it had done much to destabilise the area. The Ottoman government was deeply unpopular in Palestine. From 1808 to 1831 Jerusalem experienced a series of riots and uprisings leading to bloody retribution from the élite Turkish Janissary troops. The Greek revolution in the Balkans of 1821 had repercussions for Jerusalem, where the population was aroused against the Christians, who were accused of conspiring with the Greeks. In 1824 a larger uprising occurred when the Neophytes objected to paying ten times the usual tithes and taxes. The local regional governor who was based at Damascus sent out 2,000 troops to quell the insurgents, who surrendered only when artillery fire started to fall indiscriminantly on the

city from the Mount of Olives (al-'Asali 1989: 222-3).

By 1831 Jerusalem was the main town in the Ottoman administrative sub-division (*sanjaq*) which, with the *sanjaq* of Nablus, was united under the administrative rule of the governor of the *sanjaq* of Acre. The government of the district of Jerusalem was dominated by the civil (*mutasallim*) and the military (*qa'imaqam*) commanders of the city and the chief accountant (*mubashir*) (Robinson 1841 2: 82). These offices were responsible for collecting and supplying taxes to the sultans, some of whom spent huge sums of money on personal luxury and gave themselves up to the pleasures of the harem. Their continuous need for money led to the sale of public offices, bribery as an institution, crippling taxation and extortion.

Ibrahim Pasha, the commanding general of the Egyptian ruler Muhammad 'Ali Pasha (late 1760s-1849), marched into Syria and occupied Jerusalem in 1831. For nine years his presence brought a degree of peace and prosperity to the city before the European powers, interested in ousting Egypt from Syria, helped the Turks to overthrow the government of Muhammad 'Ali in Palestine in 1840 (Ben-Arieh 1984: 111).

Ibrahim Pasha restored equilibrium to the city with his avowed policy 'that the inhabitants (of Jerusalem) should be assured of their security and tranquillity, this being one of the most important elements in a war of conquest' (Hofman 1975: 312). At this time Jerusalem was still considered a 'small and backward town' (Kark 1986: 46) that 'from her ancient high estate ... has sunk into the neglected capital of a petty Turkish province' (Robinson 1841 2: 81). Christians had been forbidden to erect new structures without permits, which were difficult to obtain,

and those structures that did exist were pitifully small. The city itself abounded in vacant buildings—ruins were everywhere (Schick 1884/5: 264-76). Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in the city opened the way for renewed building activity which persisted even after his expulsion from the city (Schick 1884/5: 264-76). During his occupation, he built two barracks within the city walls, and one windmill outside them (Avitsur 1986: 232).

Ibrahim Pasha encouraged foreigners into the city and in March 1839 the first foreign consulate in the city was opened. The first consul was the British official William Tanner Young, who was followed in November 1845 by James Finn and his wife Elizabeth, who were to remain in Jerusalem for seventeen years (Hyamson 1939 1: ix). In 1842 the German consulate was established and in 1843 the third consulate to be established was that of the French.

After the return of the Ottomans to the region in 1840 it was Jerusalem that evolved into the capital of central and southern Palestine. The situation continued to encourage building development in the city. Not only did the Ottoman government continue to liberalise policies of land ownership for non-Muslim residents of the city but taxation processes were also improved, as was the city's political and administrative organisation (Ben-Arieh 1984: 111-14). Gaza and Jaffa were by then permanently attached to the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem and until 1858 that of Nablus was also under the authority of the Governor of Jerusalem (Scholch 1989: 238).

In 1838 the population of Jerusalem was reckoned to be 11,000 (Robinson 1841 2: 85). The next period saw a huge expansion in population—from around 12,000-14,000 people in 1840 up to 18,000-20,000 in 1860 (Ben-Arieh 1975: 53).

Foreign travellers at the time wrote about Jerusalem in a variety of ways:

the town (has) a peculiarly gloomy and melancholy appearance, enhanced by its deserted state, for the population is thin, and but very few persons are seen in the streets, excepting in the bazaars ... (Edgerton 1841: 17).

This lack of people in the city was also noted by Robinson (1841 2: 81), 'we now find a population of scarcely as many single thousands dwelling sparsely within her walls.' Others were more critical of the city with 'its narrow, filthy, ill-paved streets ...' (Lindsay 1858: 244). The city lay entirely within its walls at that date 'with only its dome-roofs swelling above the time-stained and lofty walls' (Lynch 1850: 402); its rapid encroachment into the adjacent countryside began only in the 1860s. Jerusalem nestles in a landscape of hills and valleys dominated by the

Mount of Olives to its east. Once inside the city gates, which were shut each night at sundown, travellers passed into the network of streets of shops and houses interspersed with half-ruined uninhabited houses, cultivated plots and mounds of rubbish.

Some travellers, however, seemed more impressed with the place:

From the descriptions of Chateaubriand and other travellers, I had expected to find the houses of the city miserable, the streets filthy, and the population squalid. Yet the first impression made upon my mind was of a different character; nor did I afterwards see any reason to doubt the correctness of this first impression. The houses are in general better built, and the streets cleaner, than those of Alexandria, Smyrna, or even Constantinople. Indeed of all the Oriental cities which it was my lot to visit, Jerusalem, after Cairo, is the cleanest and most solidly built. The streets indeed are narrow, and very rudely paved, like most of all cities in the east. The houses are of hewn stone, often large, and furnished with the small domes upon the roofs which have been already mentioned at Hebron, as perhaps peculiar to the district of Judea' (Robinson 1841 1: 329).

The Old City is still predominantly built of the stone, quarried traditionally from the locality (Canaan 1932: 228). It is the presence of this stone in the warren of streets and alleys, together with the distinctive style of building, which gives Jerusalem its unique character. In essence the city has retained much of its 19th-century appearance.

Olin records in 1840 that the walls facing the streets were usually windowless and that if there were any windows, they were usually on the second floor and provided with wooden or iron gratings (Olin 1843 2: 132-36). The *mijwiz* window was typical of the older houses of Jerusalem and was constructed of two-windowed openings beneath a relieving arch which were separated by a stone pillar. Other small circular or semicircular, lozenge and loop-hole windows were also common at that period. Also typical of the upper rooms of these houses are the projecting timber windows with their latticework shutters often open on three sides to catch the passing breezes. Unfortunately they were not well designed to keep out the wind, for even within these houses the inhabitants were exposed to the whims of the elements:

Friday 4th July, the wind rose suddenly at midday, and was so violent that I was obliged

to have all the casements closed, and even then the curtains were blown about, and papers fluttered through the rooms, yet the heat was intense (Rogers 1862: 328).

Edgerton, who visited the city at that time, described her lodgings thus:

The interior of the houses is equally unlike anything else. The doors of the rooms are so low, that we constantly give ourselves blows on the head, forgetting the necessity of stooping. You emerge from a narrow passage into a court, then up a steep short staircase into another open space, then up a staircase into a sort of terrace, off which are the rooms. Mr Young has kindly lent us a house containing three rooms ... My room is pleasant, with immensely thick walls with gothic windows, which are even glazed, and a door opens upon the terrace. The walls are arched in a peculiar way, and almost universal in this country; the furniture, a table, two chairs and a bedstead, as at Ramala; we provide the rest (Edgerton 1841: 17).

The house described is reminiscent of the numerous *haush* houses in the warrens of alleys in the heart of the Old City. A *haush* complex has a single courtyard accessed from such an alley and accommodates a number of different families on two or three floors. Conditions in the complexes were cramped and Olin records that only in the 1840s were toilets beginning to be built in the corners of the courtyards for the use of all the families (Olin 1843 2: 132-36).

These primitive privies were well described by Canaan who claimed that they gave those areas of the house a permanent stench (Canaan 1933: 44-6). In another corner of the courtyard the household rubbish would be piled, which was usually collected once a week and taken through the Dung Gate to the Tyropoeon Valley with the aid of donkeys (Ben-Arieh 1984: 27).

The age of such buildings is impossible to determine, representing as they do the accretions of generations of builders across the centuries. One such complex measured by students of the School of Architecture at Oxford Brookes University in 1994 (see Appendix 25.3) shows distinctly how the lower barrel-vaulted ground-floor rooms were very different in type from the various family rooms on the floors above them, and similar in form to stable structures. These store-rooms and stables with their massive walls were lit and ventilated by small window-like shafts in their roofs which gave onto the floors of the courtyards above. The rooms on the two

floors above have narrower walls and are roofed with a range of different vaults from barrel, to cross or disc-vaulted constructions (Canaan 1933: 10-18).

Within the rooms are a range of small niches (*khazana*) for storage. In houses of a later date these were fitted with shelves and wooden doors. There are also larger niches (*raksa*), 2-3m wide and 40-60cms deep, which are used for the storage of bedding. In some houses a seat is constructed beneath the windows with a small built-in cupboard beneath. Smaller *raksa* were used to store the boxes in which household linen was kept and other smaller cupboards were built to house the *ghaliyan* or water pipe. Other storage space was provided higher up in the angles of the arches where small cupboards were built in which to safeguard valuables. External walls also have niches for the suspension of kerosene lamps or, in the houses of the rich, to contain small water pitchers to quench the thirst of passers-by (Canaan 1933: 10-20).

The atmosphere within these complexes is confined and shaded, and even in the heat of summer the rooms on the lower floors remain cool.

The vaulted stone chambers in which we were received were cool and pleasant even at midday, and so furnished as to combine Oriental and Western luxuries. In the deep arched recesses and broad window-seats soft cushions were arranged on divans, and loose muslin drapery floated from open windows, fanning the air; glowing Turkey carpets and Egyptian matting covered the stone floors' (Rogers 1856: 35).

Beyond the *haush* complexes around the Haram were neighbourhoods of larger single-family houses such as the one described below by Mrs Finn, the British consul's wife, in 1857. The house was situated near the Damascus gate by the Tyropoeon Valley, which is almost at the lowest level of the city. The house was well built with a pleasant garden:

The house was a large one and thoroughly oriental, built around a large courtyard, the lower rooms set apart as store rooms, the upper ones reached by open stone staircases and open corridors, pleasant enough in fine weather, but in winter exposed to every shower and wind that blew (Finn 1929: 172).

But the Finns had not anticipated the health risks associated with their location on low ground and close to an open drain. At last they moved in 1858 to the extreme north-west corner of the city.

It was a small house but well situated and the only one we could get. At the front there were two doors, one leading into the kitchen and the other into a dark passage ending in a stone staircase to the terrace above the kitchen. Opening from that terrace were two pretty good rooms over the lower part of the building. At the end of the terrace was a tiny chamber meant for a kitchen; it had a large open chimney but no fireplace. Beyond that were a small room and two stone stairways, leading the one to the flat roof of the two rooms and the other to a good bedroom over the small end room. From this a good prospect was obtainable over the city wall to the country beyond, northwards. It was no easy matter to pack ourselves and our furniture into so small a house, but the change immediately told for the better upon our health (Finn 1929: 186).

This house is very similar to the one, recorded by the Oxford Brookes team, which is located at the corner of the Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan and Tariq Bab al-'Amud (see Appendix 25.1). We believe the house was rebuilt in the 1850s. The main street door is flanked beneath its arch by two stone seats and a rope-pull rings a bell for attention in the first-floor courtyard. The door opens to a small hall where the household rubbish is collected prior to its weekly disposal. Beyond are the stables and storerooms and the front wall of the water cistern. To the right rises a sharp flight of steps to the first-floor courtyard in which are located a raised stone basin, the cistern well head with its pulley and bucket, and a small, open water-storage tank of stone. Off this court are the small rooms housing the kitchen and store room where the slaves of the house slept until the middle of the last century. Beyond lie the doors, steps and halls leading to the main living rooms which are occupied by various members of the extended family—a father and his two sons and their families.

We gain some insight into life in these houses in the 19th century from descriptions by contemporary writers. In 1855 Miss Rogers described the furnishings of two houses in which she stayed. The first was a simple house:

The room in which we sat was very simply furnished. It was nearly square, the floor was of stone, and the walls were whitewashed; on a broad high shelf running round three sides of it many articles of native crockery and earthenware, drinking cups, jars, lamps, &c. were ranged. A mat of reeds, a carpet about as large as a hearth rug, and several pillows or

cushions were on the floor; a large red box, with brass hinges and ornaments served as the wardrobe of the family; the red cradle, a large metal basin and ewer, and a few small coffee cups, on a low stool or stand, of inlaid mother-of-pearl and dark wood, garnished the room; in a deep arched recess, opposite the door, a number of mattresses and wadded quilts were neatly piled up; for in genuine Arab houses no bedsteads are used, and consequently no rooms are set apart expressly for bedrooms; mattresses are spread anywhere, in the various rooms and courts, or on the terraces, according to the season, or to the convenience of the moment; and the beds and bedding are rolled up and put away during the day in recesses made for them. Thus, with a pretty good stock of mattresses and *lehaffs*, a large amount of guests may be entertained any night at a moment's notice. The room was well ventilated by two large square openings, near the ceiling, opposite to each other, one being just above the door, and the other over the recess for the mattresses (Rogers 1862: 47).

The second was a far grander establishment:

Narrow mattresses were ranged all around the chief room of the harem where I was received, and the floor was covered with matting. The ceiling was vaulted, and all the windows, which looked out onto the public places, were blocked up, so that the light only came from the door and the window which opened onto the half-covered private court. Mattresses, pillows, and wadded quilts were piled up in an arched recess, and a thin muslin curtain was drawn in front of it. Two red boxes and a red cradle stood at one end of the room, and a charcoal brazier with all the requisites for making coffee and preparing narghiles were close to the door. A large embroidered camel-hair cloak, and a sword, gun, and spear were hanging against the white cemented walls. Coffee flavoured with ambergris, and delicate sherbet made of almonds and rose-leaves were handed to me (Rogers 1862: 353).

It was not uncommon for women to smoke a hookah or water pipe which Miss Rogers described as 'the Oriental panacea' (Rogers 1862: 285). When the master of the house joined his ladies he was entertained:

The lord of the harem sent word that he would ... enter ... When he appeared the wives and the women servants immediately rose and stood deferentially till he was seated, then as they assumed their seats, they saluted him by touching their foreheads gracefully with their hands. He seemed very kind and gentle to all his family ... His children unconsciously proved to me that they were accustomed to being caressed by him, for they clustered around him lovingly ... (Rogers 1862: 354).

Such salons would serve as living rooms during the day and as bedrooms at night. Miss Rogers spent the night in a harem in the 1850s and was surprised to find that 'all the ladies, and children, and servants, and slaves were to sleep in the same room with me!' She slept on five mattresses piled on top of each other (her brother had once had the honour of sleeping on seven) and others slept on single mattresses on the floor. Two narrow hammocks about a yard long were unrolled and hung in ropes from iron hoops in the ceiling. The hammocks were made of strong palm-frond stems with coarse canvas stretched over them. To these the two swaddled children were strapped and covered with a tent like structure of mosquito net. Miss Rogers was also surprised to be much kissed and the centre of considerable attention during her evening in the harem (Rogers 1862: 230-1).

A slave in the house was afforded an honoured position if he or she were lucky. One Arab city notable claimed that 'When I have money to spare I lay it out on a house, a slave, a diamond, a fine mare or a wife' (Kark 1986: 55) which shows how great an investment a slave could be. This image of buying slaves as a boost to a household is reinforced by the obvious expense of the outfit of the slave described below.

The child was always attended by a laughing, merry-looking African slave girl, gaily dressed in yellow or crimson, with gold coins around her neck, large rings—each a potent protector from magic—on her fingers, bracelets of glass on her black bony arms, and tinkling ornaments round her ankles. She wore at the back of her head a shallow red cloth *tarbouche*, with a long blue silk tassel, secured by a gilt crescent. On the side of her broad nose a fine turquoise appeared. It was set in silver. She greatly admired her young mistress, and seemed to regard her as her especial property, as something very precious, which she delighted to caress, to embellish, and to protect. (Rogers 1862: 381).

Slaves were a feature of Jerusalem households until well into the 20th century, although not all would have had such a fortunate role to play in the daily lives of Jerusalem notables.

Life around the house would begin early. Breakfast may have consisted of a porridge of bread, milk, sugar and oil for the children while the adults ate bread and cream and coffee (Rogers 1862: 234). Tasks around the house were allocated according to wealth, status and sex. The grinding of wheat was, for instance, the job of the humblest and youngest female slave or hired servant, and no male would demean himself to do such degrading work (Canaan 1931: 17). The women of the household would share the jobs around the house such as food preparation, cooking, washing, baking bread or collecting water. For the very privileged women, attending to beauty treatments and the children took up a considerable amount of time. The clement weather meant that for most of the year, within the safety of the walls of the house, people could move freely about their daily tasks from inside to outdoors, taking full advantage of the available daylight.

Only at night was there a need to alleviate the darkness. To do this oil lamps were commonly used. Until around 1880 these were an indispensable utensil in every household. The oil lamps varied in size, shape and the number of wick nozzles. They were known by the name of *sirij*, *dau*, *misba* and *nau'asib*. The first name is the most recent and the last name refers only to the smallest kind, which normally gives only a faint glimmer of light. The wick (*fiila*, *sifafa*) is made of cotton threads or cotton cloth. The oil lamp is normally an oval shallow earthenware vessel with sides turned slightly inwards and pointed at one end. It is either open like a saucer, or its upper surface is closed in, leaving two openings, a large one through which the vessel is filled with oil, and a smaller one for the wick. The simplest lamps have one wick, but there were lamps with several openings from which wicks protrude. Richer peasants used to have metal lamps with several nozzles that were set on a high metal candlestick. Around 1880 the European paraffin lamp (*qandil kaz*) generally took the place of the oil lamp (Canaan 1931: 15-16). Wick-tongs or snuffers were used to extinguish paraffin lamps but were not necessary for oil lamps.

The lamps in guest rooms were customarily kept burning throughout the night to indicate respect and status. Wealthier people too would usually sleep in rooms lit by the flicker of a lamp to keep away the evils of the dark (Neil 1913: 67-76). In villages, lamps were also kept burning all night in the reception rooms (*diwawin*) of the chiefs (Canaan 1931: 23). In the homes of Europeans, Western lamps with glass shades were common in the latter half of the century and when great occasions took place the streets and buildings would be lit with cressets (Rogers 1862: 291). These were iron baskets containing pitched

rope, wood or coal that were burnt for light. Usually, however, people walking through the streets at night carried lanterns (Stewart 1857: 308).

In Jerusalem the lamps would have been predominantly filled with olive oil, while the Bedouin of the desert often used butter to light the lamps as it was more plentiful in their camps. During the First World War when olive oil was scarce, many people used sesame oil (*sirij*) which was cheaper and more readily available but gives off a slightly disagreeable smell. A few grains of salt were often put into the olive oil to improve the light, and, some believed, to cause the wick to absorb the oil more slowly as a matter of economy (Canaan 1931: 16). The oil lamps were raised in an elevated place either on shelves or often on small clay brackets fixed to the wall.

In richer households, or for special occasions, candles (*sami*) were used. They were either *sami nahl* made from beeswax or *sami sahm* made from animal fat. The former were more expensive and highly esteemed and both types were used in candlesticks (*sama dana*), or stuck on a wall bracket.

Keeping warm in winter was also a challenge if the weather was extreme, because the airiness of the apartments made them difficult to heat. Living rooms were heated by burning charcoal in small stoves or stone fireplaces. In 1833 a traveller stressed that the only fuel used in Jerusalem was charcoal bought from the Hebron district, but in fact wood was also bought from that region, carried on camel back, and then carried to individual houses on the heads of women. Fine wood for furniture was imported from Constantinople or Izmir, and building wood too came from abroad (Ben-Arieh 1984: 29).

If an evening party was being held the men would assemble either outside in the courtyard in summer or in the guest house (*madafa*) in winter. In both spaces a large fire was made which, besides giving light and warmth, was used for boiling coffee. The fire would burn brushwood or dried thistles and often in the winter green olive-wood was burnt (Canaan 1931: 16).

Of all the structures in the city it was the domes on the skyline of the city 'that lent Jerusalem its eastern character' (Orelli 1859: 115). Pitched roofs and chimneys were nowhere to be seen in Jerusalem—not on aesthetic grounds, but because there was a shortage of wood for heating and building purposes in the later 19th century. Every house had at least one dome over it, and many had two or three, depending on the number of their rooms. Paxton in the late 1860s believed that domed roofs were built because they afforded greater protection from the rain (Paxton 1939: 134). Robinson on the other hand attributes this type of construction to the shortage of beams needed for the flat roofs (Robinson 1841 1: 327-29). Orelli too attributed this manner of building to the scarcity of wood and the need to prevent rain-water from collecting on roof-

tops. He also noted that these domes insured coolness in summer (Orelli 1859: 111-26).

Roof-tops could also be walked on and were used as outdoor living rooms, particularly on summer evenings and on warm winter days. They often afforded panoramic views of the city and were the scene of considerable social activity (Ben-Arieh 1984: 26). The domed roofs were paved in stone to facilitate water collection from them (Luncz 1876: 17-18), but this practice had the added advantage of making them more useful as living areas and work spaces.

Provision was made on roofs for the curiosity of the inhabitants of the harem. Sections of the parapet walls of the roof were constructed with tiers of staggered earthenware pipes in them 'through which fair dames can look abroad without being seen' (Stewart 1857: 269). These pipes also channelled the breezes to refresh those seated or sleeping on the roof.

These roofs were not designed to withstand the heavy snowfalls to which the city is occasionally subject and sometimes they collapse beneath its weight. In March 1854 'very heavy snow fell and lasted for ten days ...' (Finn 1929: 117) and when 'the snow continued at intervals and it was more than a month before it was melted in the sheltered positions. It had to be shovelled off all the roofs' (Finn 1929: 167) in order to prevent their collapse.

It is interesting to note that Jerusalem had an ice-house as recorded by Mrs Finn:

When the youngest Finn girl got sunstroke in 1862 she had such a high fever that the doctor said: 'The only thing to be done is to send out of town for some snow to apply to her head.' The Greek priest Nikephori had stored away a quantity of snow in a pit in winter. Such a thing had never been done before, but the snow saved our child's life (Finn 1929: 230).

If snow was an inconvenience, rainfall was the life-blood of the city. The water supply was almost entirely dependent on the collection of the winter rainfall which in the years of 1860-66, for example, averaged only 19.86 inches per annum (Wilson and Warren 1871: 20; Chaplin 1883: 8-40).

Almost every private house in Jerusalem of any size had at least one water cistern and some had several. These were excavated in the soft limestone on which the city is built, usually to a depth of between 12-20ft, and were often lined with waterproof plaster (Ben-Arieh 1984: 74). Water was collected in the rainy season in a network of pipes and gutters from the roofs and courtyard floors and stored in the cisterns until needed. The cisterns were often barrel-vaulted with a round opening at the top in the pavement floor. Others were sometimes built up with stonework above, and furnished with a curb and wheel for a bucket, so

that externally they had the appearance of an ordinary well. With proper care the water in the cisterns remained pure and sweet throughout the summer and autumn. In this manner most of the houses and the public buildings were supplied with water in normal years.

Every cistern had to be cleaned once a year and the water collection areas kept free from debris. To this end the roofs and terraces of the houses were well swept, and the water from them made to pass through wire gauze or some simple filtering apparatus before entering the cistern (Wilson and Warren 1871: 22). When they were not kept clean the cisterns were a source of disease. Often cracked linings allowed sewage to seep in and even the rain water itself was frequently dirty and disease-bearing. Animals and rubbish would fall into the cisterns and by the time the next rains arrived the organic content of the water was frequently very high (Ben-Arieh 1984: 93-4).

Because the cisterns of Jerusalem could not supply all the wants of the city, water was brought in considerable quantity during the summer from fountains further afield. The main source was 'Ain Yalu in Wadi al-Wird, several miles south west of Jerusalem. The water was transported in skins on the backs of asses and mules and sold for a trifle for drinking to those who preferred it to cistern water. It was even said that one of the Jerusalem baths was supplied with water in this way during part of the season. A few wells outside the Damascus Gate were popular but contained poor water (Robinson 1841 1: 482). In 1855 most of the wells dried up, causing extreme distress. Even the Well of Job in the Kedron valley fell to a low level and soldiers were put around it to protect the water. The Jews suffered most severely (Finn 1929: 110, 150).

There were also large rainwater collection pools in the city, such as the Birkat al-Mamilla, 700 yards west-north-west of the Jaffa Gate, and the Pool of Hezekiah within the city walls. The latter was built of stones set in cement with steps at the corners. It was 96.3m by 61-66.4m by 5.5m deep. These pools were filled with rainwater in the winter and had dried out by mid-summer (Robinson 1841 1: 484, 352), although it was commonly believed that the Pool of Hezekiah was fed by subterranean conduits from a source outside the city, or a spring. There is also some evidence to suggest that a seasonally-supplied natural spring was used as a source of water near the Haram, and one was known to exist in the house occupied by the French consul in Bezetha during the mid-19th century (Robinson 1856: 245-47). The city was also served by an upper and lower aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, some 11.5km as the crow flies from the Old City. These aqueducts were up to 22km long and crossed the Valley of Hinnon, entering the city at a point north of the south-west corner of the walls (Robinson 1841 1: 390). Once inside the city the aqueduct was linked via channels and ducts to the Haram and various of the other innumerable

water-storage tanks (Robinson 1856: 247).

Even the largest of these reservoirs could fill after heavy rain. 'In this year (1851) the Upper Pool on the West of Jerusalem was quite full of water; such a sight had never been seen before ...' (Finn 1929: 94). That year Solomon's Pools, too, were for the first time full of water (Finn 1929: 97). In 1857 Miss Rogers records after heavy rain in March 'Solomon's pools, which, only a few days before, had been the safe and favourite play-grounds of Meshullam's children, were all quite filled in less than four hours' (Rogers 1862: 291).

This dependence of the city on sporadic rainfall created many serious problems for the inhabitants of the city for the first three-quarters of the century. No less serious were the problems presented by its poor sewage systems. Although there were sewers under the Old City they did not function properly for the first half of the 19th century. It was only at the latter end of the century that the authorities had them cleaned out and established a proper urban sewage system (Ben-Arieh 1984: 90). In 1864 Dr Chaplin wrote that not one house in fifty had its cesspool connected to the ancient drains (Schmelz 1983: 121-26). Only after the heaviest rains was sewage seen to discharge from the mouth of the old sewer in the Valley of Kedron (Ben-Arieh 1984: 90). This sewer was described by Robinson:

A low arch here (at the Dung Gate) forms the present outlet of a large sewer from the city. This was pointed out to us in 1838, as the sewer by which some of the Fellahin, in their siege of Jerusalem in 1834, passed in and got possession of the city. Another large subterranean passage originating above the upper fountain that was followed some 600 feet under the city by Dr Barclay in 1853 was also thought to have been a large sewer but was empty of all contents at that time (Robinson 1856: 250).

In the streets, which were unevenly paved with stones of different sizes, there was often a narrow channel down the centre which served horses and camels for rubbish and sewage. Pedestrians used the upper levels of the street on either side of the sunken channel. The channels were sometimes two feet deep. It was common for sewage to run down street drains and Mr Finn in 1858 complained twice to the Pasha about the open sewer near their house in the Tyropoeon Valley near the Damascus Gate (Blumberg 1980: 281, 283).

Rubbish and excrement left openly on the streets were only part of the health hazard in the city (Hofman 1975: 318). Perhaps a worse problem was the rubbish discarded on open ground around the city. Contemporary

descriptions of the filth abound. To get to the Church of the Knights of St John in 1855, Miss Rogers 'climbed over a dust heap, where vegetables and dead bodies of dogs and cats were rotting, where flies and fleas were regaling themselves, and half-naked, wretched-looking children were playing and munching melon parings'. In the same year she describes the north-east Muslim quarter: 'The patches of open land within the city are, in some places, used as drying-grounds for indigo-dyed linen; while others have become public dust-heaps or dunghills' (Rogers 1862: 26). Rain reacted badly with the rubbish:

... the effects of such floods soaking into the heaps of filth with which the streets abound, and drawn out again in a poisonous miasma by the heat and the sun, may well be conceived to be most injurious to health. Accordingly I found that few who had resided there any length of time had escaped the pernicious effects of fever and ague. During the heat of summer the town becomes so unhealthy that the Europeans are obliged to remove to a distance from it, and selecting some grove of olive trees, to pitch their tents and live under canvas (Stewart 1857: 305).

This rubbish had been accumulating for centuries and Wilson wrote in 1865 that :

Over the whole ground occupied by the present city of Jerusalem there is a large accumulation of rubbish, which attains its maximum in the valley running down from the Damascus to the Dung Gate, where it is not less than 50 to 70 feet deep, and in places more than this. Where the Armenian gardens are situated, near the Citadel, there is from 25 to 30 feet of rubbish, and in other places more or less (Wilson 1865: 56).

On the west of the street leading to the Damascus Gate, where a house had been torn away, and excavations were made for the purpose of laying new foundations. They had dug a hole like a well nearly fifty feet deep; and at this depth had found substructions and an arch (Robinson 1856: 183).

The very poor situation in the city concerning water, sewage, rubbish and the poor and unhygienic living conditions led to considerable health problems for the inhabitants of the city. In 1837 Jerusalem suffered from a cholera epidemic (Gilbert 1985: 10) and in 1838 the city succumbed to the plague and was shut up from 18 May to

the beginning of July (Robinson 1841 1: 369). No one went in or out of the city and fresh provisions were only sold to the inhabitants across a double fence with a gap of some six feet between the inner and outer lines of people (Robinson 1841 2: 320). The city also suffered from the plague in 1839 and 1840 and was shut up during 1839 for the month of March (Robinson 1841 3: 71). This situation was exacerbated because the chronically ill were also contained within the city walls. It was not until 1876 that the leprosy colony, which was situated within the Zion Gate and numbered thirty to forty inmates, was removed in part from its position inside the Old City to the German-run leper colony outside the Jaffa gate. It was not until the end of the century that all lepers were removed from the city (Ben-Arieh 1984: 98-101).

It was no wonder that with such conditions and the lack of medical facilities, the city was disease-ridden and suffered continuously throughout the 19th century from epidemics of cholera, fever, malaria and dysentery (Ben-Arieh 1984: 94-5). The appalling conditions in the city led many to escape its walls for the hot summer months, including the ill-fated Mrs Finn, the wife of the British consul who lived in Jerusalem for fourteen years and lost three children in this time. 'From the month of March onwards we were afflicted by very much illness. Mr Finn was seriously ill and so were all the children, and this lasted until we were able to get away to the tents' (Finn 1929: 178). A solution was found and the family moved to a house in the extreme north-west of the city, close to the city wall. It was elevated and had splendid views from the top floor of the whole country, the Mount of Olives, the Bethlehem Plain and the distant Hebron Mountains (Finn 1929: 186) as described above.

Second Half of the 19th Century

In the latter half of the 19th century a wave of developments was to sweep through the city and these vastly improved living conditions within the walls.

Lynch wrote (1850:16) that 'The Muhammedan rule, that political sirocco, which withers all before it, is fast losing the fierce energy which was its peculiar characteristic, and the world is being gradually prepared for the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.' From the resumption of Ottoman rule in 1840 until the First World War, Jerusalem was governed by a series of *pashas* who at the beginning of this period gave priority to amassing personal wealth and exploiting their power. The situation was, however, to change in the coming decades because of a number of different factors.

During the Crimean War (1853-56) a building boom occurred within the city. Within one decade twenty-four building projects were completed within the walls. By

the end of the 19th century there were around a hundred and forty Christian schools, hospitals and convents inside the walls alone (Schölch 1989: 233). Robinson, who had first visited Jerusalem in 1838, returned in 1852 and recorded his impressions:

The city, like the whole country, had long since reverted to the direct sway of the Sultan; and the various civil and political reforms of the Ottoman Empire had here also been nominally introduced. A powerful foreign influence has been brought in, and was still exerted, by the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric and the other enterprises connected with it. The erection of the Protestant Cathedral on Mount Zion, as part and parcel of the English consulate; the opening of the Jewish consulate on Zion, under the auspices of the English mission; and likewise of the Prussian hospital; the establishment of schools, and the introduction of agricultural labour in connection with them; all had served to increase the circulation of money, and to stimulate the native mind to like efforts. The convents had erected several large buildings, and established schools; and there was a process going on in Jerusalem of tearing down old dwellings and replacing them by new ones ... There were at this time more houses undergoing this transformation in the Holy City, than I had seen the year before in six of the principal cities of Holland. As a natural result, there was more activity in the streets; there were more people in motion, more bustle, and more business (Robinson 1856: 160).

The population of Jerusalem was reckoned to be 11,000 in 1838 (Robinson 1841 2: 85). The city expanded from a population of around 12,000-14,000 people in 1840, to 18,000-20,000 in 1860, 30,000 in 1880, 40,000 in 1890 and 65,500 in 1922 (Ben-Arieh 1975: 53). The city grew from 699 *dunums* in 1841 (a *dunum* is a third of an acre), largely within the walls, to 4,130 *dunums* in 1917, of which over three-quarters were outside the Old City (Kark 1986: 46). As the Ottoman authorities placed increasing importance on Palestine during the course of the 19th century, Jerusalem emerged as a provincial capital with a privileged status. By the end of the Ottoman period in 1917, Jerusalem was a main urban centre in the region.

The power of the *pashas* from the middle of the 19th century onwards was gradually weakened as they were deprived of the authority to inflict capital punishment, and

they themselves could be tried and punished for abuse of power. They were appointed for limited periods of time, often only a year, and the *mulla* who also acted as chief judge or *qadi* in the city also served only a three-year term. Ottoman officials also began to be assisted in city administration by the city council (*majlis*) which was composed of 14 elected members from the leaders of the different communities in the city (Ben-Arieh 1984: 113).

As a result of the Ottoman reforms undertaken after the Crimean War (1855-56) significant changes occurred in the political and administrative structure of the city. In 1858 all the houses in Jerusalem were numbered in large Arabic numerals and recorded with the name of their owners and occupiers (Rogers 1862: 385). In 1863 the first municipal institution was formed, the Baladiyya al-Quds. It was a small establishment at first, consisting of six members and a mayor and deputy mayor, with a consultant physician and an engineer with wide-ranging powers to build and to demolish, to supervise roads, services, health, safety, and public records, and to levy some taxes like those on carriage drivers. This institution gradually gained more responsibility, taking over more duties including jurisdiction over the city treasurer and police. The municipality instituted many improvements including the building of clinics, hospitals, theatres, museums and parks. The increasing activity of the municipality highlighted the previous inactivity of the Ottoman regime which had very little interest in the development of Jerusalem (Ben-Arieh 1984: 122-24).

The growth of the population and the size and political influence of Jerusalem in the latter quarter of the century were closely dependent on the enormous growth of economic activity in the city. This was a direct result of the liberalisation of policies under the later Ottoman administration and the influx of three categories of newcomers into the city—Christian and Jewish immigrants from Europe and some from America; Arab (Christian and Muslim) and Jewish immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa; and Arabs and Jews from towns and villages in Palestine (Kark 1986: 50).

In 1856 Barclay noted the great increase in the Russian presence in Jerusalem. After the Crimean War, the Turks were seeking closer relations with the Russians, who were pouring gold into Jerusalem (Barclay 1856 2: 164). By 1864 the Russians had built a complete compound that included three hospices for pilgrims, a hospital, a consulate building and a cathedral to which they later added a bishop's palace in 1879 (Ben-Arieh 1986: 73). The wealth that such institutions brought was reflected in the fact that from the late 1860s houses in the city were being enlarged and new ones were being built within the walls (Schölch 1989: 234).

While agricultural and industrial activity did not increase appreciably in the region (Baer 1975: 495), some

industries—like the tanneries and slaughter-houses which had been inside the city—were relocated outside the walls in 1880 (Ben-Arieh 1984: 98-101). Other important industries within the city walls were soap production (particularly in the first half of the 19th century—Cohen 1989: 61-89), and silk production. The latter experiment had been begun in the 1840s and 1850s but was abandoned in the 1860s (Schölch 1989: 235). There was also a small dyeing industry which produced the indigo blue used for the garments of the peasantry, and a cottage industry for the embroidery of jackets (Finn 1929: 53), as well as the well-established sesame processing industry (Dalman 1964 3: 239).

Transport greatly improved in the latter half of the 19th century. In 1867 the Ottoman authorities began work on the first carriage road between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and by 1868 this was completed (Kark 1990: 46-73). Then in 1892 the Jaffa to Jerusalem railway was inaugurated (Elath 1975: 415-22). Both of these developments encouraged the stream of pilgrims who yearly grew in number (Ben-Arieh 1986: 368-69). In 1870 there were already between 10,000 and 20,000 pilgrims a year visiting the city and by 1910 this figure had reached 40,000. The Ottoman administration also built a network of roads linking Jerusalem to other towns in central and southern Palestine, further encouraging pilgrim travel in the Holy Land (Schölch 1989: 237). Only at the beginning of the 20th century was a diligence service introduced between neighbouring towns. Horses and camel trains remained the usual means of transport (Baer 1975: 497). The Transjordan railway, which had been built by a German named Meissener and opened in 1904 (Pick 1990: 193), brought a new era of international trade to the whole region.

As a result of the improved economy and transport facilities in the city, the import of goods increased from the 1860s. These consisted in the main of building products, cotton goods, flour, sugar, coffee, rice and tobacco, and the availability of different products in the shops increased. Exports from the city included oranges, soap, sesame and wines.

The improved transport systems also benefited the building industry, and new techniques were introduced from abroad. In 1883 a member of the American Colony noted:

There are at the present time more than one hundred buildings going up, all of stone, and most of them carefully cut stone. The new method is to use iron girders to support the ceiling. This is then covered with French tiles instead of the older more picturesque dome roof (Vester 1988: 77).

The building boom in the city from the middle of the century onwards in turn benefited the surrounding towns and villages. There was full employment for lime-burners and quarry-men and long lines of camels could be seen approaching Jerusalem with heavy loads of lime and stones. In the early 1890s, around three hundred and fifty skilled building craftsmen were counted amongst the seven hundred and twenty-nine artisans, traders and entrepreneurs in Bethlehem, most of whom worked predominantly in Jerusalem (Schölch 1989: 235).

In 1891 the extent of the building boom in Palestine was reflected by the fact that for the first time building materials were included in the top three imports through the port of Jaffa. No less than 61,500 tons of timber were imported and 28,000 tons of iron. Timber also figures as one of the top three imports in the years 1892, 1893, 1911 and 1912 (Gilbar 1990: 196).

There remained, however, one perennial problem—the scarcity of land within the city on which to build (Layish 1975: 530). The plots on which Jerusalem's houses were built may be categorised mainly as: *mulk* (freehold), *miri* (absolute ownership by the state) or *waqf* land, that is, land that belonging to a Muslim religious foundation. Within the old city walls much land belonged to a *waqf* and could not be sold or converted into private property except in exceptional cases where other plots were offered in exchange. The purchase of *mulk* land was also difficult, as it was divided among many different owners as a result of Muslim inheritance law. The policy of the Ottoman regime with regard to *miri* lands was inconsistent and in some cases these lands were given as gifts (Kark 1991: 18-19; Layish 1975: 530).

Most of the built-up land in Jerusalem, including the sites of mosques, monasteries and public buildings, was *waqf* endowed, administered by the Muslim religious endowment foundation, or by pious foundations of the various community groups. There was comparatively little land that was privately owned. If a landowner died without a male heir, his land became the property of the community (Ben-Arieh 1984: 121) although in some instances women could be the inheritors of parts of the estate, or controllers of the estate (Layish 1975: 530). The problem, however, does not seem significantly to have slowed the rate of development within the city until 1907, when a law was passed prohibiting the construction and enlarging of homes, or the addition of storeys without a permit (Ben-Arieh 1984: 125). This was tantamount to the first planning restrictions in the Old City, and was possibly the result of the shortage of available space for development after over half a century's building expansion.

With these developments came considerable improvements in the daily life of the city. By 1880 no longer were the gates of towns shut at sundown, which brought to an end the obstruction of trade and the

imprisonment of inhabitants within the walls. In Jerusalem the sanitary department was put in the charge of a German physician, and building affairs in the hands of a German architect. In the 1880s the decision was taken to supervise sanitation, dig new sewers and repair and pave the city streets. This work was accomplished by the mid-1890s (Ben-Arieh 1984: 124). The paving of streets and the installation of a sewage system started in the 1870s, and the sewage system was expanded continuously until 1914. One great change was that in 1882 all the rubbish was being accumulated in the Pool of Bethesda, which was then filled in and planted as a public garden. By that date already a large portion at the east end had been levelled (*PEFQS* 1882: 3).

The water supply remained one of the major concerns of the municipality. From the 1890s the streets were sprinkled with water—at least during periods when dust became too much of an annoyance. Public conveniences were built and a regular garbage collection was introduced (Schölch 1989: 240). It was not, however, until 1926 that Jerusalem was provided with a pumped water supply—at a cost of £63,000 to the government of Palestine. It was supplied with water from 'Ain Farrah, a copious spring to the north-east of the city. Some years later a larger source was tapped at Ras al-'Ain near the coast and pumped up the 2,700 feet to supply the growing city (Vester 1988: 207).

In the 1850s Lucifer matches arrived in the city (Stewart 1857: 281) and these proved to be only the first of many advances in lighting. From the 1890s thousands of kerosene lamps were installed to light the streets of the Old City, as well as in the houses. These lamps were first imported from across the Atlantic but later came in from the Black Sea port of Batum. The new oil, kerosene, was introduced in 1866/7 and was more refined than olive oil. It burned without fumes or soot and so was better for domestic use (Ben-Arieh 1986: 407); moreover it was two-and-a-half to three times cheaper than edible olive oil (Avitsur 1975: 490).

It was not until the Ottoman period had ended, after the First World War, that the lux light, a pressure lamp, became widely used. In the years before the war plans were discussed to introduce electricity to the city (Schölch 1989: 240) but it was not until the 1920s that an electricity supply finally arrived in the city. In HM Report of 1925 there is no account of the use of electricity in

Jerusalem although the activities of the Jaffa Electric Company and the Palestine Electric Corporation in Haifa and Tiberias are documented (HM Report 1925: 47). By 1927 it was reported that 'Many temporary permits for small plants were granted in Jerusalem and several quarters are now lit by electricity' (HM Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan 1927: 64). By contrast, Damascus and Beirut had been supplied with electricity for tramways and lights by the end of the Ottoman period in 1915 (Baer 1975: 496).

There were a few disadvantages to the development of the city. As the population of the city increased rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century, fuel for burning became more difficult to procure. Mrs Finn wrote in the early 1860s that there was a great scarcity of charcoal in Jerusalem; this was the only fuel used for cooking purposes, or even for warmth, in most houses.

We always burnt wood which the peasantry brought in, blocks of olive wood, or roots still found in the ground on the mountains from great old oak trees. These roots had great solid knobs of wood and formed splendid fuel; I have known a tree root to furnish nine camel loads of wood. For the ovens they bring in sticks of brushwood and in the summer wild flowers and plants (Finn 1929: 177).

The Europeanisation of the city continued apace.

European clothing is now common both with men and women, and many of the latter may be seen dressed in the latest Paris fashions ... Even the red fez is not obligatory on non-Mussulman Government servants. European furniture, chairs, sofas and tables, are now common (*PEFQS* 1880: 187-88).

However, when considered as a whole, perhaps a small degree of Europeanisation was a low price to pay for the liberation of the city and the lives of its inhabitants from the meagre and unhealthy conditions that existed within its walls in the early decades of the century, under the indolent eyes of its Ottoman rulers.

APPENDIX 25.1

BAIT MAMLUK

(figs. 25.1-25.5, pls. 25.1-25.6)

The Bait Mamluk occupies one of the most fortunate positions in the Old City of Jerusalem. It is situated on the corner of Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan—which leads down to the main square in front of Damascus Gate—and a small alley leading up to Tariq Bab al-'Amud. The house stands in an elevated position 2,489 feet above sea level, some 178 feet above the houses in the valley of the Bab al-'Amud district to the west. Directly to the south of Bait Mamluk is the site of the residence of the British consul from 1858. The advantages of the location with its fine view and fresh, healthy air was dwelt on in some detail in her diary of the period by Mrs Finn, the wife of the then consul. The location of the house was included in the British Ordnance Survey map of 1865, which shows the position of the bridge rooms over al-Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan.

Over the entrance to the house is an imposing vaulted arch within which an unglazed ornate metal fanlight is surrounded by a stone moulding with a zigzag pattern. On each side of the entrance there is a bench or *mastaba*, some 75cm in height. The door itself is made of metal and in the upper left hand corner there is a slit for mail which appears to have been made at the same time as the door.

This door opens onto a narrow hall with stairs leading directly off it to the right. Opposite the front door there is a second opening onto what now appears to be a corridor, but this is obscured from view. A timber screen has been erected opposite the main door and at present this whole area is used for storage. A vaulted room to the right has two doors leading out of it in the south-eastern corner. These rooms were probably originally used for animals and storage. The household refuse is left on collection days at the base of the staircase immediately inside the front door against the wall, from where it is collected.

The stairs lead up to an asymmetrical courtyard. In its centre there is a stone pedestal basin which now contains plants, but which was originally used as a water basin. Off this courtyard are situated the main domestic quarters of the house. They feature the three different zones which are typical of the larger houses in Jerusalem. The first zone is that of the *salamlik*, the public rooms used by the male members of the family to entertain; this zone in the Bait Mamluk is situated to the south of the court in the bridge rooms (*qantara*). The second zone contains the private living rooms of the family or *haramlik*, with different rooms for each of the men of the family, their wives and their children, or for each different wife of the owner of the house. The main family rooms are to the west of the courtyard and are on two floors. The third zone comprises the domestic quarters—kitchen, store-rooms, servants' rooms and bathrooms. These are all situated to the north and east of the courtyard. To the east of the first floor of the bridge are two closed rooms which we were unable to survey but their favourable location with an aspect to the east and breezes from the valley would have made them pleasant; probably they acted as living rooms for the family as well as for guests.

The bridge rooms predate 1865 when, as already stated, they are shown on the British survey map of the city. In the centre of the first floor of the bridge, a corridor leads from the courtyard to a dog-legged flight of stairs which gives onto an open courtyard on the second floor. This in turn is surrounded by parapet walls

and has a single large room to the west. In the northern parapet wall of this upper courtyard, above the apex of the corridor arch, there is a small window which provides a view of the lower court from the roof. An upper section of this wall was built as a later addition; this includes a triangular construction of ceramic tubes which allows air movement through the parapet wall, whilst maintaining privacy for the women seated or sleeping on the roof or in the courtyard below.

The single room leading off this upper court is the second floor bridge room. The door into it is framed by a fine arch supported by well-formed pillars with simple capitals. The walls of the room have deeply recessed cupboards and windows. Its ceiling consists of a single dome at the apex of which there is a single six-sided star surrounded by similarly-sized stars located on the flanks of the dome.

On the east side of the first floor of the bridge there are two doors for rooms. There were no keys for these at the time of the survey. Opposite these there is the lower guest room of the bridge. The door of this room has a simple architrave, indicating that it is of lower status than the room above. This would make sense, for the room above would have not only the finer view but would, in all but the hottest times of the year, be more comfortable, for it is exposed to the winds and open to the winter sunshine. When the weather was very hot, this upper room would be less comfortable than the room below, for its four walls and roof are exposed to the heat and a high level of solar reflection from the terrace floor to the east. In such weather the first floor bridge room would be the more comfortable, for—while still exposed to any breeze there is from the cooler valley—it is shaded from the worst of the sunlight by the building above.

The floor area of the first floor room is identical to that above, although the window and cupboard arrangements vary considerably. The ceiling of this room is constructed of two vaults of different sizes but the same height. This double vault was necessary because the floor above must have been built at the same time, and the headroom necessary to build a single dome over the space—available on the floor above—was lacking. The elegance of the design and the skill of the builder is indicated by the position of the windows in both rooms in relation to the resolution of the downward force of the arches, the roof construction in both rooms, the external street elevation and issues of natural lighting. The gracious proportions of the room within are enhanced by a pair of traditional Jerusalem arches, which are—typically—crowned with a single circular vent below the apex of the conjoining arch.

It is interesting to note that, in the two main bridge rooms, there are fairly large windows which also face onto the courtyard in which the ladies and servants of the house would have moved and sat. As with the Via Dolorosa, there appear to have been lines of sight from the *salamlik* to the *haramlik*, unless curtains were used, or the ladies were confined to their quarters because male visitors were in the house.

The other main rooms accessible from the courtyard are the large living rooms to the west of the court. The lower floor of these two rooms has a double-vaulted ceiling and, to judge by the thickness and use of recesses and windows, this may well be contemporary with the bridge rooms. The room above it, however, which is reached via an antechamber and steps to its east, appears to be of a later period. The walls are much narrower, and its windows, including the *mashrabiyya*, are in a later Ottoman style—but the give-away detail lies in its ceiling. This flat timber ceiling is built in an identical style to that in one of the

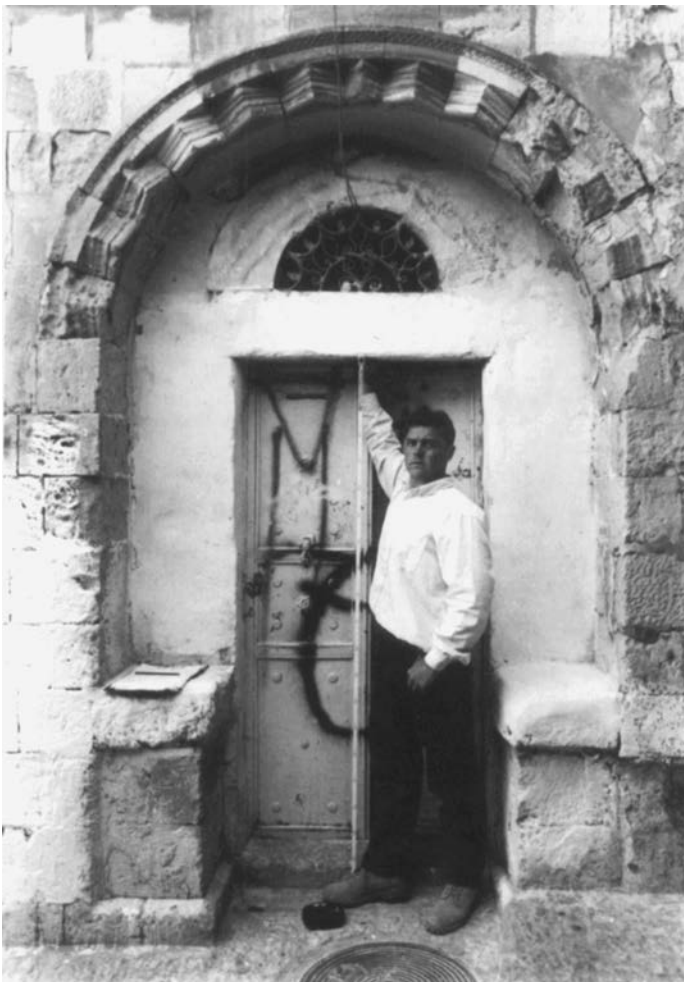
grand rooms at the American Colony Hotel, which can be dated to post-1870. It thus appears that around 1875-1880, during the great building boom in the city, a second floor was added to Bait Mamluk. At the same time the windows in the room below were replaced to match those above. This would explain why the window proportions on the courtyard façade are dissimilar to those of the bridge rooms, and why the style of the *mashrabiyyas* is unique. These two western rooms off the court are now used as family rooms.

The other quarters of the house have more humble proportions. The hall and three rooms to the east of the house are a suite of family rooms, as are the two rooms in front of them. The WC is to the west, in the centre of the house. On the eastern corner of the courtyard there is a small domed room, which appears to have quite a complex history. No wall in this room is straight. The walls contain a number of niches sunk into the thickness of the wall. It has high-level windows which not only allow light into the room, but also ensure that hot air rising in the room can easily escape. Originally this may not have been used as a living room as it is today. There is a rough door cut through the north wall of the room into a small room, which has a floor raised two steps above the adjacent corridor to the west, to which it is

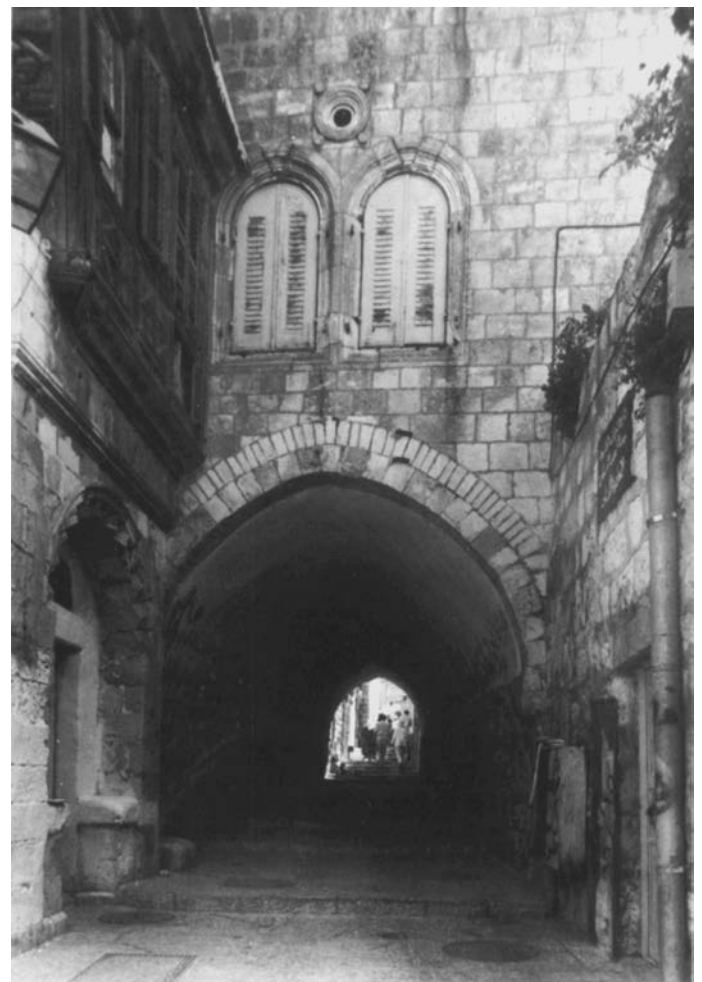
linked by a well-formed door. The doors indicate that originally this small room was not linked to the room to the east, but was entered from the corridor. Originally it may have functioned as a kitchen.

To the east of the courtyard is located a second well-proportioned room which is now kept locked. It was apparently a store-room, and served also as a room where the household slaves lived until the 1920s, when they were granted freedom from servitude. The locked rooms in the house result from the inheritance practices in the city, whereby a number of children can inherit a property and retain their rooms whilst living elsewhere.

Rainwater is collected from the roof of this most easterly room and feeds through a basin-like feature to the south east of the courtyard into a water cistern below. The actual well-head of this cistern is in the north of the courtyard and is raised some 1.20m above the floor of the court. Attached to the wall nearby is a hinged triangular metal arm which can be swung over the well-head, and to which a rope and bucket are attached so that the water can be drawn when required. A single step has been constructed on the west side of the well-head to make drawing water easier for shorter people.



Pl. 25.1 Main street door of Bait Mamluk, Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan, Jerusalem.



Pl. 25.2 First floor window with a timber shutter, situated above the main door of Bait Mamluk.



Pl. 25.3 Detail of the decorated rectangular feature in the centre of the ceiling, dating to c. 1870, in Bait Mamluk.



Pl. 25.4 Detail of the triple border of the timber ceiling, dating to c. 1870, in Bait Mamluk.



Pl. 25.5 Windows of the lower bridge room (*qantara*) of Bait Mamluk.

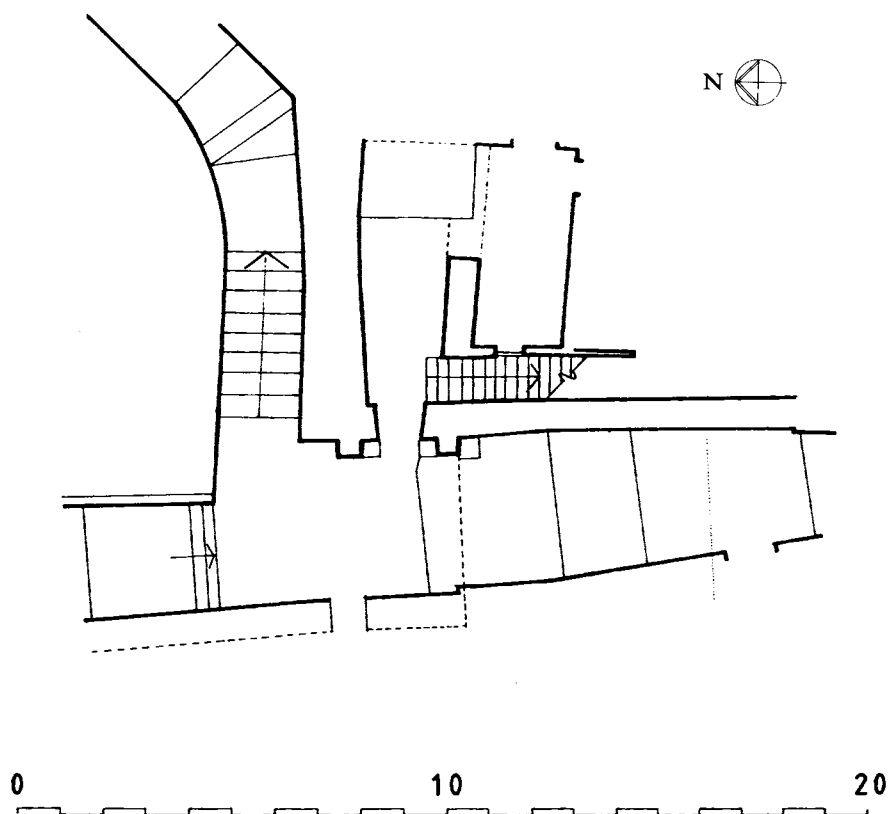


Fig. 25.1 Ground plan of Bait Mamluk, Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan, Jerusalem. The survey was conducted by a team from Oxford Brookes University in the summer of 1993, with the help of the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Administration of Waqfs.

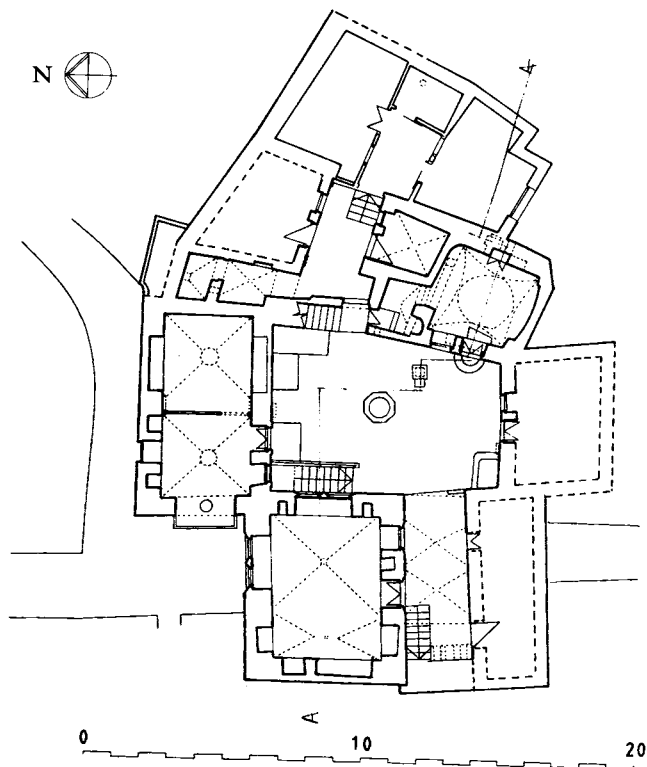


Fig. 25.2 First floor plan of Bait Mamluk, Tariq al-Shaikh Rihan, Jerusalem.



Pl. 25.6 The roof of the upper room of Bait Mamluk, constructed in c. 1870, showing the ventilated parapet walls.



Pl. 25.7 The sesame mill grindstones.

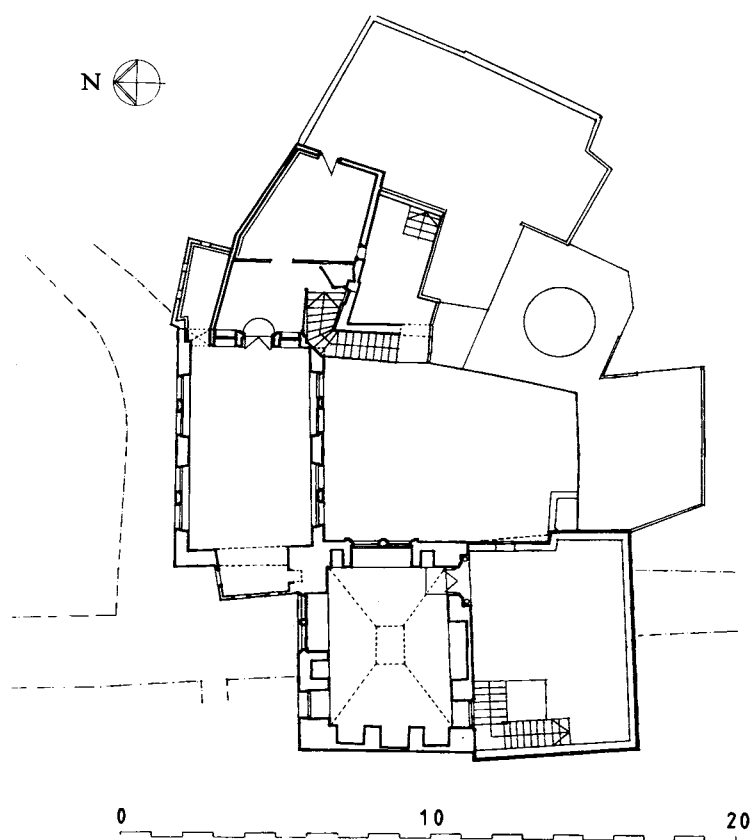


Fig. 25.3 Second floor plan of Bait Mamluk.

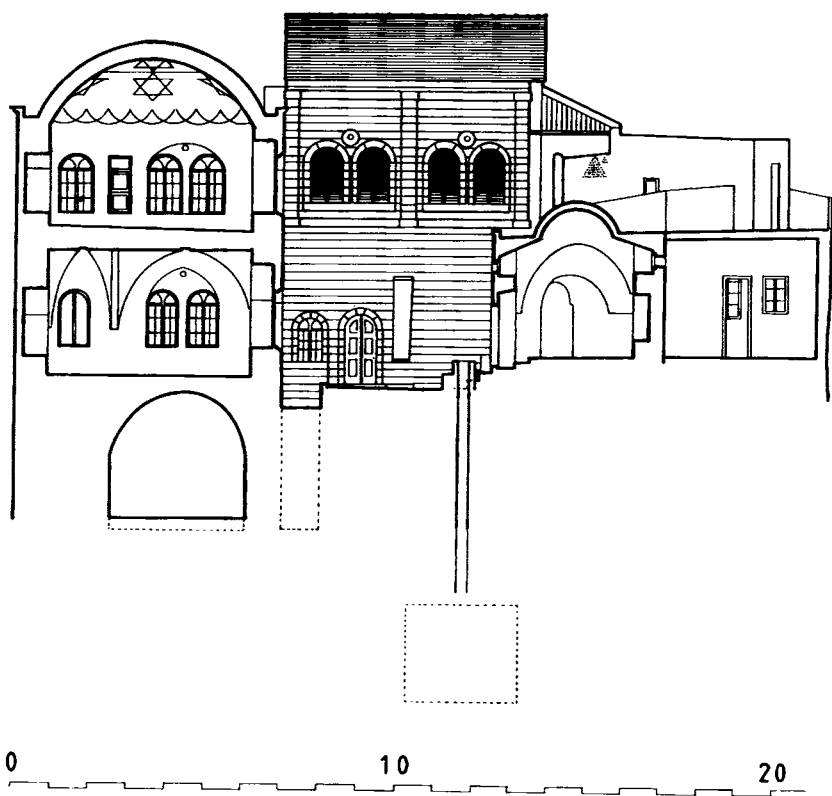


Fig. 25.4 Section of Bait Mamluk.

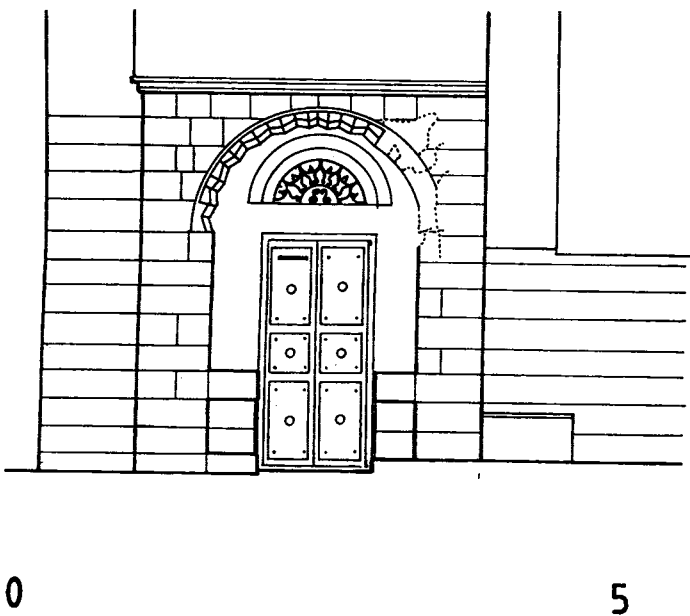


Fig. 25.5 Elevation of the main street door of Bait Mamluk.

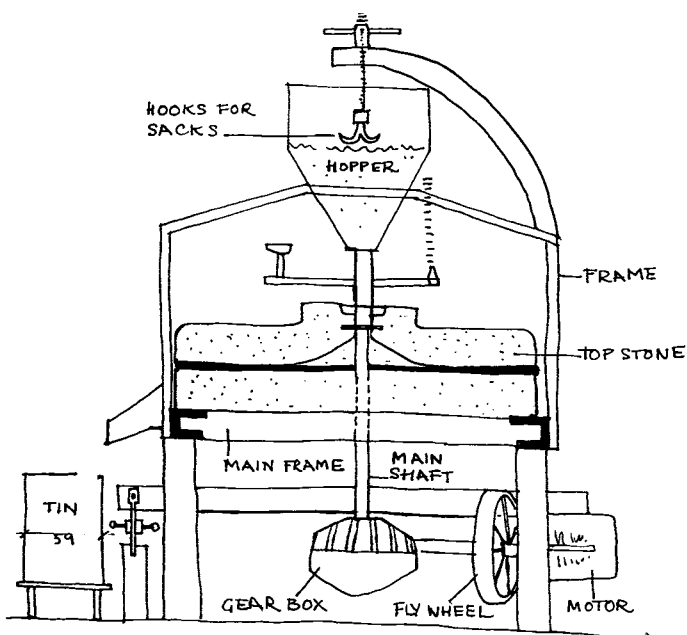


Fig. 25.7 Sketch of the millstone in its supporting frame.

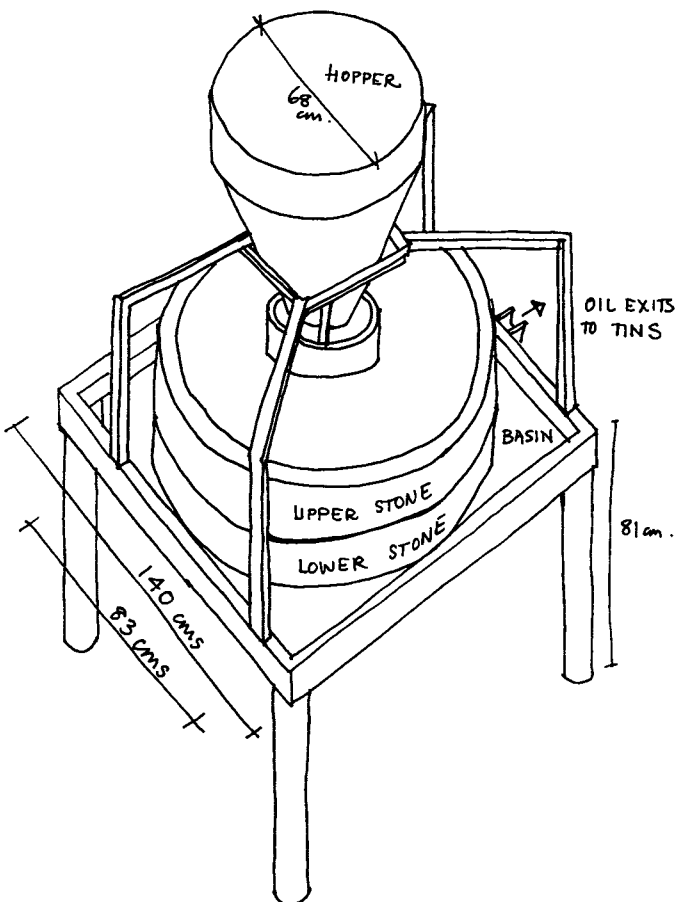


Fig. 25.6 Sketch elevation of the millstone.

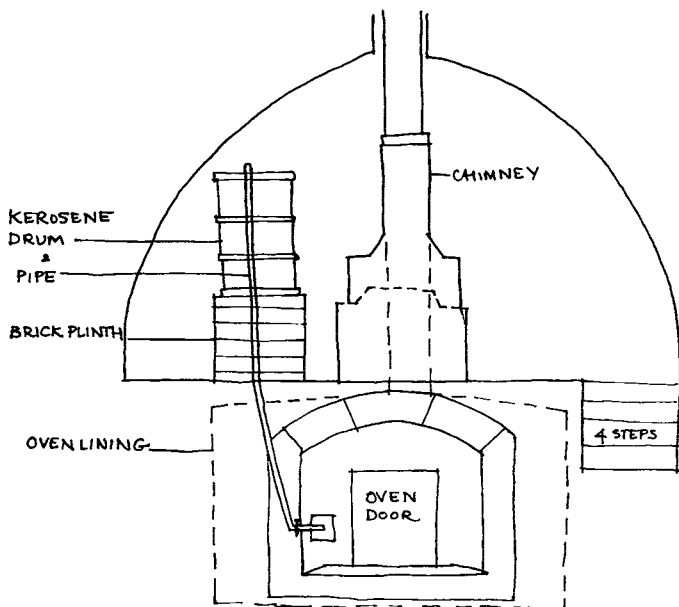


Fig. 25.8 Sketch elevation of the sesame oven.

APPENDIX 25.2

SESAME MILL

(figs. 25.6-25.10, pl. 25.7)

The building is located to the north of al-Harat al-Maidan at an elevation of 2,488 feet above sea level. It is situated behind a pair of shops facing south onto the street. One of these shops retails the sesame oil. The main hall of the sesame mill is approximately 12.5m long by 8m wide and 4.5m high. The space is lit by three high windows, and now by strip neon lighting. The mill hall was originally divided into six bays, each with a cross-vaulted arch. The south-east bay, however, has now been walled off to form a separate store-room.

The raw sesame seed is delivered in nylon bags (*kis*) into the mill hall via a double timber door in the east wall. The seed is then stored in a store-room to the south of these doors until it is required for processing. The oven is located in the western half of the north wall of the mill hall in a cross-vaulted room. The second processing hall is situated to the south-west of the main hall in which the separation process is carried out.

The method used for the processing of the sesame seed consists of seven stages. The majority of the processes appear to have been undertaken by a single operator.¹

1. The sesame seeds are soaked to loosen the husks (*khasharhu*).

¹ In the local Arabic terms quoted below the transliteration is intended only to approximate the sounds.

2. The seeds are then placed in the husker, where they are stirred to separate the husks from the seed.

3. The seeds are then scooped up in a *juni* (*ufi*) or shallow woven basket, and placed in water-filled basins (*haud*) which are c.1-1.5m high and roughly of the same proportions in cross section. In these basins, the inner seed (*lub*) is washed and any remaining husks are removed. The seeds may be washed three or four times in succession to ensure that they are completely clean and well-soaked.

4. The seeds are then drained by lifting them out of the water and transporting them in water-permeable woven baskets and placed in the oven (*firm*), which is heated by burning kerosene taken from a 50-gallon drum above the oven.

5. After part-roasting, the seeds are removed from the oven and placed in a walled bin to the west of the oven, where they are raked and cooled.

6. Once cool, the part-roasted seeds are scooped into the hoppers (*makhan*) above the mill-stones (*hajar siwan* or *hagar*) and are then ground. During the roasting process, not all the water is removed from the sesame because the grinding process results in a relatively liquid paste which runs out from between the stones. This sesame paste (*tahini*) is collected and stored in tins (*tanaki*). This paste is either sold as it is or it is further refined.

7. If pure sesame oil is required, this paste is then poured into the separator (*ahjani*), in which a motorised arm stirs the paste gently until the pure oil (*sijij*) rises to the top, leaving a thicker paste below. The oil is then placed in a ceramic bowl in the shop in front of the mill. This bowl is 1.2m deep, set into the shop counter (*jurum*). The oil is sold out of it in pots or containers brought by the customers, weighed out on scales (*mizan*?) on the sales counter.

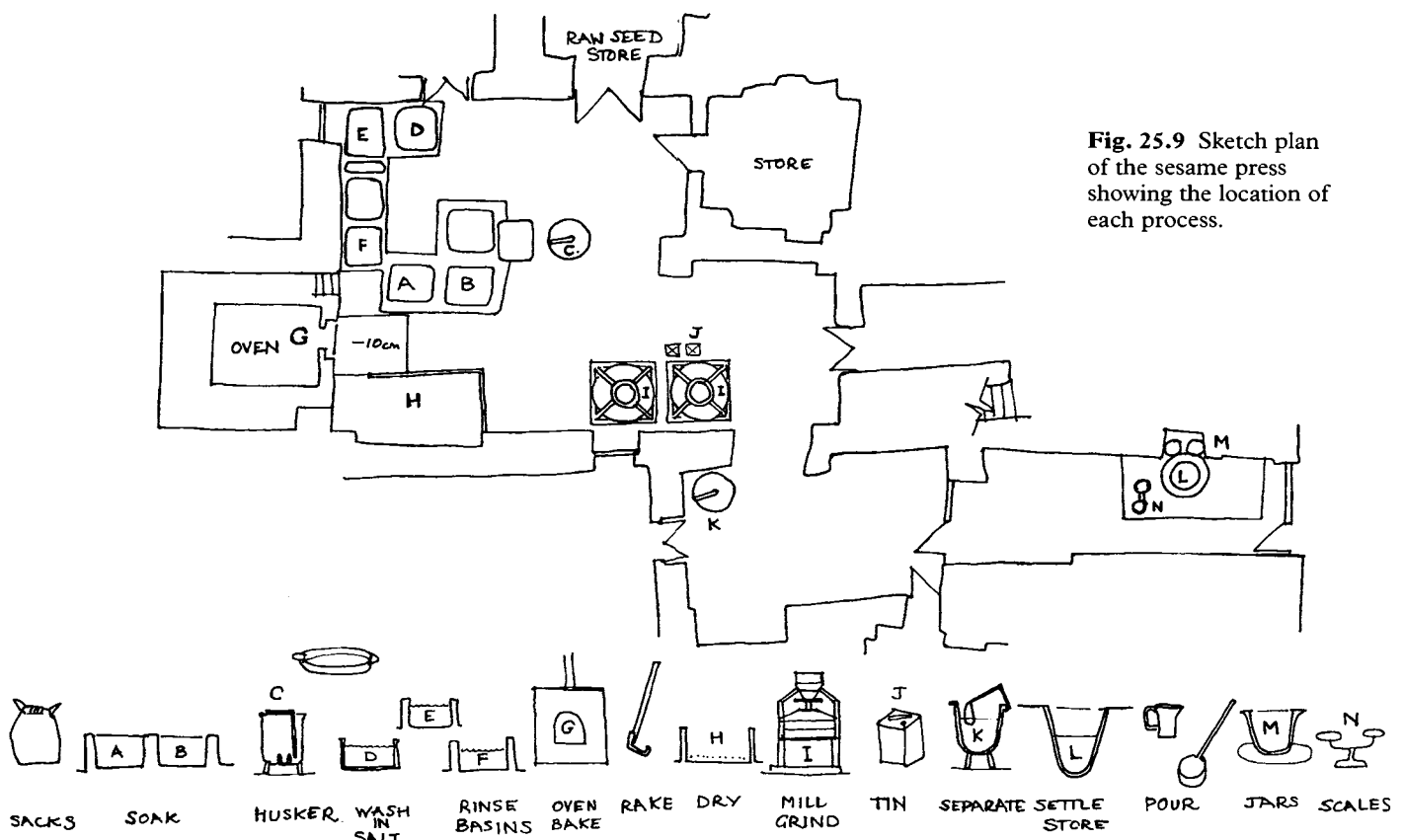


Fig. 25.9 Sketch plan of the sesame press showing the location of each process.

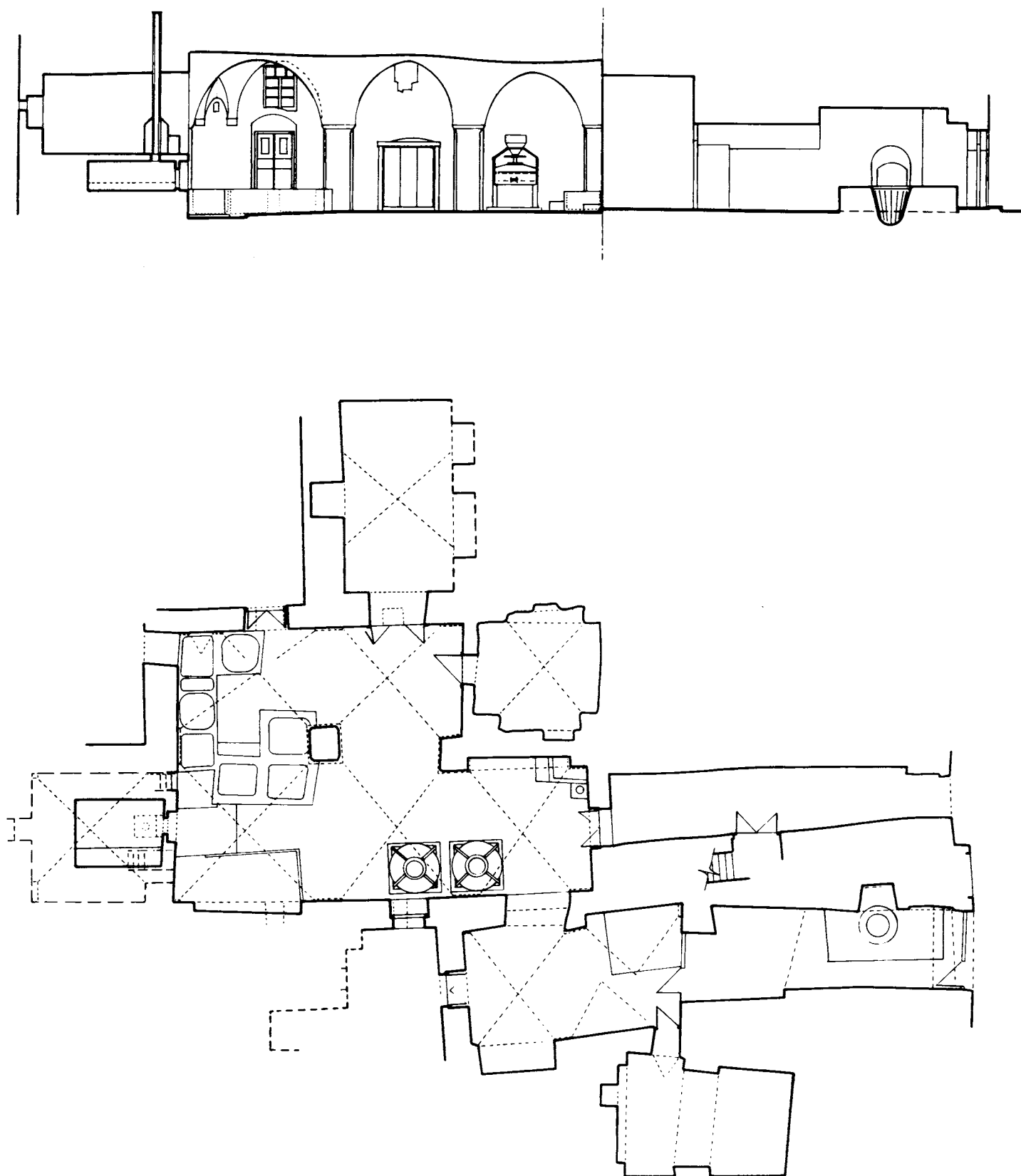


Fig. 25.10 Plan and elevation of sesame mill complex.

APPENDIX 25.3

A TYPICAL JERUSALEM HAUSH

(figs. 25.11-25.14)

The *haush* complex described here is situated at an elevation of 2,415 feet above sea level, in an alley to the north of Tariq Bab al-Hadid in the Harat Bab al-Silsila neighbourhood. The alley is virtually in the same form today as it was when it was recorded on the British Ordnance Survey map of 1865. The alley leads to seven houses, of which six were recorded by the student team from the Oxford Brookes University in 1994, funded by special grants from the British Academy and The World of Islam Festival Trust. The house on the extreme south-east corner of the alley had already been surveyed previously by the team from the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for the publication *Mamluk Jerusalem*. In the south west of the alley lies an area of rubble where two houses stood until destroyed by a bomb in the 1976 war. The date of the houses is impossible to determine, but each of them shows evidence of continual growth and adaptation over a very long period—certainly many centuries. Each house now has more than one family living in it, although in several of them the current occupiers claim to be descendants of earlier owners of the building. The laws of inheritance in the Old City are complex and are based on a system of sub-division in which successive descendants inherit proportions of a property according to *shari'a* law.

The system of extending homes appears to work in piecemeal fashion and is often hazardous. In many areas of the plans there are very small tolerances between the back of one niche and the beginning of another in the house next door. Two instances were reported where an energetic occupant had taken a hammer to a wall and gone through it into an adjacent room of the neighbouring house.

Each of the houses follows a similar pattern. At the level of the alley, narrow entrances lead into a hall, corridor or courtyard. Off these spaces are located the monolithically-walled, poorly-lit and ill-ventilated rooms which may originally have been used for animals, storage, service rooms and servants. These ground floor rooms are typically covered with a rough barrel- or cross-vaulted ceiling. A number of the rooms have light-wells running through the ceiling into the floor of the courtyard above to provide them with some light and fresh air. The need for extensive storage space is demonstrated by the fact that, on a number of occasions in the 19th century, the city was quarantined within its walls for several months because of contagious diseases. The decision to do so was taken on the spur of the moment in order to prevent the health hazard spreading beyond the city limits. Equally, in times of civil unrest or war there would have been a need for plentiful supplies in store.

A narrow stair links these ground-floor areas with the rooms of the first floor. These rooms were used as family living spaces and also, in some cases, for entertaining. In some of the larger houses it is possible to see that there may once have been separate flights of stairs for men and their women and children, while in other houses anyone entering the upper floors would

have shared a single stairway. These arrangements shed much light on the houses and society of pre-modern Jerusalem. Clearly this was not a city of great wealth. The more affluent cities of the Near and Middle East—such as Baghdad, Damascus and Isfahan—would, in the 19th century, have had sufficient space in the houses to allow for dual entry to ensure complete separation of guests and members of the family. Moreover, space within the city was at a premium, for it was not until the 1860s, probably at least a thousand years after this quarter of the city was first settled, that housing spread to any extent beyond the city walls. Thirdly, it suggests that there was a certain freedom or ease of relationship between the sexes that did not exist in many other Middle Eastern cities, where the separation of the sexes was achieved in numerous ways in the local architecture, and remained absolute. In more recent years at least, the separation of the sexes in Jerusalem would have been achieved by arrangement rather than by design.

It is noticeable, however, despite the previous statement, that the largest and finest of the houses to the very west of the *haush* probably also had, as a second courtyard, the space occupied by the first-floor courtyard dwelling to its southeast. Evidence for this rests on a number of features. The barrel-vaulted basement store-rooms for both houses are very similar in proportion and construction. The vaults of the first-floor rooms that surround the first-floor courts are also very similar. The exception is the room above the alley, which has more ornate vaulting and is likely to have been a later addition. This provides a tool by which to judge the dates of the other vaulted rooms in the *haush*. Those with simpler cross vaults are probably earlier than those with more elaborate vaulting.

This would mean that the original house, entered through double gates, would have included the original entrance of the house to the east after the first gate, and the gate-keeper's rooms after the second gate. The extensive store-rooms were in the basement below the ground floor of the houses. To the north, at ground-floor level of the west court, the stables were probably located, and these needed no steps to enter them. The east court may have been the area for the servants or possibly for the *haramlik*, while to the west the courtyard had a wide, pleasant terrace in front of the north-facing summer rooms. To the north of the court, the south-facing winter room had a larger than usual window to catch the low winter sun, and its west walls were exposed to the sun by means of a terrace to the west of the room. The room to the east of this court on the first floor does not appear to be original, as it is built across the original arches of the south-facing façade of the court. This upper room would have been open to the cross breezes which are particularly delightful in the spring and autumn months.

Thus, embedded within the confines of this *haush*, there is a large and important house apparently of the medieval period—though it must be admitted that methods for dating such structures have yet to be established. From the nature of the vaulted roofs surveyed to the east of it along the alley of the *haush*, it is possible to deduce that this fine house predated the other rooms of the other houses on the upper floors surveyed by the Oxford Brookes team.

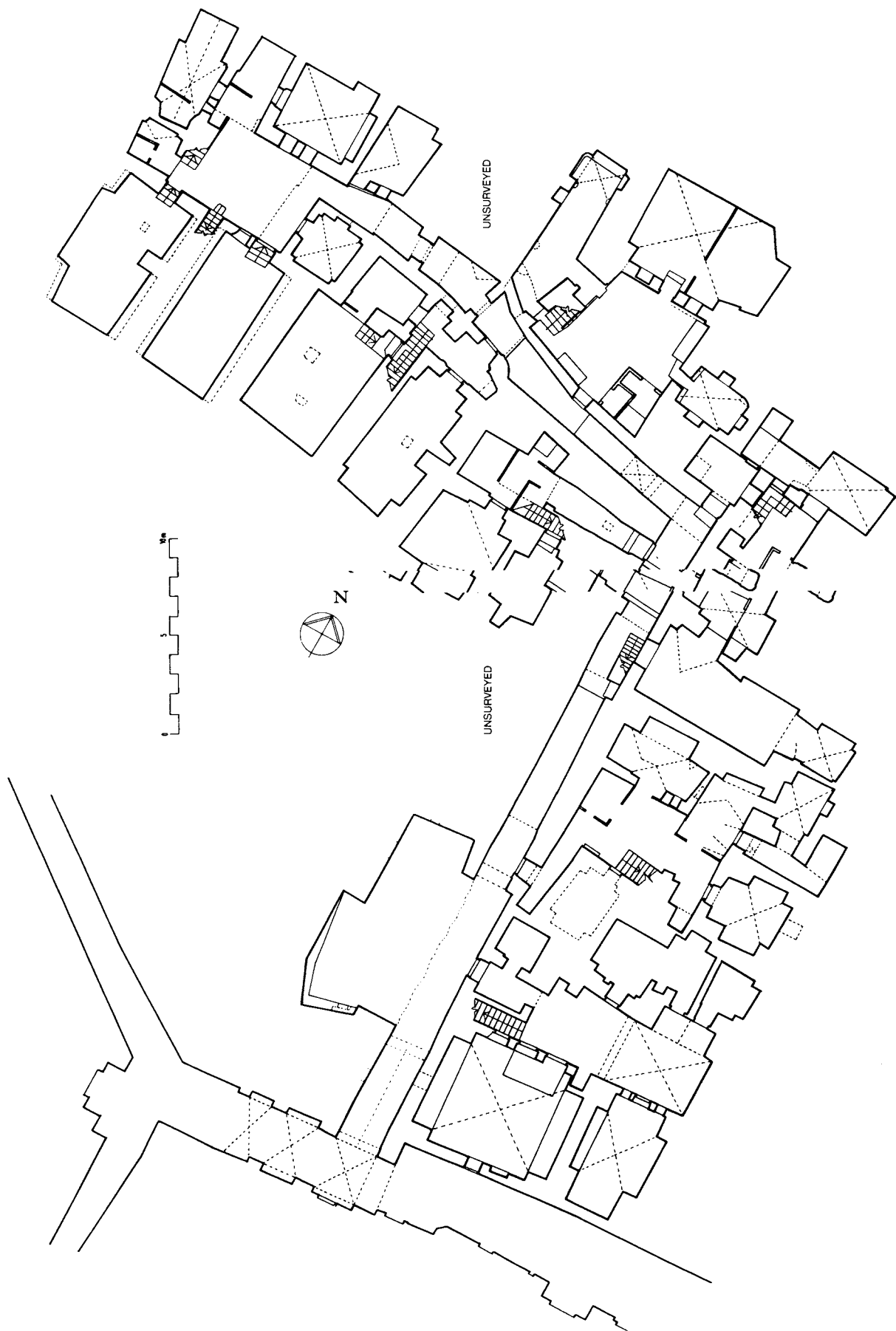


Fig. 25.11 Haush complex, general ground floor plan.

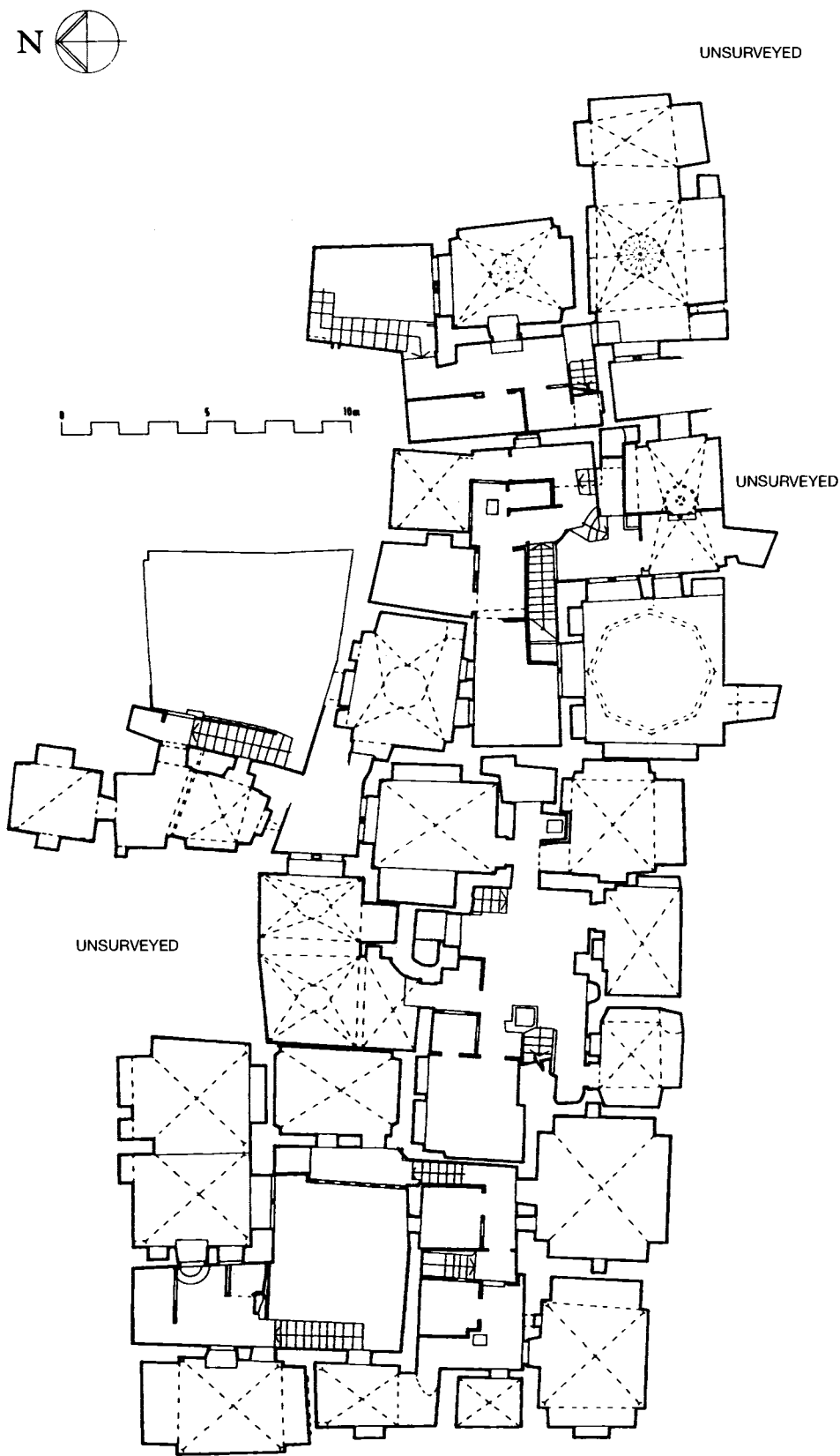


Fig. 25.12 Haush complex, first floor plan.

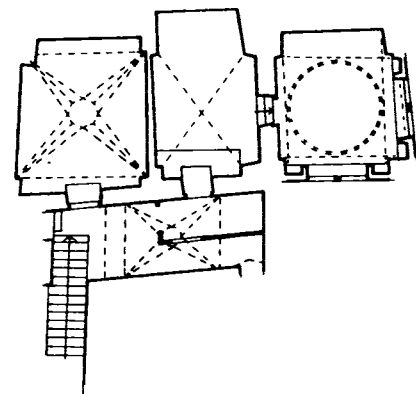


Fig. 25.13 Haush complex, second floor plan.

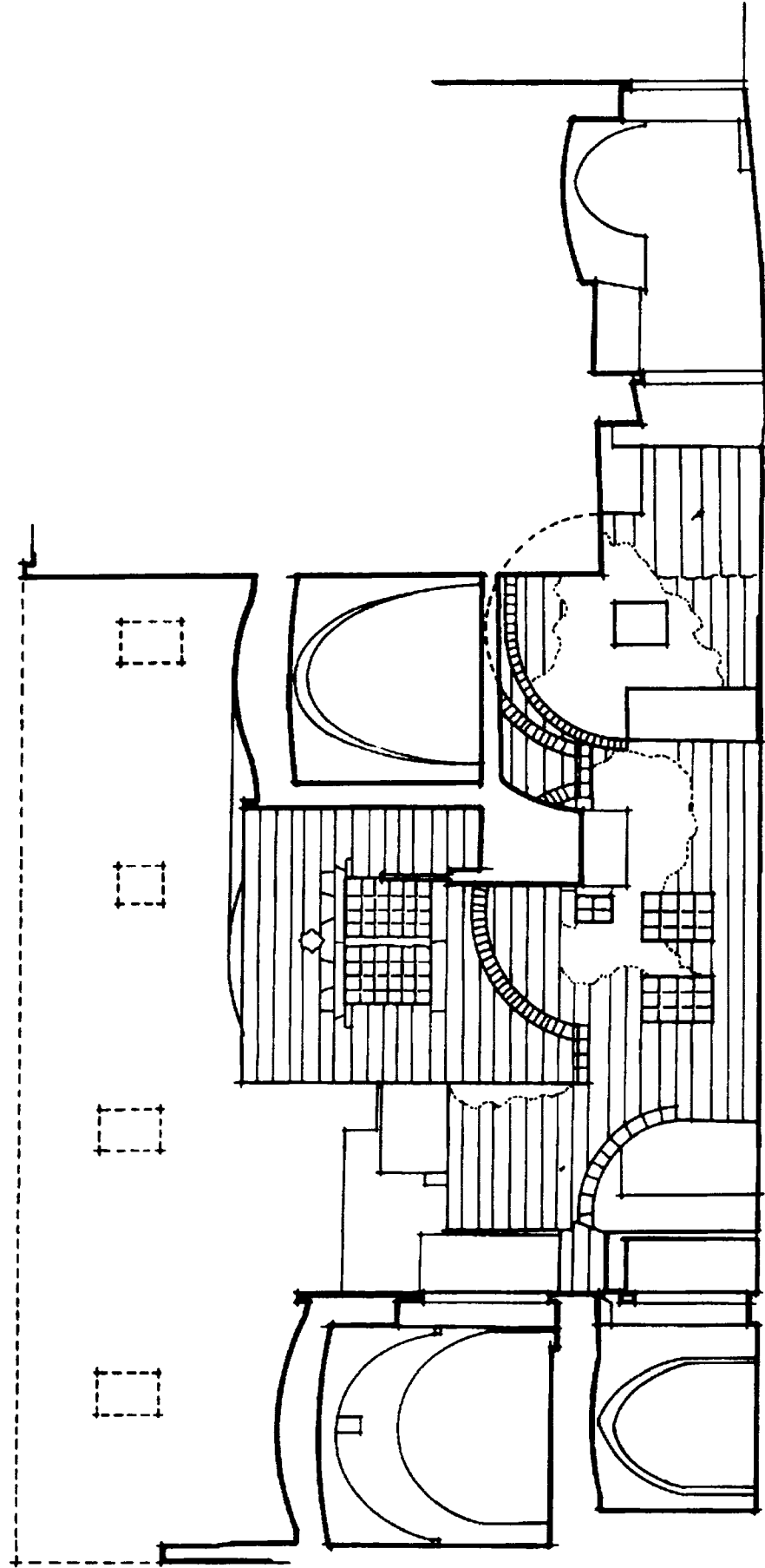


Fig. 25.14 Section of Haush, see Appendix 25.3.

APPENDIX 25.4

HOUSE ON THE VIA DOLOROSA¹

(fig. 25.15-25.16)

The house is situated at an elevation of 2,455 feet above sea level, in a prime location in the commercial heart of the Old City of Jerusalem on the south side of Via Dolorosa. The house is a fine example of a dwelling that evolved over the centuries to serve the needs of a wealthy family. It is currently home to a number of different families who occupy either single rooms or groups of rooms around the building complex. The rooms illustrated in fig. 25.14 lie at the heart of the complex and are aligned roughly north-south. This block is three floors high, although access to the basement—which is likely to have housed the stables and animal pens—is now closed off.

The house is entered from the Via Dolorosa via a pair of low wooden doors and up three stairs into a narrow, 9m-long, private alley between other houses. At the end of this alley on the left, another pair of double doors leads to the rooms of one household. Continuing on under an arched gateway and up a step, the alley widens to give entrance to another house on the right, and a flight of steps ahead. To the right of the staircase, the ground slopes down to a blocked-off recessed entrance, which probably led originally to the basement stables and ground-floor stores of the house above. Originally, all the dwellings located off this entrance would have been associated with the main household family.

Seven steps to the south lead up to a landing, from which a flight of three, and then thirteen, steps to the west lead up to the first-floor living rooms. A further flight of five steps off this landing leads around the north-east corner of the building to a narrow court, which has two rooms opening off it to the east; a door to its west opens to the ground-floor room of the main house. To the south, this court narrows into a short alley, from which a second door opens to the west into the second of the

vaulted ground-floor rooms. Three further doors to the east open into other rooms, which are now in multiple occupancy.

To the south of the main building, four further steps lead to an upper court, from which three further doors open. On the south wall of the building, a disused flight of steps leads up to what would have been the domestic (rather than the guest) entrance to the house. These southern rooms were probably the kitchen and servants' quarters of the house, while the large ground-floor rooms of the main block were the *haramlik*. However, the occupants of the *haramlik* would in this case have been visible from the staircase which ran up the *salamlik*, unless some form of screening—perhaps with a curtain—was employed. The ceiling of the *haramlik* is constructed of a series of three rectangular cross vaults supported on piers. The room is light, with a double window in the centre of its north side, and a single window in the east and south walls. The room has been divided in more recent times by an ill-fitting wall which cuts across the cross vault to form two living rooms. The kitchen and bathroom which serve these are across the narrow court.

At their apex, the stairs leading to the *salamlik* opened onto a terrace which originally led to an attractive garden to the west. In recent years, this has been walled off to form a vine-covered smaller terrace with benches and plants in pots. At the south end of this terrace, four steps lead to an upper terrace, to the east of which is the main door and vestibule of the *salamlik*. These are now occupied by a separate family. This delightful space has a decorative inlaid stone floor. An ornate entry arch in the first bay leads to a cross-vaulted chamber, which in turn leads to the main *salamlik* room, the bedchamber and its antechamber. At the top of the original servants' staircase, a cupboard-sized room has been constructed off the vestibule.

The rather tortuous approach to the first floor rooms is an excellent preparation for the spatial surprise which greets any visitor to this house entering the apartments of the *salamlik*. After the confined spaces of the Old City streets, and the narrow lane and stairs leading to this room, the experience on entering them is elevating, for the main chamber has fine high proportions, a perfectly circular dome, a light and airy feeling produced by its well-proportioned windows, and the beautiful stone floor referred to above. These rooms, to judge from the very different architectural proportions enjoyed by the main chamber and by the adjacent domed bedchamber, with their classic Ottoman proportions, are of a later date than the rooms below.

¹ The house is currently known by the name of the occupants, Dar al-Shaikh Yasin al-Bakri. I am grateful to Dr Yusef Natsheh for this information.

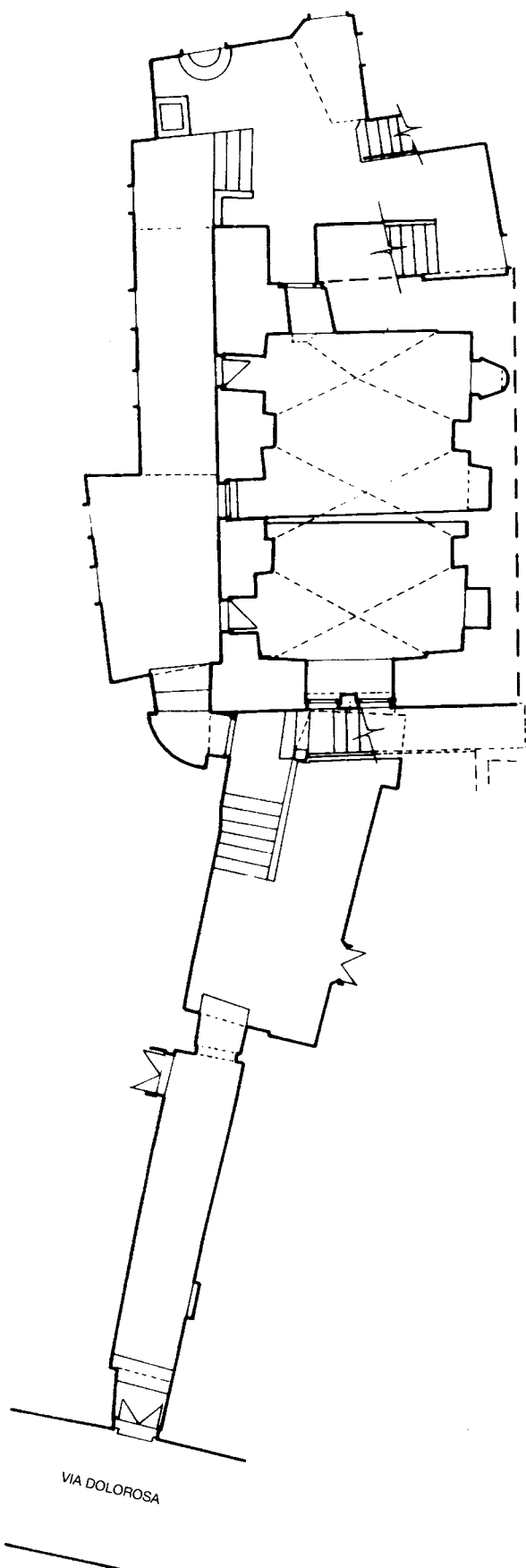


Fig. 25.15 House on the Via Dolorosa, first floor plan, the 'Salamlik'.

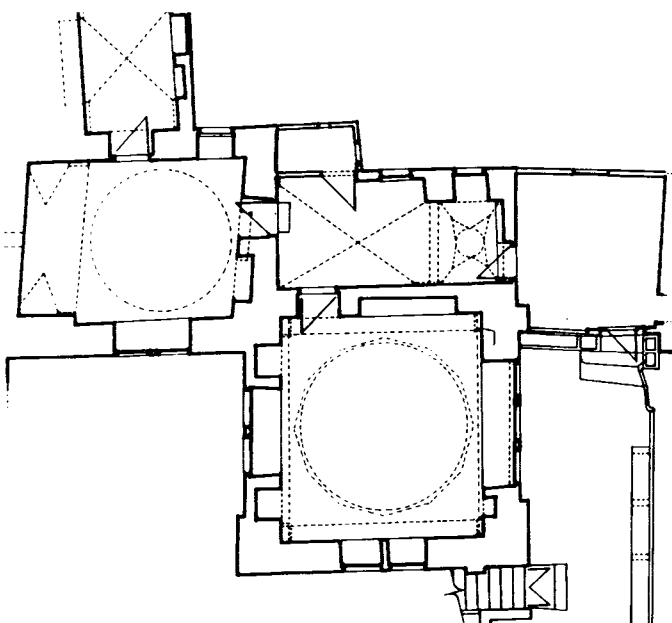


Fig. 25.16 House on the Via Dolorosa, ground floor plan the 'Haramlik'.

Chapter 26

THE DOME OF THE ROCK RESTORATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE 1540-1918

Beatrice St Laurent

‘When Jerusalem was in the possession of the Circassian Mamlukes all the *ulema* and pious men went out to meet Selim Shah in 922/1516. They handed him the keys to the Mosque al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock of Allah. Selim prostrated himself and exclaimed: “Thanks be to Allah! I am now the possessor of the first *qiblah*”.’¹

Evliya Çelebi thus describes the Ottoman takeover of the city of Jerusalem by Sultan Selim I. Selim’s claim to possession of the ‘first *qibla*’ signals Ottoman awareness of the significance of Jerusalem, its place in early Islam and the importance of that legacy to Ottoman claims of religio-political hegemony over the Holy Land and the Hijaz. When Selim entered the city, he ‘passed the documents of Umar, which were in the possession of the Greek and Frankish monks [*sic*], over his face and eyes and gave them the Royal Writ (*hatt-i sherif*) confirming to the monks the contents of the documents, to wit, that they were exempted from paying taxes and that the Anastasis was their praying place as heretofore’ (Stephan 1938: 147). Selim thus saw his role in a continuum with earlier Islamic rulers of the city, maintaining the policies established by the Caliph ‘Umar when he captured Jerusalem in 638.

There is a myth that there was little development and growth under Ottoman dominion in Jerusalem. The

four centuries of Ottoman rule from 1516 to 1918 are viewed as an unbroken slide into neglect and ruin rescued by the benevolent intervention of western Europe beginning in the 19th century. In fact, the 16th century begins a long period of calm, and moderate but steady growth of the urban centre in the walled city of Jerusalem, which was part of the Ottoman province of Damascus. With Damascus as the capital of the region, Jerusalem was a city administratively and economically in the provincial hinterland. But Jerusalem was the religious centre of the lands of early Islam and thus immensely important religiously as the first *qibla*, the third holiest city of Islam after Mecca and Medina, and a centre of Islamic pilgrimage on the route to Mecca. The aim of this chapter is to put forward an alternative view of active Ottoman Muslim engagement with Jerusalem and its monuments from 1517 to 1918.

It has been stated that there were no major restorations to the Dome of the Rock after that of Sulaiman Qanuni in the mid-16th century. Scholarly statements such as those made by Oleg Grabar, indicating that there were no major restorations to the Dome of the Rock after Sulaiman, occur for several reasons, among them that the author in question has not examined the later substantial documentation of the building’s alterations or that the changes after the 16th century cannot be considered as truly Ottoman or as significant for the building’s history. This lacuna could even point to a conscious avoidance of the topic for political reasons (Grabar *EP*² 1980). For to demonstrate that there have been major efforts to restore and preserve the building demonstrates a continuity of maintenance from the time of construction in 692 to at

¹ Stephan 1938: 147; al-‘Asali (1989: 200) indicates that the Ottomans entered the city on 28 December 1516 (4 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 922) and that Selim visited the city two days later; he stayed until 1 January 1517.

least the end of the Ottoman Empire, a point of view that may not coincide with contemporary nationalist views and aspirations for the future of the site.

These later restorations of the Dome of the Rock, the Haram al-Sharif, and of the city of Jerusalem as a whole are posited as part of a continuum that began with Ottoman claims over the territory of early Islam in the early 16th century and ended at the beginning of the 20th century when, in 1918, Jerusalem was ceded to Britain, thus ending the four centuries of rule over the Holy City by the Ottomans. Two major reasons emerge for monumental preservation projects in Jerusalem. First, restorations to architectural monuments are politically motivated, and are initiated as part of larger programmes by the central government in Istanbul, the provincial administration, or local government to assert or reassert control in the region. Second, they result from competition with other religious groups and foreign powers for primacy in terms of monuments within the city of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem was the first *qibla* or direction of prayer for Muslims; and later the Prophet changed the direction to Mecca, the birthplace of the revelation. The Dome's form is that of a commemorative structure—a double-ambulatoried octagonal building covered by a double-shelled gilt wooden dome—a form utilised in earlier Christian structures in the region of Bilad al-Sham. The commemorative form of the building provides one of the possible reasons for the Dome's construction. The Dome may have been built by the Umayyads in their newly acquired northern territory as an alternative for pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in Mecca. The commemorative form of the structure suits the ritual requirements of circumambulation and thus Jerusalem, already respected as the first *qibla*, consolidated its role as the third holiest city of Islam and the spiritual capital of the Umayyad empire. The inclusion of the crowns of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires in the mosaics prominently situated in between the windows of the drum of the dome provides another possible reason for the construction of the building, for it united under Islamic dominion the two great empires of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran which had previously dominated the region. The Dome was thus a suitable monument for testifying to the sovereignty of Islam in the region; it dominated the cityscape and competed in form with the major Christian monument of the city—the Holy Sepulchre—and united the three religions of the book (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) on a site sacred to all three.² The construction of the Dome was thus identified as

a strong religio-political statement establishing the city as a centre of religious pilgrimage and proclaiming the sovereignty of Islam in Jerusalem. In this way, Jerusalem was established by the Umayyads as the spiritual capital of Bilad al-Sham.

The late Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties began a long process of major additions and restorations continuing through the Mamluk period—including the construction of the Aqsa Mosque. The 'Abbasids constructed at least one of the *qanatir* or arcades—the south-eastern one—and effected repairs to the Dome, with four bronze plates originally placed on the lintels above each entrance which included inscriptions with Ma'mun's name and the date 831. Two 10th-century historians, Ibn al-Faqih in 903 and al-Muqaddasi in 985, indicate that the building was covered with marble and mosaics and that the dome was of red gold or gilt brass plates (for these references, see Le Strange 1965: 36-9). The Isma'ili rulers of Egypt, the Fatimids, who wrested control from the orthodox Sunni 'Abbasids, effected many changes on the Haram, including the construction of some of the arcades (*qanatir*) leading to the upper platform, and the reconstruction of the south east area of the platform, and its substructure, known as Solomon's Stables. In 1022, the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir undertook the rebuilding of the dome of the Sakhra after an earthquake, redecorating and gilding the interior with the typically Fatimid decor of which part survives to the present; he also recovered the dome with lead and, in 1027-28, repaired the mosaics, which are dated by an inscription set in the mosaic.³ During the Crusader period, the Dome was converted into a church and paintings were added to its walls as well as to the interior of the Dome of the Chain. John of Würzburg reports in c. 1160 that, to the west inside the Dome—then a chapel dedicated to St. James—there was a painting of Christ with an inscription stating 'My house shall be called the house of prayer' (Peters 1985: 317). In 1173, during the Crusader period, 'Ali al-Harawi (whose family originated in Herat, though he himself was a native of Aleppo) states that there were two paintings on

Creswell 1969; van Berchem 1927, and van Berchem and Ory 1982; Grabar 1959: 33-62, and *EP*. This reflects a partial list of Grabar's publications on the subject. More recently, Myrian Rosen-Ayalon and Michael Burgoyne have dealt with the significance of the plan of the Haram, and the early decoration of the Dome of the Rock; they carry the architectural history of Jerusalem forward into the Mamluk period. See Rosen-Ayalon 1989, Burgoyne 1987. Both Priscilla Soucek and Nasser Rabbat discuss the pre-Islamic significance of and references to the site. See Rabat 1989: 12-21, and for the Solomonic associations of the Dome of the Rock see Soucek 1976: 73-123.

³ Thackston 1986: 32; according to Nasir-i Khusrau 'all of the roofs and domes were covered with lead.' The decor of the interior of the dome is dated by inscriptions on several beams; see van Berchem 1927: 261-74, nos 220-222.

² The earlier phases of the Dome of the Rock's religio-political history have been extensively studied and published by a number of notable scholars. Among these are the works of KAC Creswell, Max van Berchem, and Oleg Grabar; these focus on individual monuments and their interplay. See

the interior of the Dome, one of Solomon opposite the stairs leading to the cave and also one of Christ covered with jewels (Le Strange 1965: 51-2).

The Ayyubid Kurdish Sultan Salah al-Din reconquered Jerusalem for Sunni Islam in 1187, and re-dedicated the Haram by purging all structures of Christian imagery, constructing new buildings and restoring others. An inscription in the cupola indicates that he regilded the interior dome decoration (Le Strange 1965: 54). In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Mamluks of Egypt dominated what was probably one of the most brilliant periods of construction on the Haram and in the Old City of Jerusalem, establishing a strong regional building tradition and style that persists to the present day. Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1318 sponsored the re-leading of the exterior dome and other buildings on the Haram, and the regilding of the dome's interior decoration (Le Strange 1965: 55). The Mamluk Sultan Baibars restored the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in the late 13th century, including those of the east portal. Sultan al-Malik al-'Adil Kitbugha (1294-97) also repaired the mosaics. In 1318-19 Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad restored and regilded the interior of the dome. An inscription in the cupola dates this restoration and identifies the sultan. In 1447 Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Jaqmaq rebuilt a part of the roof over the octagon following a fire started by someone chasing pigeons with a candle (Burgoyne 1987: 76-8). Mujir al-Din reports in 1496 that there were two domes—one on the interior that was painted and gilded, and one of the exterior that was covered in lead (al-'Ulaimi 1973 2: 18). The final Mamluk renovation was in 1509-10, when al-Malik al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri renovated the lead of the outer dome (Burgoyne 1987: 76-8). New construction, and the many restorations on the Haram, demonstrate the desire of successive rulers from new dynasties to mark their presence. One of the clearest examples is that when the 'Abbasids succeeded the Umayyads, the Caliph Ma'mun had his name inserted into the large Kufic inscription. This probably replaced the name of 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad Caliph who had built the Dome in 692—the date was left intact. What better way to indicate sovereignty?

Like the 'Abbasid, Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk rulers before him, Sultan Selim I embellished the city in small ways by restoring and adding to its edifices. It was in the reign of his son and successor, Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni, however, that the Holy City underwent renovations on a major scale. Sulaiman's symbolic appropriation of Jerusalem, by redecorating its most famous Islamic shrines in the Ottoman manner and enclosing the city within massively rebuilt city walls, is the best known Ottoman contribution to the built form of the third of Islam's sacred cities. Moreover, throughout the entire Ottoman period of 1517 to 1918 there was active Ottoman engagement with Jerusalem and its monuments.

Sulaiman's first projects were related to urban renewal projects, the first of which was the revitalisation of the water supply line leading from Solomon's Pools outside the city to the Sultan's Pool; the ultimate aim was to supply the cisterns of the Old City and the Haram al-Sharif. Between 1537 and 1552, Sulaiman completed one of his major efforts, which was the complete rebuilding and restoration of the city walls. These were built over ruins of earlier walls, and new gates with L-shaped entrances connected the major streets of the city.⁴ The purpose of this project was not so much to bolster the defence of the city but rather to preserve it, to restore the historical walls, beautify the city and bring the old urban core back to its original splendour.

Sulaiman's major project on the Haram was the restoration of the Dome of the Rock. Between 1545 and 1552, he replaced the exterior mosaics on the drum of the dome with glazed tiles and a large tiled mosaic inscription; and later extended this decoration to the lower walls of the octagon.⁵ The large inscription band that runs along the top of the drum is from Surat *al-Isra'* (Quran 17: 1-20) and ends with a date of 951/1545-46 in small numbers under the last word (van Berchem 1927: 233, no. 239). According to another dated inscription originally in the tympanum above the outer north door of the Dome but now removed, Sulaiman later (in 958/1551) extended the tile decoration to the lower walls of the octagon. The panel is signed 'Abdallah of Tabriz', indicating that Persian craftsmen produced the tiles. It thus took seven years to complete the tile-work on the Dome. In addition, a tile inscription above the *mihrab* of the Qubbat al-Silsila, dated 969/1561-62, suggests that tiles were produced on the Haram for at least another ten years.

The large, square decorative tiles covering the drum and the octagon measure about 19cm square; thicker oblong tiles were employed as framing devices, containing the more decorative square tiles. The oblong tiles are blue, yellow and black and are made of a coarse beige clay. The palette includes cobalt, turquoise, brown/black, white and yellow, and the decorative repertoire includes a variety of floral motifs, among them the lily and lotus, and a cross design. The types of tiles found on the Dome dating from this period are *cuerda seca*; a type that imitates *cuerda seca* but includes only a black outline around individual forms;

⁴ Sulaiman did not follow the original wall in the south. The section surrounding Mount Zion, which had been included in the earlier walled city, was deliberately excluded from the 16th-century project.

⁵ Michael Meinecke 1988: 257-360 documents Sulaiman's programme for the city. See also Duncan 1972: 64 and following. For a partial list of the Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem see Burgoyne 1976 and al-'Asali 1989: 200-201. The information given here concerning the restorations of Selim I and Sulaiman is from Meinecke's article.

monochrome; underglaze; and four-colour glazed tiles. A large inscription band runs around the top of the octagon, covering the parapet. The tiles used in this inscription of Surat *al-Ya Sin* (Qur'an 36) are of the four-colour glazed variety, which include green and turquoise for decorative elements. The inscription itself comprised three rows of square tiles, contained above and below by decorative tiles.⁶ In all, there were about 45,000 tiles covering the monument.⁷

Some of the large square tiles resemble the decorative tradition of Bursa tiles of the 15th century.⁸ Other tiles bear no relationship to Ottoman tile production of the period and may have been inspired by the designs and motifs of the mosaics that originally appeared on the exterior of the building.⁹ The tiles were first coloured, glazed, and fired and then cut to size and bevelled with one or two holes drilled in each side to hold bronze pins that joined the tile to its neighbours. The tiles were then set against a thick bed of mortar, the latter keyed to the stone wall by means of bronze ribbons fixed with marble wedges into holes cut into the masonry backing. Similar bronze ribbons fixed to the pins set into the edges of the tiles bound the revetment to the plaster ground. The oblong tiles and glazed bricks were usually pierced through, suggesting that they were threaded with wire to hold them in position, and plaster was placed behind them to hold them in place. The technique employed in the large inscription band running around the top of the round drum of the dome is tile mosaic, a technique that was not used in Ottoman tile production after the early 15th century. Tile mosaic was normally used in Persia, which suggests that the artisans who crafted this elaborate inscription were originally from Persia—although of course, tile mosaic was frequently used in Anatolia from the early 13th century. The mosaic inscription was composed in panels on the ground. A design was drawn on a bed of the required curvature; then tile pieces of the necessary hues, trimmed to an appropriate shape, were placed face down onto it, and plaster was run over the

surface of the reverse of the tile. When dry, these curved sections were lifted in place, joined together by bronze pins, and the sections were fastened to the masonry by grouting and liquid plaster.

The tiles were probably produced *in situ* in the Haram al-Sharif. A report published in 1946 suggests that the tiles were made in a building known as the Najara vaults or the Madrasa al-Farsiya, which used to be adjacent to the Aqsa Mosque but which was demolished in 1939 during restorations to the Aqsa Mosque. Wasters and remnants of tiles that closely resemble the original tiles of the Dome were found together with remnants of the mosaics that originally covered the exterior of the Dome.¹⁰

Sulaiman replaced the metal or marble window grilles of the Umayyad period with typical Ottoman stained glass windows and exterior tile grilles.¹¹ The typical Ottoman window includes small pieces of coloured glass set into a wood-framed plaster armature. The square cut-out tile grilles of the exterior wall served as an additional filter for the brilliant light to the cool interior of the Dome. According to two inscriptions which appear over the west and east entrances, the doors of the Dome were repaired in 1564/5 (van Berchem 1927: 339-40, nos. 241-242). At the same time, the eight windows of the octagon were provided with new inner panels (van Berchem 1927: 329-33, no. 238). The exterior of the structure was thus totally altered and given a new Ottoman character.

One possible reason for the repair of the Dome at this time could have been damage caused by the earthquake of 1545, which toppled the belfry of the Holy Sepulchre and prompted a repair to that building.¹² However, if the tiling of the drum was complete in 1545—the year of the earthquake—it could not have been begun and completed in one year (van Berchem 1927: 333-35 no. 239). Thus, the decision had already been made to tile the Dome well before the earthquake. It has been suggested that the tilemakers were brought to Jerusalem from Persia

⁶ The tiles of the original *Ya Sin* inscription were replaced in a later restoration of 1875. The originals survive in the Islamic Museum. Little is known of the original decorative tiles which appeared above and below the inscription itself.

⁷ Megaw 1946, Part I, Section 1: 10 provides this figure for the total tile count, made prior to the removal of all the tiles in the 1960s.

⁸ For Bursa tile production of the 15th century, see St Laurent, unpublished paper on the Green Mosque and its inscriptions. See also St Laurent, *Ottomanization and Modernization. The Architectural and Urban Development of Bursa 1839 to 1914*, unpublished doctoral thesis for Harvard University 1989.

⁹ Some of the original mosaics survive and are displayed in the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque. The as yet unpublished research on the Ottoman tiles of the Dome of the Rock by Julian Raby and John Carswell will contribute greatly to our knowledge of the tiles of the Dome of the Rock.

¹⁰ Megaw 1946, Appendix 5: 1, and Appendix 5: 5, indicates that, when the building was destroyed, the debris from it, including the tiles and wasters, was buried in pits on the Haram. One of these pits was excavated in 1946 in the course of rebuilding the east steps to the Upper Platform. The tiles, pottery and wasters are typical of the 16th century and are thus considered to be from the Najara vaults. This analysis contradicts that of Richmond who considers the tiles produced in this building to date from the 18th century, although there is no evidence to indicate that tiles were not produced there in the 18th century also.

¹¹ The recent regilding project of the Dome afforded an opportunity to view the space between the grilles and the stained glass. Holes in the original stone wall suggest that the building originally had metal or marble grilles, perhaps similar to those of the Great Mosque of Damascus.

¹² Van Berchem 1927 suggests the earthquake as a possible cause. See Vincent and Abel 1914-26: 286 for the reference to the damage to the Holy Sepulchre.

in 1543 and that they set up their workshop in the Najara vaults. These craftsmen were a separate group from those that had left Persia after the Ottoman conquest of 1514 and thus they were not influenced by the Iznik tradition. Over a period of ten years they developed and refined the technical aspects of their craft. After the Dome project they may have moved to Damascus to complete projects in that city.¹³

The skin of tiles on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock and on other monuments in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were the stamp of Ottoman imperial identity in the lands of early Islam at a time when the Ottomans sought to establish Sunni Ottoman hegemony in a period of intense conflict with their heterodox Safavid neighbours (Necipoğlu 1990: 154 and 1985: 92-117). Furthermore, the tiles declare Sulaiman's connection to the Biblical Solomon and his Temple in Jerusalem. Sulaiman is thus proclaiming himself the Solomon of a new Ottoman imperial age in the Holy City. Other smaller Ottoman structures appear on the Haram, notably small subsidiary domed buildings along the north and east periphery of the upper platform between the *qanatir* or arcades. Also in 1555, the Ottomans granted permission for a Christian restoration of the Holy Sepulchre; Sulaiman established relations with the French king, granted French subjects religious freedom and gave the Latin clergy custody of the Christian holy places. Thus began the process of foreign intervention in Jerusalem, a process that escalated during the next three centuries of Ottoman rule (Jeffrey 1919: 34).

In the period following the Ottoman defeat at Lepanto in 1571 by the members of the Holy Alliance, the Empire suffered great military and territorial losses in the Balkans and Russia, including the retreat from Vienna, until the peace of Karlowitz in 1699. During this time of difficulty for the Ottomans, the French renegotiated a new version of the Capitulations in 1673. The Christian communities of Jerusalem struggled amongst themselves for control of religious monuments in Jerusalem as well as attempting to wrest further independence from Ottoman central authority. For Jerusalem, the peace of Karlowitz won the right of Austria to speak for Christian interests.

Though this was a period of changing fortune and struggle to maintain central control, the care and maintenance of the Haram and its monuments in Jerusalem remained of primary concern to the government. In fact, the archives document the restoration and preservation of the region's three main Islamic pilgrimage sites—Jerusalem, Hebron and Nabi Musa. During the late

16th and 17th centuries, the Dome of the Rock was restored at least three times—by Sultan Mehmet III (1597), Ahmet I (1603), and Mustafa I (1617). Support for religious institutions and thus restoration projects remained dependent on the *waqf*, at a time when the administration of the endowments was exploited and financially overburdened (al-'Asali 1989: 214). In 1597, new windows were added to the lower parts of the south-east and south-west walls. Two marble inscriptions originally placed on the south-east and south-west walls are dated by chronogram and name the *qadi* of Jerusalem, who probably supervised the project (Megaw 1946 Section I: 18; van Berchem 1927: 340-42, nos. 243 and 244). Evliya Çelebi mentions no major restoration programme during the 17th century, though he does say that Ahmet I 'had a richly gilt canopy made, the cover of which was a curtain studded with gold and jewels. The corners were fastened with silken cords, thus covering the Holy Rock' (Stephan 1938: 92-3). There was also a restoration during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim I in 1642-3, though nothing whatever is known of the details. There was, until 1875 or perhaps even as late as 1894, an inscription naming Sultan Ibrahim on two panels fixed to the top of the iron grille of the rotunda; but it does not survive (Megaw 1946: 18; van Berchem 1927: 342-3, no. 245). Very little is known about 17th-century restorations. Fortunately, much more is known about the 18th-century restorations.

Significantly, beginning in 1705 and continuing until 1780, there were at least four major restorations to the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. It is recorded in the archives that there were restorations in 1705 and in 1720-21 for Ahmed III (1703-30); in the autumn of 1742; in 1754 for Mahmud I (1730-54); and in 1780 for 'Abd al-Hamid I (1774-89).¹⁴

The most important of these is the major restoration of Sultan Ahmed III in 1720-21, which is recorded in a document in the Turkish National Archives in Istanbul and includes orders, accounts and inventories dated between 1720 and 1736.¹⁵ Tax revenues from Jaffa and Tripoli paid for two-thirds of the cost. The document lists all the materials for the project, which were from different parts of Anatolia and the Black Sea region. These were shipped from either Istanbul or Izmir to Jaffa for transfer overland by oxcart (*kanlı*) to Jerusalem. Even the

¹³ The above information is noted in Megaw 1946 Appendix I: 12. Megaw also suggests (p.10) that these same artisans went to Damascus in 1554 to make tiles for Sulaiman's mosque in that city. Megaw also points to the possibility that the tilemakers may not have come directly from Persia but could have come via Damascus or some other city.

¹⁴ With the exception of the 1720-21 restoration, Oktay Aslanapa notes both the 18th- and 19th-century repairs in 1989: 15-18. Al-'Asali 1989: 220 notes the restorations of 1705, 1752 (which I believe is the 1742 restoration) and of 1780.

¹⁵ Göyünç summarises the contents of this document in 1983: 327-33. The document is in the collection of Basbakanlık Arsivi: Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, No. 7829. Andras Riedelmayer has transcribed the entire document from the Ottoman original. It is this transcribed text which is consulted for the details.

wheels (fifty pairs) and wooden axles (120 in number) for the oxcarts were made in the Tophane foundries of Istanbul, shipped to Jaffa and attached to carts constructed in Jaffa (Document 7829: 15).

First, Osman Efendi, the former *defterdar* of Damascus and later al-Hajj Mustafa Efendi, former first deputy imperial treasurer (*sikk-i evvel defterdari*), were put in charge of the project, with the title of superintendent of construction (*bina emini*). The importance of the positions that they had held indicates the significance of the Jerusalem project (Rashid Mehmed Efendi 1282/1865, 5: 130–32). Local workers were hired to execute the project. Work began on 28 May 1721 and lasted until 3 February 1722, a total of 252 days. Two-thirds of the entire cost of the project came from the revenues of the tax farms of Jaffa and Tripoli.

The initial pages of the document list the kinds of wood sent for the restoration of both the Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. The wood was from a wide variety of locations including the heavily forested region of the Black Sea, Inebolu and Izmit. Repairs are specified to each building and the particular woods that were to be employed in the repair are also mentioned (Document 7829: 12–14 of the *defter* includes the inventory and repairs).

The inventory of materials purchased for the project includes numerous pigments and clay body ingredients, namely items that are normally used in painting and in the production of tiles. Some of the colours are ochre, orpiment, Persian green, saffron, dark blue (*laciverd*), and vermilion. Included also are pine gum resin, glue, mastic, juniper gum, size, and materials to be used in the repair of painted areas of the interior (Document 7829: 19). Sponges, clay and tools for ceramic production are also in the inventory (Document 7829: 19). Also listed in the inventory are packets of gold leaf and silver leaf, English red lead, French red lead and white lead, all in small quantities and no doubt used for repairs (Document 7829: 19). The fact that there were boxes of tiles listed in a later inventory (dated 1734) of leftover materials suggests that at least some of the tiles were restored at this time. The fact that the raw materials were shipped to the site indicates that the tiles may have been produced on site somewhere in Jerusalem. On the other hand, tilemakers are missing from the lists of craftsmen, so the matter awaits further study. A large amount of lead was also purchased for use in the repair of the exterior of the dome or domes. European—'Frankish'—marbles appear on the inventory list in sufficient quantities (30 *dhira'* or 23.73m.) to suggest the repair of dado walls of either the exterior or interior (Document 1729: 14).

The stained glass windows of the drum of the dome were all replaced at this time. Different kinds of glass, plain and coloured, are enumerated by number per window. Two kinds of window are specified: twelve

ordinary windows; and a more elaborate window for the *qibla* wall using a larger number of small pieces—400 per window—of the 'Persian' type, with more colour. Two types of glass were allotted for the ordinary windows; small coloured glass at 200 pieces per window, 2,400 in all, at ten *akçe* each; and 1,000 plain and middle-sized pieces of glass per window for a total of 12,000 at 11 *akçe* each. All this makes an overall total of 14,400 pieces of glass at 156,000 *akçe*. For the special window of Persian work (*acem işi*), 400 pieces of small glass per window—double the amount for the ordinary window—at 10 *akçe* each; and 1,400 pieces of medium glass at 11 *akçe* each, making a total of 19,400 *akçe*. A large quantity (1,000 *qintars* or 56,410 kg) of lead (*kurşun*) for 306,000 *akçe* was included in the shipment for replacement of the windows. One of the supplies listed for window replacement is three *qintars* or 169.2 kg of brass wire, rather surprising in that traditional Ottoman stained glass windows employed only a plaster armature (Document 7829 lists these materials and their cost). The mention of lead and brass supports suggests that, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Ottomans introduced European techniques of glass production for the restoration of the Dome's windows. This document is also the first record of any changes in the windows first placed there by Sulaiman in the 16th century.

The document sheds much light on the nature of 18th-century restoration techniques and their cost. European methods and materials are combined with traditional Ottoman ones in the Haram project. The scale and expense of the project indicate the importance of the Haram and Jerusalem to the Ottoman government. The restoration was a major organisational feat, with important administrators put in charge of the project and special craftsmen and materials sent from the capital and abroad to execute the project. If one compares the costs of this project to those of rebuilding such essential frontier fortresses as Niš and Vidin, it is clear that the Jerusalem project was considered as important as the security of the empire's borders (Rashid 1282/1865: 136–39).

An inventory of 1734, included with the above-mentioned document, indicates that tiles were found in storage under the Haram. There is no indication of when the tiles were placed there but they were no doubt extra tiles to be used in later restorations.

The question arises as to why it was at this particular moment that the government undertook such a grand project. There were several reasons. The restoration coincides with a general tightening of central government authority over the province of Damascus.¹⁶ The Ottomans

¹⁶Rashid 1282/1865: 161 notes that the *valilik* of Damascus was reorganised in AH 1132 in order to regain control. For more on the history of this period, see Barbir 1980.

sought increased contact with Europe at this time, sending the first official Ottoman embassies to Europe, who sent reports back to Istanbul concerning artistic taste and methods, and led to the introduction of European methods and materials in the Haram restoration. There was also an interest in major restoration projects in the capital, with sources mentioning that Haghia Sophia was restored at about the same time, as were a large number of other major monuments.¹⁷

The restoration also coincides with increased requests by the European powers for control over the Christian monuments of the city (Rashid 1282/1865, 5: 130-31). The historian Rashid, in his discussion of the events of the year 1131/1718, discusses the struggle between the French, the Austrians, and the Russians to control repairs to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he, as well as many before him, refers to derogatorily as the *qumama*, 'the dung heap'.¹⁸ After having made vague promises to the Austrians in the Treaty of Passarowitz, the Ottomans forestalled both the Hapsburgs and the Russians by granting permission to the French, who were their allies. This permission was limited to repairs to the existing structure as stipulated in the Covenant of 'Umar and the *shari'a*. This meant that a proposed new closed dome in the Baroque manner was not permissible.¹⁹

In 1742, an important restoration was initiated in the name of Sultan Mahmud I. Maqizade Muhammad, the *mutaşarrif* of Gaza and Ramla, commissioned Maula Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id Efendi, *qadi-i Quds-i Sharif*, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, to repair both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa. A document in the Turkish National Archives provides a list of materials, their cost and quantity, and details the repairs and restoration that were needed.²⁰ The wooden ribbing of the outer dome needed to be replaced and the wood necessary for the project was shipped in from abroad, mostly from Anatolia and northern regions of the empire, notably Izmit and the Black Sea (Document 3609: 1). The metal plates that linked part of the rib-work were removed and re-used with the new wood shipped in for the project. The lead of the exterior dome was also repaired,

although apparently no lead was shipped in for that purpose. The document indicates that the underpart of the eaves (*saçak*) under the dome was covered with lead and that this lead was in need of renewal. The old lead covering the eaves was melted down and re-used for the same purpose. Moulds for the re-casting of the lead were also provided. Also repaired by the same method was the lead of the porches (*kapi saçaklar*). The document indicates that other materials were also re-used from the older work on the Dome; for example, nails were removed and re-used during the restoration.²¹

The marble of the Dome was removed; some of it was replaced with new panels and the remainder was put back in place, suggesting that the material that affixed the marble to the stone structure had decayed and needed replacement. The pavement of the interior was also renewed at this time and the interior was furnished with new carpets (*kaliça*) and kilims. The ceiling of the interior 'that was falling down' was renovated with Izmit pine, sent from Anatolia. There is no indication as to which ceiling, though the reference is clearly to the wooden ones of the arcades. Also restored was the gilding of the interior dome with some parts repaired and others replaced (Document 3609: 2).

Some of the tiles of the dome drum between the windows were replaced by some that were 'cast in moulds', and others of the old ones that they replaced were moved to other parts of the drum where they were needed. The restoration included all of the tiles of the drum except for the 'circle under the dome', which presumably means the tile mosaic inscription. Since no tiles or materials for tile production were shipped from abroad, one can assume that the tiles were locally produced in workshops in the area (Document 3609: 3).

Around the same time, the interior tiles made by the potters of Kütahya for the Armenian Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem were installed, as John Carswell has document in his study of the Kütahya industry (see Carswell 1972 1: 12-13). The Kütahya tiles are mostly figural, have Armenian inscriptions and are signed 'Abraham of Kütahya'. These are few in number; they are set in one wall of the cathedral and surrounded by other tiles. In the main room of the cathedral and elsewhere, large numbers of blue and white tiles with a lotus design fill the lower walls of the interior. The yellowish gritty clay body of these tiles differs substantially from the porcelain-like white clay of the area of Kütahya. Similar blue and white tiles with the same clay body appear on the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain. A comparison of the 18th-century blue and white tiles of the Armenian

¹⁷ Rashid 1282/1865, 5: 161. For Haghia Sophia see Eyice 1984-85, 3: 28.

¹⁸ A scatological pun on Kanisat al-Qiyama, the Arabic name of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a pun that, according to Peters 1985: 258-59, no Muslim writer from the Middle Ages on has been able to resist. Peters cites many of the early Arab sources who employed this term. There may also be a link with earlier Umayyad descriptions of the site of the Dome of the Rock—when 'Umar entered the Haram, it was noted that the rock had been heaped with dung by the Christians, who had desecrated the site which was holy to the Jews.

¹⁹ For religious legislation on this topic, see Claude Cahen, 'Dhimma' and G. Troupeau, 'Kanisa' in *EP* 2:228 and 4: 546.

²⁰ Basbakanlık Arsivi, BMAD 3609. My thanks to Dr Necat Göyünç for providing information concerning this document.

²¹ Document 3609: 1. Details for all lead projects for the Dome are detailed on this page.

Cathedral of St James with those of the Dome of the Rock and the Qubbat al-Silsila suggests that they were produced by the same tile workshop. The nature of the clay, glaze and decor of these tiles differs from the securely dated tiles produced in Kütahya, and thus suggests that they were produced elsewhere. Both the texture and the colour of the clay body resemble the clay found in the Hebron area, suggesting that these tiles were produced locally and decorated by local artisans in the 18th century. That other tiles at the Dome of the Rock are identical to those in the cathedral points to the existence of a tile atelier actively producing tiles for both the Christian and Muslim monuments of the city in the same period. There is no information concerning the tilemakers or their origins.

Another document in the *qadi sijillat* of Jerusalem dated 1167/1754 indicates that there was further restoration of the Dome of the Rock.²² In the last year of Mahmud I's reign, *al-hajj* As'ad Pasha, Governor of Damascus, ordered the *qadi* of Jerusalem to repair the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque and appointed *al-hajj* Husain Beg ibn Marhum Muhammad Beg Makkizade of Jerusalem to supervise the project, with a certain Kemal giving advice (*Sijill* for the year 1742: 18, column 1).

There was a repair of the lead on the dome, including only four sheets of lead, indicating that this was a minor repair when compared to the 254 pieces of lead, weighing 42 *qintars* (25,000 lbs.) used for the dome of al-Aqsa Mosque. The interior and exterior marble of the Dome was replaced and repaired including an area of 205 *dhira'* (123m). On the interior, the area 'behind the false ceiling' was repaired with an area of 220 *dhira'* (132m). It is not clear which wooden ceiling of the arcades was in need of restoration (*Sijill* for the year 1742: 18, col. 2, and 19, col. 1).

Much time and expenditure was devoted to the restoration and replacement of the *qashani* or tiles of the Dome of the Rock. The *Ya Sin* inscription which circumscribes the top of the octagon, covering the original parapet of the building, was restored 'from the south to the west to the end of the north' façades. The extent of the work included 130 *dhira'* (c.78m), which suggests that there was an extensive restoration to this part of the inscription on the south-west, west and north-west side of the structure. Other tiles of the octagon were also restored at this time. Significantly, the first noted restoration of the tile mosaic inscription occurred at this time, with the extent of the work listed as 340 *dhira'* (204m; *Sijill* for 1742: 18, col. 2). There is no mention of what part of the inscription was included in the restoration, but it is known that there were two periods of restoration of this inscription, which

replaced the mosaic with ceramic tiles on the west and north-west sides of the building.²³ There are two different qualities of tiles, which indicates two different periods. The earlier tiles are of better quality and date to the 1754 restoration. The document indicates that without question there were new tiles produced to replace missing and damaged ones. In this way, there were tiles from slightly different periods in the 18th century scattered amongst the original 16th-century tiles.

In 1780 and 1781, Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid I (ruled 1774-89) rebuilt the west entrance of the Dome referred to as the *bait* (Bait al-Maqdis) and affixed a wooden ceiling to the bottom of roof supports of the inner arcade. An inscription placed above the exterior western door records this restoration of 1780, indicating that the door [portal] was restored, as were the tiles. It further states that the sultan redid the interior ceiling, encrusting it with Chinese porcelain plates; the inscription indicates that the supervisor was Haqqi Muhammad (van Berchem 1927: 343-46, no. 246). Thus, the Ottoman baroque western portal was sponsored by 'Abd al-Hamid I. The ceiling of the interior arcade was redone by 'Abd al-Hamid. The signatures, dated 1781, of artisans who worked on the restoration, Muhammad ibn Sufyan and Mahmud, appear on the cornice of the niches, flanked by colonettes, of two contiguous niches placed to the south of the south door. The wooden ceiling comprised coffers with porcelain plates set in the centre. Thus the niches were part of the 1781 ceiling restoration.²⁴ An additional inscription appears on a tile placed above the stairs that lead down to the grotto under the rock. The tile, which is also dated 1781, includes the name of the eunuch of the Istanbul harem, 'Abdi (van Berchem 1927: 348, no. 249).

Major restorations of the Haram monuments continued through the reigns of succeeding Ottoman sultans. Among the most important was that of 1817-18.²⁵ Under the order of Sultan Mahmud II, Sulaiman Pasha (whose appointment ran from 1804 to 1818), the *wali* or governor of Saida, undertook another major restoration of the Dome of the Rock in 1817-18. The work continued for 21 months (al-'Asali 1989: 220). Two documents dated 8 Shaban 1232/1815 and 1233/1816 and 1234/1817, and

²³ Van Berchem 1927: 333-35, no. 239, indicates that there were replacement tiles. Megaw 1946: 13, n. 46 also discusses two periods of restoration tiles indicated by two qualities and, in footnote 55, suggests that the better quality tiles date from the period of Ibrahim I (1642-30), and the later ones to 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1875. It is now clear that the better quality tiles date to the 1754 restoration.

²⁴ Van Berchem 1927: 347 no. 248 cites the inscriptions, indicating that they were replaced at a later date.

²⁵ For the history of the period, see Ma'oz 1968, Kushner 1986, Gerber 1985. For the city of Jerusalem in the 19th century, see Ben-Arieh 1984.

²² The *Guide Abrégé du Dome du Rocher et de Al-Haram al-Sharif* (Jerusalem Auqaf Council 1966: 68) mentions this document.

copied by the scribe Mustafa Ali Efendi, detail every item purchased for the restoration of the Dome and other monuments (Haram al-Sharif document 926). The master builder (*qalfa*) came from Istanbul to supervise the project, and a master architect Abu Salah Efendi is mentioned. Names of other architects include Hajji Bakir from Salt, 'Abd al-Rahim and Sa'id Khalil. Carpets and lapis lazuli came via Akka to Jerusalem. An inscription under the south porch and just to the east under the colonnade states that Mahmud ordered the restoration of the Dome's exterior marble (*rukham*) revetment and that the project was supervised by Sulaiman Pasha, the governor of Saida and Tripoli (van Berchem 1927: 348-49, no. 250). He also ordered the re-gilding of the interior of the dome and the repair of the outer lead covering (van Berchem 1927: 289-99, no. 225). An inscription from the period of 'Abd al-'Aziz indicates that Mahmud regilded the dome.

An inscription that was once on the exterior south side of the octagon under the colonnaded porch indicated that Mahmud had restored the marble (*rukham*; van Berchem 1927: 348-49, no. 250). According to the second part of the document written in 1233/1817, large quantities of marble were brought from Damascus. The document lists a large number of craftsmen, twelve in number, working with marble, including 'Ilyas Shanawi—the master and supervisor—Butros Lutfi, Yusuf ibn Abu Touma, Antonios Touma, and Nicola Danani. Two of them were masters (*wali al-ni'm*) and ten were craftsmen (*mu'allim*). From their names it is clear that most of these artisans were Christians. A new portico was also built over the south entrance.

At one time, there were tiles set into the octagon that indicated that the *qashani* or tiles were restored by Mahmud, but they had disappeared by 1894 (van Berchem 1927: 350-52, no. 251). According to the document, tiles were moved from the Dome to a storage area under the Haram,²⁶ suggesting that old tiles were removed from the exterior of the building, stored perhaps until the restoration could proceed after the production of new replacement tiles. Tiles were brought from Akka via Jaffa, suggesting perhaps that some tiles arrived from elsewhere by sea. The document lists materials such as wood beams for the construction of a workshop for tile production and materials such as clay blocks for kilns [ovens] for the firing of ceramic tiles. It further indicates that large quantities (several loads) of red, white and yellow clays were brought from Hebron and Solomon's Pools for the production of ceramics (Islamic Museum document 926: 2-3). Forms or moulds for tile-production are also listed, as well as other tools and equipment necessary for the production of tiles.

²⁶ Islamic Museum document no. 926: 1 includes information on the cost of hiring workers to move tiles into storage under the Haram.

The names of tilemakers also appear in the document. Four 'Masters of *qashani*' or tilemakers came from Ramla (Islamic Museum document 926: 1 includes a list of fees for animals to transport the masters). The tilemakers also signed and dated tiles during this period, examples of which are in the collection of the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem.²⁷ The clay used in these tiles is identical to the clay found in Hebron which is still in use today. These tiles all have a crackled clear glaze and are uniformly of low quality. Recently other tiles that share these same features were found stored under the Haram. Some of the latter were new and never used and were probably kept in storage for future use in repairs. On the drum of the dome there was once a tile with the signature of Yusuf Amin ibn Mustafa Agha, the director (*ma'mur*) of the restoration (van Berchem 1927: 352, no. 252). The name of the scribe of the document, Mustafa 'Ali Efendi, was on a number of tiles placed on the dome drum, suggesting that, as a calligrapher, he was one of the artisans who executed the calligraphic tiles (van Berchem 1927: 353-55, nos 253-61). The signatures of many tilemakers appear on tiles found mainly on the dome drum but also scattered on the lower octagon walls. Among them were 'Uthman ibn Muhammad, Muhammad ibn Yusuf, Hasan ibn Muhammad, Musa ibn Hasan, 'Uthman ibn Hasan, Ni'mat Allah al-Khuqandi, 'Umar ibn Husain, and Hajji Muhammad al-Qatri al-Shanji al-Dimashqi. The latter name appears on a dated tile and it has been suggested that this tilemaker was probably a Persian living in Damascus prior to his arrival in Jerusalem to work on this project.²⁸

This restoration comes not long after, when in 1810 the Russians constructed a new closed dome for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Ottomans thus yielded to increased pressure from abroad to control Christian holy sites and to claim ownership of land. The Europeans continued to vie for power and control in the Holy Land; at this time the Russians were paramount. Shortly thereafter, in 1840, they constructed the Russian Compound which dominates the landscape looming over the north-west corner of the Old City. The restoration also reflected the sultan's continued interest in and respect for the monuments of early Islam as a symbol of Ottoman authority in Arab lands.

In 1853, Sultan 'Abd al-Majid began yet another major project at the Dome of the Rock headed by the Armenian architect Garabet (Karabet) Kalfa.²⁹ In 1855,

²⁷ Several signed and dated tiles are to be found in the large collection of tiles in storage. These tiles were removed from the Dome during the replacement of all the tiles in the restorations of the 1960s made by the late King Hussein of Jordan.

²⁸ Van Berchem 1927: 358, no. 270. At the time van Berchem was writing, the tile was in Paris.

²⁹ 'Kalfa' is not part of the architect's name but is his title as chief supervisor of the project.

Asad Efendi, an Ottoman architect, was apparently in charge of projects at the Haram.³⁰ The project, directed by another Armenian architect, Sarkis Efendi, was completed by 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1874-75.

The two Armenian architects, Garabet Kalfa and Sarkis Efendi, are probably from the Balian family of royal architects working for the sultan in Istanbul. The dates of these restorations, in 1853 and 1874-75, correspond to the time that these architects were actively engaged with royal commissions for the capital. It is also known that the Armenian Patriarchate building in Jerusalem was designed by the Balian family.³¹ Thus, the royal patrons of these projects considered them important enough to send the chief architects of the Empire to supervise them on site in Jerusalem.

The 1874-75 restoration included stripping the south and west sides of the Dome's exterior, the replacement of the tiles with new ones—which were produced in an Istanbul workshop and shipped to Jerusalem—and the replacement of the *Ya Sin* inscription along the parapet of the octagon.³² The *Ya Sin* Sura of the Qur'an is dated 1875-1876 and signed by the scribe Muhammad Shafiq. The signature appears in small letters and is contained within a medallion.³³ According to a dated inscription in the south section of the ceiling, in 1874 the decorative wooden ceiling of the interior arcade was also repaired. An inscription in the lower part of the dome interior indicates that the interior of the dome was regilded at this time and the lead of the exterior was also repaired (van Berchem 1927: 329-333, no. 238, and 347-48, no. 248). In addition, bare patches of mosaic decoration were painted (Richmond 1924: 86). There are further inscriptions from the period of 'Abd al-'Aziz in this part of the dome documenting the restorations of earlier rulers (van Berchem 1927: 329-333, no. 238 and 347-48, no. 248). Part of this project was to emphasise the importance of the Dome by adorning with stucco and painted decoration the arcades (*qanatir*) on the stairs of the Dome's slightly elevated platform, the Qubbat al-Mi'raj and the façade of the Aqsa Mosque.³⁴

³⁰ Bartolini 1870-71: 227. Bartolini visited the Haram with the architect on 29 November 1855. Asad Efendi wanted to consult him on certain projects undertaken on the Dome and on other buildings.

³¹ This information was obtained in a discussion with the current Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem. As yet I have not pursued further research on this subject.

³² For tile production and subsequent tile restorations, see Yenişehirlioglu 1991 and de Vogüé 1865 for photographs. Wilson 1965 and Clermont-Ganneau 1899 discuss the condition of the monument prior to and during this restoration.

³³ Van Berchem 1927: 361, no. 272 read the name incorrectly as 'Fashiq'.

³⁴ A photograph dated 1871 indicates that this project, that is the addition of painted stucco to the arcades and façade of the mosque, dates from period of 'Abd al-'Aziz.

In 1876, 'Abd al-Hamid also bought carpets for the Dome. Successive Hamidian projects in 1897 include the repair of the dome and placing a new *hilal* (crescent) on top of the dome. New ribs were added to the dome and a new octagonal seat was made to support the increased weight of the new finial, which was made locally (Megaw 1946: 31). In 1898, three windows were introduced between the ribs at the base of the Dome, no doubt to enhance the illumination of the interior. There was also a hasty patching of the tiles, replacing old or missing ones with anything that was available (Megaw 1946: 18). In 1908, the band below the drum windows on the west side was reset with tiles from all periods of production (Megaw 1946: 18).

In the 19th century, all major building projects and restorations occurred as part of the Istanbul government's centralisation of military and administrative control over the provinces of the empire during the Tanzimat and the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid II. The government tried to centralise control in the provinces through institutional modernisation, Ottomanisation, and Islamisation. The initiation of the large-scale restoration by 'Abd al-Majid in 1853 reflects the reinstatement of the Ottomans in Jerusalem after a hiatus of Egyptian occupation from 1831-40, as well as rejoicing at the end of the Crimean War. The imposition of new institutions visibly altered the character of Jerusalem during this period and the politically motivated restorations of the Haram al-Sharif monuments can be seen as physical expressions of the Tanzimat and 'Abd al-Hamid's policy of Islamisation. Increased tourist and pilgrim access to the holy sites of Jerusalem and its region also prompted a renewed focus on the early Islamic monuments of the city.³⁵ In fact, the sprucing up of the monuments of the Haram al-Sharif and other projects in 1897-1898 are directly related to the visit of the German Kaiser Wilhelm in 1898. Many concessions were made for the visit of this German monarch, who had started, along with other European powers, to loan money and to fund projects in the Empire. Thus, Wilhelm's visit to Jerusalem is a reminder of the increased strength of European presence and the weakening of Ottoman financial and administrative control over the region.

In conclusion, the successive restoration projects of the Dome of the Rock from the 16th to the 20th centuries sponsored by the Ottomans are part of a continuum that began with Umayyad and later claims on Jerusalem. These restorations demonstrate the continuous Muslim maintenance of the site from 692 to 1917. The Dome of the Rock, in line with its early history, has thus been continuously appropriated as the symbol of sovereignty in Jerusalem, the spiritual capital of Bilad al-Sham.

³⁵ For restorations under 'Abd al-Hamid II, see Conrad Schick 1887 and 1896. See also Warren and Conder 1884.

Chapter 27

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK¹

John Carswell

I first saw the Dome of the Rock in 1951, and I can vividly remember my first impression.² There was a greyish, ribbed dome rising above the walls of the Old City, and it was the dome which most impressed me. It had a kind of bloom on it, like a decaying plum, and the shape was slightly irregular. When I finally penetrated the labyrinth of the *sugs* and found the entrance to the Haram, I received another kind of impression. The octagonal walls below the grey dome were covered with a palimpsest of old tiles, shimmering and glinting in the sunlight, as if the building had been rolled in a basket of broken sherds. What fascinated me was the integrity of the whole structure, poised on the blank stone platform of the Haram, as if it had been there since the beginning of time.

Thinking back to that moment, I now realise that I was very lucky, for I saw the Dome of the Rock at a particularly important moment of its deconstruction, which had taken more than four hundred years to accomplish. The conventional attitude at that time was that the building was simply dilapidated, the result of neglect

and the passage of time. But there is more to it than that; all buildings—as indeed all of us—deconstruct from the moment of creation. But buildings, unlike us, never perish; they mutate, and even when they finally collapse achieve an afterlife as archaeological debris—whereas we rot away in the grave, or are cremated to dust. One could argue that bones survive, but they have little individuality; one femur is very much like another and can tell us nothing about the unique qualities of the human spirit. Here again, buildings are different, for they have a history which tells us much about the minds of those who created them. Even more, through the strength and weaknesses of structure, they can also illustrate how successive generations have reacted to the fact of their existence. Buildings are eternal, and considered in this context, the Dome of the Rock has much to tell.

Let us first consider the setting. It is facile to say that the location is the most significant factor, invested with the beliefs of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. But equally relevant is the fact that the building and Jerusalem itself are close to the site of the invention of architecture. For it was at Jericho, just a few miles to the east and below the rim of the earth's crust, that mankind first conceived the idea of piling one stone regularly upon another, to create uniform, free-standing structures. These are the round towers and city walls of ancient Jericho, some ten thousand years old.

Until the end of the last Ice Age, about twelve thousand years before the present, man inhabited terrestrial space by sleeping on the ground or seeking the comfort of caves. But then something radical occurred, for he discovered that along with the domestication of animals, he could build. Suddenly there was something finite which

¹ Deconstruction. 'You've heard fashiony-types talking about this season's new thing, "deconstruction", but don't know what they're on about, don't panic! It's basically a pretty grungy look that's all about putting on layers of mis-matched togs that look as "used and abused" as poss . . .' *Update* (a teen magazine, London, n. d.).

² This chapter is contributed to the present volume in the place of a more formal study of the tiles of the Dome of Rock by Professor John Carswell and Dr Julian Raby, *The Ottoman Tiles from the Dome of the Rock* (forthcoming). The colour plates in the present volume represent some of those in the extended study.

lasted longer than he did. The early city walls of Jericho, and the houses they enclosed, are the first expression of this invention on a grand, urban scale. And for eight thousand years, up to the late Bronze Age, the period of Joshua, the process of destruction and reconstruction took place continuously at Jericho. The legacy is a great mound over thirty metres high. At what stage religious belief became part of the equation we have no way of knowing. But it is certain that by the time Jerusalem was founded, structures associated with religious practice were a commonplace.

Jerusalem is built on a projecting limestone spur, overlooking the Rift Valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Its geographical focus is towards the east, rather than the foothills of the Mediterranean. The rocky spur was levelled and a stone platform superimposed, on which the Temple of Solomon was built. This is very similar to the much later 16th-century Süleymaniyye complex in Istanbul, and the names Solomon/Sulaiman suggest that this may have been more than a mere coincidence. And it was on this very same platform that the Dome of the Rock was built. What did it signify? The general conclusion is that it had a symbiotic relationship with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that in the early days of Islam it was intended to become a tangible marker to refute the all-embracing Christian Trinity, emphasising instead the new monotheistic faith. The dome itself, with its obvious cosmic significance, served as a symbol of infinity, as well as an umbrella for the traditional site of Muhammad's ascent. The two concentric galleries had a useful function as a covered *piste* for the circumambulating faithful. The spiritual element was further amplified by the decoration of the interior, which featured symmetrical bouquets and glittering diadems, an abstraction of the splendour and power of Islam. There was also a mysterious cave beneath the rock, a metaphor perhaps for the pre-architectural origins of mankind.

Since the 7th century, all these useful functions and symbolic qualities have never ceased to inspire. But the building itself, the shell which served to house and express these ideals, has changed. As a construct, the Dome of the Rock has assumed its own independent identity. On a mundane level, it is perhaps rather like the Ritz, which stands symbolically for more than a mere accumulation of bedrooms.

* * *

As far as we can tell from the literary evidence and early travellers' attempts to depict it, the Dome of the Rock remained essentially unchanged in structure and decoration until the 16th century. There were, of course, adaptations during the Crusader period, but these were limited to a screen around the rock and painted woodwork. However, the exterior of the building has always been

vulnerable to the ravages of the Jerusalem climate, scorching hot in summer and icy cold and wet in winter. The most obvious effect was the deterioration of the mosaics which lined the outer walls and parapet niches.

When Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni (the Lawgiver) came to rule in 1522, he automatically assumed the caliphate. He fulfilled his responsibilities by embarking on a programme of refurbishment of the Holy Places, included the three most holy shrines of Islam in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Although his most conspicuous contribution to Jerusalem was the rebuilding of the city walls, he also devoted much attention to the Dome of the Rock. It was not enough for him simply to conserve it; instead he radically altered its appearance, turning it, as it were, inside out. Although inwardly it still focussed on the Rock, he determined that now it should proclaim itself loudly from the outside as well, as the older mosaics had done. Just as Mehmet the Conqueror built the Topkapi Sarai on a high hill above the Bosphorus to demonstrate his imperial power, Sulaiman seems to have had a similar intention for the Dome of the Rock. To be specific, the exterior was now clad for a good two-thirds of its height with glazed polychrome tiles. The exterior of most Ottoman buildings is marked by a certain sobriety; despite a few exceptions like the Yeşil Türbe at Bursa, the idea of sheathing the exterior of a building with tiles was most un-Ottoman. It was, however, common practice in Central Asia and Iran, and it was no accident that it should have been a group of Persian craftsmen whom Sulaiman ordered to work for him in Jerusalem.

The impact of Persian potters on the evolution of Syrian, Egyptian and Turkish tilework in the 15th century has long been acknowledged, and the frequency with which the name 'Tabrizi' occurs amongst the craftsmen links them definitively with Tabriz, in north-west Iran. Unfortunately, we know little about the genesis of the ceramic industry there. We do, however, know quite a lot about the expatriate Persian potters in Turkey, where they were responsible for the tiles in the Yeşil Cami and Yeşil Türbe in Bursa, and the Muradiyye Cami in Edirne. The mosque of Murad II, c.1437 AD, is of particular interest as it is here that one can see the switch from the traditional Persian *cuerda seca* technique to underglaze decoration, which was to be later exploited to such effect in the produces of the Iznik factories. After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, there appears to have been an initial hiatus, and when the ceramic industry got going again, first of all in Istanbul in the 1480s, and then at Iznik, it would appear that it was a new group of Persian potters who took the initiative. At the same time, Persian craftsmen continued to make tiles in the *cuerda seca* technique, and there is a whole sequence of imperial buildings decorated by them in the first half of the 16th century. One should also note that, whilst the Iznik potters were

contemporaneously producing a flood of underglaze-decorated vessels, the Iznik tile industry did not become fully active until the mid-16th century.

The key building which links the Persian *cuerda seca* tile-makers to the tiles decorating the exterior of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem is a little mosque in the small town of Bozüyük, east of Istanbul, on the road to Eskişehir. Here, in the Kasım Paşa Cami, which is dated 1528 AD, there is a series of tile panels of different design, including tiles with a pattern resembling a split butterfly, which closely resembles a similar tile design in Jerusalem. This group of potters worked in Turkey from 1520 until 1548, and it can be no coincidence that their last work there just predates the commencement of the tiling of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

But before the Dome of the Rock was tiled, a number of structural changes were made to the building. First, the windows of the outer octagon were remodelled, and the arch at the top became slightly pointed. And secondly, the Umayyad parapet niches separated by twin columns (of which more later) were walled up with limestone blocks to provide a plane surface for the tiles on the upper section of the octagon. Incidentally, what was the original purpose of this parapet wall? I suspect I may have discovered its function when I constructed a model of the Dome of the Rock some years ago. In fact, when you view the building from any direction whilst standing on the Haram platform, the parapet wall exactly masks the sloping roof of the octagon, and thus the drum and the dome above appear visually to rise up directly from the octagonal base.

The sequence of sheathing the building with tiles seems to have been within each zone, from the top to the bottom. The great tile mosaic inscription below the dome surmounts the tiling of the buttresses and panels of the drum, which are in *cuerda seca*. And on the eight faces of the octagon below, there is a transition from *cuerda seca* to true underglaze decoration, which reaches its zenith in the great *Ya Sin* inscription, removed at the end of the 19th century and now in storage. Julian Raby and I have been working on a study of the tiles, their evolution and design, for some years now, and the results are soon to be published. Here is it sufficient to say that we have found evidence for the production of the tiles in Jerusalem, actually close by in the Haram area. Finally, when their work was complete, the craftsmen moved on to Syria, where their initial work is to be found in the tiled *iwans* of the Bait Junblat in Aleppo, and then in a whole series of tiled buildings in Damascus, beginning with the Süleymaniyye Mosque.

One feature distinguishes the Jerusalem tiles from all others, and this is the fact that almost all the tiles were bored horizontally on their four sides, the tiles themselves being almost twice as thick as Iznik tiles. This was for the insertion of copper pins, which linked the tiles together,

and which were in turn hooked into the masonry behind. This unusual method of fastening the tiles to the building can only have been a practical response to the Jerusalem weather. Otherwise, moisture would have got behind the tiles and, when frozen in the winter time, they would eventually have been forced off the building. But this ingenious solution was not completely successful, and certainly by the early 18th century, the process of deconstruction was well under way. Tiles fell off, and were replaced by Syrian copies, easily detectable when compared with the originals. From now onwards, the exterior of the building became an outdoor museum of later Islamic tilework. A radical change came about at the end of the 19th century, when the tiles on the face of the parapet wall were in such bad repair that the whole *Ya Sin* inscription was taken down and replaced by a new copy. By the First World War, the building was in very bad shape, and one of the first moves under the British Mandate was to do something about it—and, indeed, about the generally dilapidated state of the Old City. Under the auspices of Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, and the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, the *Pro-Jerusalem Society* was formed. The Honorary Secretary was C R Ashbee, one of the most important members of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and it was probably due to him that so much was achieved in the few years before the society was disbanded, riven by political disputes.

K A C Creswell contributed an historical account of the Dome of the Rock to the *Proceedings of the Pro-Jerusalem Society*, published in 1920. Ernest Richmond was appointed to supervise repairs to the building, and Storrs invited an Armenian potter from Kütahya, David Ohanessian, to Jerusalem. He was instructed to build a kiln to make new tiles to replace the old. It is worth quoting Richmond's philosophy:

Tiles have decayed in the past, and tiles will decay in the future: some rapidly, some less so; some by natural and unavoidable causes, others by reason of neglect or lack of skill. In the past they have always been replaced in some form or other, though with varying success and uneven skill ...

If we admit ... that the Dome of the Rock is not merely a building of archaeological interest, but also a symbol of something very much alive, we must also allow that there is something to be said for maintaining the outward and visible sign of that vitality. All skin decays, but so long as there is life in the body which covers it, its tissues are continually renewed ... so long as the Dome of the Rock remains a live building ... so must its skin be continually renewed ... by marble

or mosaic, by tiles or by cement; for the walls have been too much hacked about, in order to provide a key by which to fix surface decoration, to make it tolerable that they should be entirely denuded ... within an appreciable number of years the choice will lie between cement as a covering to a considerable portion of the building, or new tiles.

Richmond's words were prophetic. The Ohanessian pottery never completely solved the problem of the Dome of the Rock, and the building continued to suffer further decay. By the end of the Second World War, it was decided that a thorough survey of the building and its decoration should be undertaken. This was executed by A S Megaw, and his report was deposited in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. His recommendations were never acted upon, as in 1948 hostilities intervened, and the State of Israel was proclaimed. Jerusalem fell under Jordanian jurisdiction, and in the 1960s the Auqaf itself undertook responsibility for the restoration of the Dome of the Rock. This was carried out with pan-Islamic funding and under the control of a team of Egyptian and Palestinian architects.

I well remember visiting Jerusalem in 1966, to find to my astonishment that the greatest deconstruction of all had taken place. The entire tilework had been stripped from the façade and was lying in heaps around the Haram. Most interesting of all, the parapet niches had been uncovered, and where Sulaiman's blocking stones had fallen out, one could discern traces of the original Umayyad mosaic decoration. I had to leave the next day, but I encouraged the directors of both the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Oriental Research to get up on the scaffolding and record them in detail. Neither did, nor as far as I know did the Egyptian architects. The parapet was then covered with six inches of reinforced concrete to provide a plane surface for the new tiles. One could argue that this was in its way an act of conservation, but to get at the evidence now one would need a pneumatic drill.

When I returned to Jerusalem some months later, the new tiles were in place, and the old tiles were still around the Haram. With the permission of the Auqaf, I made three representative collections of the different types, one to remain in Jerusalem, one for the British Museum, and a third for the museum of the American University of Beirut, where I then taught. As the final negotiations were being undertaken for their export, the 1967 so-called Six Day War broke out, the Israelis captured Jerusalem, and my three collections of tiles disappeared without trace.

As I was working in Beirut, Jerusalem was now out of bounds, but I did ask the head of the United Nations

Mission, Colonel Burns, if he could make some enquiries about the rest of the tiles. He reported back that he had been told that all the old tiles—some 60,000 of them—had been thrown away on the city dump. This was disappointing but not entirely surprising, as the Crusader painted woodwork which had been stripped out a couple of years previously during the restoration of the Dome of the Rock had been sold as lumber in the Old City, and you could buy chicken coops made from it. I wished I had.

As far as I was concerned at the time that was the end of the affair. The Dome of the Rock was completely restored, with a mix of some old but mostly new tiles. The reconstruction of the original design was quite close to the 16th-century scheme, with the opposite walls of the octagon repeating the same lay-out, so that each façade alternates with its neighbours. I came across the new tiles being manufactured in Kütahya, in Turkey, where they were skilfully copying the old designs. Although it is easy to detect the difference between the old and the new tiles close up, this does not show up so clearly at a distance. The major and certainly most striking addition to the building was the new anodised aluminium dome. Everyone hoped it would weather—which it did not—and more recently it has been replaced at the late King Hussein's own expense with a new ribbed dome properly gold-plated.

I said that as far as my own interest in the tiles was concerned, this was the end of the affair, but as events turned out, it was not. Much later I embarked on a survey and study of all the tiled monuments in Syria with Julian Raby, and during the course of our research it became very clear that what happened in Jerusalem in the mid-16th century as a result of Sulaiman's restoration of the Dome of the Rock was a crucial part of our general study of Syrian tiles. In the meanwhile, I had left the American University of Beirut, and by the late seventies was installed as Curator of the Museum of the Oriental Institute at The University of Chicago. One day, I received a call from the State Department asking me if I would entertain a young visitor from Jerusalem. When he arrived, I found he was the Palestinian Curator of the Aqsa Museum, on the edge of the Haram. Out of curiosity, I asked him if it was true that the Dome of the Rock tiles had all been thrown away. 'Oh no,' he said, 'I have them all locked up in a storeroom.' Having ascertained that we could see them, I rang up Julian Raby and agreed to meet him in Jerusalem as soon as we could get there. When we arrived we went to see Mr Adnan Husseini, the Engineer of the Auqaf, who was extremely friendly. But we came into collision with the keeper of the storeroom, who said we might study the tiles, but not photograph them without the written permission of the Auqaf. Adnan Husseini tried and tried to obtain this, and as the days ticked by I said to Julian that we would get permission on the day we left. In fact, we got it the day before. The weather was most inauspicious—cold, grey and

wet—and we had no special lighting. We took the tiles one by one onto the Haram and photographed them on the bare stone. Just in case, we both took duplicate sets and—incredibly—they all came out perfectly. Nor had we been idle whilst waiting for the *firman*, for we had used the time to measure and document each type in detail. The great discovery was the original *Ya Sin* inscription, which the elderly custodian had himself put into the correct sequence. We already had a copy of Megaw's report which he had generously given us in England, and in the Palestinian Archaeological Museum (now for political reasons euphemistically renamed the 'Rockefeller Museum') we were able to secure all the relevant photographs which accompanied the original report, and have them copied. Megaw's incisive and thorough report coupled with our own observations are the foundation of our present study.

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I have recounted this personal story in detail for a purpose, for it now also becomes part of the history of the deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock. Nor was it the only building in the Old City which was transformed during the Ottoman period; one thinks of the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, radically redecorated in the early 18th century, again with tiles from Kütahya. To return to my original point—buildings have their own lives and can

mean many things to different people at different times. To conclude, I quote what the Grand Mufti said about the Dome of the Rock in 1920, in remarks addressed to the Muslim community worldwide:

Now, when the men of the occupying power, and particularly His Excellency Storrs, saw the ruined state in which stood the mosque ... it was an eyesore to him and he expressed his deep regret, and set about at once—may God watch over him—and applied for an able engineer ... very soon the British Government sent out from its capital London the most celebrated engineer, this is Major Richmond. No sooner arrived than he set to work at once, tucking up his shirt sleeves of activity, minutely examining and investigating and reporting on what ought to be done, he also showed in an estimate that it would necessitate 80,000 pounds—not much, God willing, for those charitable people who wish to lend God a pious loan, which is not much if the object be to preserve such sacred precincts to which humanity flocks from all parts of the world. His call is 'Lo! Our riches we entail to Thee!' For verily he erects the mosques of God who believes in God. Verily, also, God will not suffer good works to go unrewarded.



Pl. 27.1 E T Richmond and the staff of the Palestine Department of Antiquities.

Chapter 28

THE OTTOMAN WINDOWS IN THE DOME OF THE ROCK AND THE AQSA MOSQUE

*Finbarr B Flood**

1. Introduction

The fragile art of the stucco and glass window (known in Arabic as *qamariyya* or *shamsiyya*) is one which has in general received short shrift from historians of Islamic art and architecture.¹ This is true even of those buildings about whose decoration much ink has been spilled, buildings in which the interior aesthetics, and indeed our ability to view

the decoration, is largely determined by the degree and quality of the illumination. The two structures to be considered here—the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Masjid al-Aqsa—are good examples of the phenomenon. Despite the numerous studies which have dealt with the architecture and decoration of both monuments, their coloured glass windows have received little serious attention. While the reasons for this are probably several, the most obvious are the difficulties involved in dating window-grilles. In addition to their inherent conservatism of style, stucco grilles will be repaired, remade and replaced several times during the lifetime of a building.² Any study of the windows in the Aqsa and Dome of the Rock will invariably find itself hampered by these considerations. Nevertheless, this seems an appropriate place to try to assemble the available evidence in order to contribute not just to a more holistic understanding of the architectural history of these key monuments, but to the study of Ottoman architectural decoration in general.

Although it has occasionally been asserted that some of the window-grilles in the Dome of the Rock date from the Mamluk (Rosen-Ayalon 1975: 94) or even the Ayyubid period (Saladin 1907: 69), it should be stated at the outset that it is extremely unlikely that any of the window-grilles currently visible in the Dome of the Rock

* Acknowledgements

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¹ The various articles published by H G Franz (1955, 1956, 1958) are an exception. More recently Ömür Bakirer has published a series of articles summarising the available information on the development of Turkish window-grilles (1985, 1990a, 1990b). See also Brosch 1990.

² In the discussion which follows I use the term 'repaired' where part of a grille has been replaced while still *in situ*. The term 'replaced' indicates where a grille has been removed and one of a later date substituted. Where the substituted grille reproduces the form of the grille which it replaces it is referred to as a 'copy'.

pre-date the Ottoman occupation. It seems more probable that most, if not all, of these stucco and glass windows are creations of the present century. The extent to which they replicate the designs of earlier windows will be considered below. The same is true of the window-grilles in the Aqsa mosque. The latter window-grilles will be dealt with only briefly, for less documentation is available regarding them and any earlier grilles were destroyed in the fire of 1386-87/1967.

Before commencing the discussion, it will be useful to summarise the evidence for the fenestration of both the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Aqsa Mosque in the period immediately preceding the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem. In the succeeding section an attempt will be made to determine the forms of the window-grilles installed during the restoration of both buildings in the reign of Sultan Sulaiman I (al-Qanuni). The evidence for changes to the window-grilles since the 10th/16th century is more fragmented, but will be presented in the relevant sections.

2. The Fenestration of the Monuments of the Haram in the Pre-Ottoman Period

The earliest indication that the windows of the Dome of the Rock were filled with coloured glass is given by Ibn al-Faqih (291/903), who mentions fifty-six windows 'glazed with glass of various hues' (Ibn al-Faqih 1885: 101; le Strange 1890: 120-21). The figure given corresponds to the sixteen windows in the drum of the dome and the five (including the lunettes above the doorways) pierced in each of the walls of the octagon. It is possible that some of these glass windows were contemporary with the construction of the monument, for almost all the major secular buildings of the Umayyad period have produced the remains of window-grilles composed of stucco and coloured glass.³ Richmond's investigations suggested that the original window-fillings were set back at an appreciable distance from both the internal and external faces of the window-openings (1924: 85-6; 1926: 39). One may assume that the windows were closed on the exterior with grilles of metal or marble, such as those which survive in the Great Mosque of Damascus (Creswell 1969: 202-4, pl. 59).

There is an unfortunate hiatus in the information pertaining to any subsequent changes to the windows of the Dome of the Rock before the Mamluk period. 6th/12th-century writers such as John of Würzburg do no more than mention the windows in passing (Tobler 1974:

125-6; de Sandoli 1980: 241). No information is given regarding the grilles which filled them, but there is no reason to suppose that any stucco and glass windows *in situ* would have proved unpalatable to Crusader tastes: elsewhere in the Levant stucco and glass window-grilles of traditional Islamic type were installed in Crusader castles and palaces.⁴

The information to be gleaned from the sources is more plentiful for the Mamluk period. Al-'Umari, writing before 755/1354, mentions the presence of glass lunette-grilles in the Qubbat al-Mi'raj (al-'Umari 1924: 149; Mayer 1931-2: 74). Of the windows in the Dome of the Rock—some of which may have been replaced during the restorations carried out in the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 718-9/1317-20 (Creswell 1969: 92 n. 4)—he states:

The drum wall is pierced with sixteen gilded glass (*zujaj mudhabat*) windows, covered externally with gratings ... each side of the octagon has seven windows, two blind lateral ones and five of glass, provided on the outer side with iron gratings (*al-shababik al-hadid*) (al-'Umari 1924: 140; Mayer 1932: 44-5).

In the mid-8th/14th century, Nicolo da Poggibonsi mentions that the Dome of the Rock has '*finestre bellissime*' (1945: 54). Subsequently Felix Fabri, observing the building from the adjacent Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, mentions the presence of glass windows in passing (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 191 n. 2; Creswell 1969: 79 n. 6). From this one may conclude that in the 8th/14th century the windows of the drum and octagon were filled with coloured glass, protected on the exterior by metal gratings.

One final point to be made in connection with the Dome of the Rock concerns the grilles which fill the lunettes above each of the four entrances to the Dome of the Rock. These consist of pierced marble grilles in the

⁴ For a mention of glass windows in Crusader dwellings see Rey 1883: 6). In the windows of a Crusader castle at Montfort and in a Crusader church at Atlit, pieces of coloured glass cut from circular panes of crown glass were set in lead cames (Lafond 1966: 237; Johns 1935: 133, fig. 8). The manufacture of crown glass was unknown in Europe at this date (Harden 1961: 41), but was common in the Levant from the Justinianic period (Meyer 1989). It has even been suggested that crown glass was introduced to Europe by returning Crusaders (Chambon 1963: 167). It had been common practice in the Levant from the Umayyad period onwards to cut pieces of coloured glass from such panes for use in stucco windows. The use of lead rather than stucco for the tracery of the windows at Atlit and Montfort is therefore anomalous. The windows thus appear to combine the techniques and materials of stained glass and *qamariyyat*.

³ Many of these finds are unpublished, but see Lafond 1966: 13-4; Bisheh 1990: 73, pl. LVI; Brosch 1990; Flood 1993: 17-23.

form of simple geometric patterns (Creswell 1969: 99). Several scholars have suggested that at least one of these grilles—an imbricated lattice above the western entrance—is Umayyad (Creswell 1969: 99 and pl. 4b; Sourdell-Thomine 1973: 143 and pl. 18). In view of the similarities between this grille and those surviving in the western *riwaq* of the Great Mosque of Damascus (Creswell 1969: 202–4 pl. 59 a–b), this would seem a reasonable assumption. There is however a problem, for Ibn al-Faqih mentions fifty-six windows filled with glass (Ibn al-Faqih 1885: 101). This figure would appear to include the sixteen windows of the drum, the five windows pierced in four walls of the building and the four windows and a lunette pierced in each of the walls in which entrances occur. Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 196) suggested that when Ibn al-Faqih visited the Sakhra the lunettes may have contained glass, although that is not the case with those presently in place. One must also consider the possibility that either Ibn al-Faqih was mistaken, or that none of the lunette grilles is original. If the latter is the case then one must at least consider the possibility that the lunette-grilles may have been replaced during one of the Ottoman restorations.

Perhaps the most remarkable testimony for the pre-Ottoman period is one which concerns the decoration not of the Dome of the Rock, but of the Aqsa Mosque. The description is given in the writings of Antonio da Crema who, along with two companions, was briefly permitted to see the interior of the mosque during a visit to Jerusalem in 891/1486. Amidst a long description, which is rich in detail but which has largely been ignored by architectural historians, da Crema notes two facts about the windows of the mosque. The first is that the lateral walls of the building were provided in their lower parts with large windows which were closed by means of bronze grilles in which the intersections of the vertical and horizontal bars were secured by metal ligatures (Nori 1981: 69). A second type of window, perhaps those along the *qibla* wall, were filled with coloured glass:

And at the end of this entrance one enters into a hall which is as long and as wide as the White Hall of your Lordship. The other side of it has windows which are much larger than the aforementioned, which come down almost as low as the floor of the room and which are furnished with shining glass (*lucido vetro*). Then above these is another order of small ones of which the window-glass is of various colours arranged individually (*singolarmente composite*) ... (after Nori 1981: 69).

No other descriptions of the Aqsa windows are known to me, but it is clear that at least some of the

windows in both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque were filled with tracery containing polychrome glass in the period preceding the Ottoman conquest. Another building in the Haram, the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (847/1482) was also provided with windows of coloured glass, for they are mentioned in its *waqfiyya* and in several contemporary descriptions (van Berchem 1923: 369; Ibrahim 1961: 437).

3. The 10th/16th-century windows

(i) Introduction

In the renovations to the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa ordered by Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni (926–74/1520–66) following the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem in 923–4/1517, the windows were among the first elements of the decoration to be replaced, presumably in order to protect the interior of the monument (van Berchem 1927: 329–32, no. 238; Meinecke 1988: 259). The continuous inscription which once ran from window to window gave a date of 935/1528–9 (van Berchem 1927: 331, n. 2). Since this date there have been numerous large- and small-scale restorations of both monuments which have entailed changes to their windows. The available information regarding such alterations will be summarised in sections 4 and 7. The frequency and scale of the recorded instances in which the window-grilles in both monuments have been replaced suggests that few, if any, of the windows now *in situ* date from the 10th/16th century. In addition to this, none of the windows which have been removed from the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Masjid al-Aqsa and which are today preserved in the Haram Museum seem to pre-date the restorations of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in 1291/1874 (Walls and Abu’l-Hajj 1980: no. 238).⁵ One is therefore left with the task of attempting to glean what information one can regarding the earlier windows from various sources.

Fortunately there are two excellent, if only partial, records of the windows installed by Sulaiman I in the octagon of the Dome of the Rock. The first—the *Temple de Jérusalem* of Count Melchior de Vogüé, published in 1281/1864—includes colour drawings of three windows and a partial record of the inscriptions which they bore. De

⁵ Of three grilles presently housed in the Haram Museum and examined in the course of this study, one (pl. 28.6), which follows the form of what appears to be a 13th/19th-century type, dates from 1342–6/1923–7 (see Appendix II, comments for window 19). Another bears the name of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and the date 1291/1874 (pls. 28.9–11), while a third (pl. 28.7), which does appear to copy a 10th/16th-century form, seems likely to date from restorations of the 1340s/1920s, and to have been replaced subsequently.

Vogüé's account may be supplemented by that of Henri Sauvaire, whose more complete record of the inscriptions in the windows was compiled in 1311/1893 and checked again by Max van Berchem in 1333/1914 (van Berchem 1927: 329-30). Using the information contained in both these sources it is possible to suggest how the window-grilles installed by order of Sultan Sulaiman compared to both the types of contemporary grilles being produced in Istanbul and to those which fill the windows of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque today.

It should be stated at the outset that the window-grilles in the drum of the dome of the Qubbat al-Sakhra are of a different form from those of the octagon, both in their dimensions and in the lack of the epigraphic band which is included in all the stucco and glass window-grilles of the octagon. There is a noticeable dearth of evidence regarding the windows of the drum in the 10th/16th century and I will return to this issue in section 6.

(ii) The outer grilles

The system of fenestration employed in the windows of both the octagon and the dome was somewhat idiosyncratic. The original windows had been set in the centre of the embrasures (Richmond 1924: 86). In Mamluk buildings grilles of stucco and glass were usually set in the interior of window-openings, protected on the exterior by nets of brass or copper or by open grilles of wood or metal (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 90-1). As we have just seen, during the Mamluk period the stucco and glass windows which filled the interior of the window-openings in the Dome of the Rock were protected on the exterior by metal grilles.

It was common practice in Ottoman buildings to protect fragile grilles of coloured glass with more robust exterior grilles of stucco or lead in which were set circular discs of clear, usually crown, glass (Arseven n.d: 183 fig. 453; Goodwin 1971: 237). According to Richmond, in the Ottoman windows of the Dome of the Rock an unusual combination of these methods was used. The inner window-grilles were of stucco and coloured glass. In the centre of each window-opening was a closed grille consisting of plain glass roundels of about 20cm in diameter set in stucco. There are indications that in some cases the middle grilles containing large panes of clear glass were of wood rather than stucco (Shafi'i 1970: 65). The date of any such wooden intermediary grilles is not clear, and they may have been introduced at some point after the 10th/16th century. Finally, the exterior of each window was filled with a grille consisting of pierced glazed tiles backed with wire netting (Richmond 1924: 78; Wilson 1881: 60). At certain times in the past the inner grilles of glass roundels set in stucco have been visible externally in

windows where the outer tile grilles were damaged (Schoberl 1835: 102).

Despite the introduction of the new system of fenestration, there is evidence that in some of the windows of both the octagon and the drum of the dome the metal gratings seen in the Mamluk period were not replaced, but continued to survive between the outer grilles of pierced tiles and the inner windows of coloured glass, possibly as late as the present century.⁶ This fact may explain a somewhat puzzling description of the external appearance of the windows by Elzear Horn, writing in the second quarter of the 12th/18th century:

In the four sides, where there are no doors, there are seven windows, and in the remaining four there are six windows, made of copper divided crosswise like a cage, and of encrusted glass, of which, however, some seem to be closed (Horn 1962: 202-3).

The error in the number of open windows in the sides of the octagon leaves open the possibility that this account is mistaken. It may be however that when Horn saw the monument the outer panels were missing, revealing the metal grilles and the glass windows beneath.

The major disadvantages of this unusually elaborate system are that it both hastened the demise of the coloured glass windows—permitting the build-up of rain-water, dampness and dirt between the two layers of stucco grilles—and severely curtailed the amount of light entering the building (Richmond 1924: 80). The latter disadvantage may have been mitigated to some extent by the amount of light entering through the doors,⁷ but at least by the time Evliya Çelebi visited Jerusalem, the entrances to the Dome of the Rock were covered with thick embroidered curtains, even when the doors were open (St Stephan 1942: 88). In terms of its effect on the light penetrating the interior, the triple-grille system acted to filter and subdue the light passing through windows, producing superimposed layers of pattern dimly visible behind the coloured glass of the interior grilles. The contrast between the subdued tones of the coloured light passing through the windows of the Dome of the Rock and the harsher hues of the coloured

⁶ The continued existence of such metal gratings is mentioned in the reports of Megaw 1952: 88 and Shafi'i 1970: 65. An unpublished photograph in the photographic archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund (P.1529-31), taken in 1291/1874, shows a metal grille appearing in a window in which parts of the outer tile panel are missing.

⁷ Nasir-i Khusrau informs us that, in the 5th/11th century, the main light entering the Aqsa came not from its windows, but from its doors (le Strange 1890: 107). It is reported that in the 10th/16th century the doors of the Sakhra were kept open day and night (Suriano 1949: 109).

glass windows in the Aqsa—which were not provided with exterior tile grilles—is noted by later observers (de Vogüé 1864: 103).

(iii) *The inner grilles of stucco and coloured glass*

The three drawings published by de Vogüé (pls. 1–3) show windows which are similar in their internal divisions. The windows measure about 3.25m by 1.09m (3.45m by 1.28m set in their wooden frames) and are divided into three distinct zones, each delineated by a thick border of stucco tracery about 2.5cm wide.⁸ The lower zone consists of a rectangular field measuring 30cm by 27cm. This is separated from the lunette of the grille by an epigraphic panel which measures 70cm by 37cm. An outer border 20cm wide, consisting of ovoid cartouches separated by medallions or rhomboids, surrounds the central fields. The central field is composed of a large rectangular panel separated from a round-headed lunette by a band of epigraphy. Details to be discussed shortly—such as border motifs and inscriptions—suggest that the grilles recorded by de Vogüé were indeed those set in place during the restorations of Sulaiman I. While the drawings are masterpieces of detailed architectural drawing, two points must be borne in mind in using them. Firstly—with the exception of thick outer borders—no attempt is made to distinguish the fine white lines of the inner stucco tracery from the glass which fills it. Secondly, the absence of a section through any of the windows means that, from the drawings alone, one cannot determine that the stucco tracery was executed to different depths, producing two different planes of tracery across the surface of the windows (Richmond 1924: 40).

The borders all consist of elongated cartouches separated by smaller geometric units. In the case of two of the published windows the cartouches are filled with a dense grid of floral elements similar to those which can be found in some of the window-grilles in place today. In the third window the cartouches are filled with a more complex arrangement of floral motifs. While the alternation of cartouches with medallions or rhomboids is undiagnostic, the border motif of the third window on the east side (pl. 28.2) is characteristically Ottoman. Here the cartouches are separated by a series of quadrilobed medallions which also appear in some of the modern windows (pl. 28.4). The same border motif appears in the tile ornament surrounding the exterior of the window-

openings (pl. 28.5). This suggests both that the design of the *qamariyya* is contemporary with the 10th/16th-century tile ornament, and that the fine stucco and glass grilles which filled the interior of the windows made reference to the more robust pierced tile grilles on the exterior.⁹ Further evidence to support a 10th/16th-century date for this design may be found in Istanbul and elsewhere, for similar quadrilobed medallions appear between larger cartouches as a border motif in stucco and glass windows in a series of buildings constructed by order of Sulaiman I or by members of his court.¹⁰

A 10th/16th-century date for the windows published by de Vogüé is confirmed by the inscriptions which they bear. In the original scheme, for which a reconstruction is proposed in Appendix 28.1, the epigraphic bands in the windows of the octagon formed a continuous inscription which started with the first window on the eastern side (window 1). The inscriptions in two of the windows published by de Vogüé are ahistorical. The first window on the eastern side (pl. 28.1) bore the *bismillah*, the third (pl. 28.2) an excerpt from Sura II:163. This is not the case with window 26, the last window on the south-western side (pl. 28.3), which, according to both de Vogüé and van Berchem, bore the inscription *Sulaiman ibn al-sultan Salim Khan ibn Bayazid*. If this window-grille was not an original work of the 10th/16th century it seems unlikely that it would bear the name and titles of Sulaiman; when many of the windows were removed during the restorations carried out in 1291/1874, the replacement windows bore the name of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.

Quotations from three Qur’anic *suras* appeared in the windows. Sura II: 163–64 ran from window 2 to 3, while Aya 255 of the same *sura* was continued from window 4 to window 9. An extract from Sura IX: 18, rather than the complete *aya*, ran from window 15 to 18. The

⁹ Similar borders occur on the Ottoman tiled panels in the *qibla* wall of the Qubbat al-Silsila (Aslanapa 1989: fig. 2). Related polylobed medallions separating elongated cartouches may be found in the borders of some of the windows which appear in contemporary Ottoman miniatures (Bakirer 1990: fig. 91).

¹⁰ For example in the mosque of Shazadeh in Istanbul (950/1543), visible in an unpublished photograph in the Creswell Archive, no. 7124. A similar border motif is used in the stucco and glass windows flanking the *mihrab* in the Mosque of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (979/1571). These windows are not original, but date from 1299/1881. According to contemporary sources, however, the 13th/19th-century windows ‘are in keeping with the original design’ and incorporate some fragments of the 10th/16th-century glass (see Kuban 1968: 36; Goodwin 1992: 272). The same border motif appears in the stucco and glass windows in the Tekkiye in Damascus (968–74/1560–6) (Creswell Archive no. 5602). These may be later copies, but they bear a sufficiently striking resemblance to some of the window-grilles in the Süleymaniyye Mosque in Istanbul (discussed in section 4 below) to suggest that even if this is so, they preserve the form of the 10th/16th-century windows.

⁸ The measurements which follow are based on an examination of a window now in the Haram Museum (pl. 28.7). The style of this window suggests that it reproduces one of the 10th/16th-century windows, but it may be a copy produced during one of the restoration campaigns of the present century.

longest extracts are from Sura XLVIII (*al-Fath* or 'Victory')—verses 1 to 5 appeared in continuous sections in windows 28 to 36. Van Berchem drew attention to the probability that the historical inscription in windows 10 to 13, with its mention of the victories of the Muslim armies, was intended as a reference to the campaign which Sulaiman began in 935/1529 (the date given in the windows) and ended at the walls of Vienna (1927: 332):

O God, aid and sustain the armies of the Muslims. Prolong the days of our Lord, the Sultan, Lord of the necks of nations, the Sultan Sulaiman, son of the Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayazid.

One might add that the use of extensive quotations from the Sura of Victory should probably be interpreted in a similar vein. Similarly the presence of the Throne Verse—a verse which appeared frequently in funerary monuments—and of descriptions of Paradise (XLVIII: 5) may relate to the destiny of those who fell in the military campaigns by which such victories were won. They are also appropriate to the decoration of a monument which, whatever its original meaning, has often been interpreted as a depiction of the Garden of Delight (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 46-73). There are however reasons for thinking that the epigraphic programme of the windows—including the choice and placing of the Qur'anic quotations—was influenced by the specific context in which it appears, revealing something of how the Dome of the Rock was perceived in the 10th/16th century.¹¹

Evliya Çelebi, visiting the Dome of the Rock in 1082/1672, gives the following description of the windows in the octagon and their inscriptions:

Windows in the first concentric wall overlook the Sanctuary. On their wonderful iridescent stained glass one reads either the words *la ilaha illallah* (There is no God but Allah) or the verse, 'God is the light of heavens (*sic*) and earth' (Sura XXIV: 35), or the names of the first four caliphs. It is a bewilderingly beautiful stained glass (St Stephan 1942: 89).

As may be seen from Appendix I, while the first part of the *shahada* did indeed appear in several windows, there is no evidence for the presence of either caliphal names or excerpts from the Light Verse. One must assume therefore that Evliya Çelebi's account is inaccurate on this

point. His perception may have been influenced by his familiarity with the coloured glass windows in the mosques of Istanbul, which did on occasion bear excerpts from the Light Verse (Necipoğlu 1985: 100; see section 4 below).

The letters of the inscriptions themselves were executed in colourless glass against a dark blue ground, which had the effect of rendering the inscriptions more legible than other aspects of the window tracery. Vegetal tracery filled with red glass appeared in the interstices between the letters of the inscription.

In two of the three window-types which are documented, the design of the tracery filling the large central field below the epigraphic band is continued in the lunette above (pls. 28.2-3, figs. 28.2-3). The two are linked conceptually, since the design is regular and repetitious, covering the whole internal field apart from where it is interrupted by the inscribed band. In the third case the pattern does not appear to be continuous, although a similar arabesque motif occurs in both the lower field and the lunette of the window. The tracery designs are all based on symmetrical arrangements of floral or vegetal ornaments, sometimes in combination with geometrical grids.

That the three windows for which published drawings exist are all of different form is indicative of a variety which would originally have almost certainly included several other window types. At least one of the 10th/16th-century windows recorded by de Vogüé (pl. 28.1) is no longer represented among the types now *in situ*. That the type of border motif associated with this form of grille—a series of cartouches with intermediate rhomboids—no longer appears among the windows of the Qubbat al-Sakhra suggests that the border motifs may have been specific to particular types of windows. The vanished type has been replaced by a type of grille (type 1, pl. 28.6) which may have been introduced in the 13th/19th century and which appears today in windows 1, 4, 10, 13, 19, 22, 28 and 31.¹²

Some clue as to how *qamariyyat* of different forms were arranged in the windows of the octagon is provided by the fact that windows 1 and 3, the first and third window-grilles in the eastern side, are of different types. This was also the case when de Vogüé recorded the grilles in these windows (Appendix II, windows 1 and 3). The reasons for believing the latter grilles to be 10th/16th-century creations, or accurate copies, are cited in Appendix II. One must either assume that all four window-grilles on this side were of differing types, or that the grilles were arranged symmetrically, with grilles of one type filling the two windows furthest from the entrance and two of another type in the windows nearest it. Since coloured glass

¹¹ This aspect of the inscriptions will be discussed in a forthcoming study of the meaning of the monument by Julian Raby.

¹² See note 42; Appendix II, comments on windows 19 and 28.

windows were usually arranged symmetrically in both Mamluk and Ottoman buildings, this seems the most likely possibility.¹³ Thus one may conclude that on the eastern and western sides of the octagon a pair of grilles of one of the types published by de Vogüé (pl. 28.2) was flanked in the outer windows on these sides by windows of the second type which he recorded (pl. 28.1). It may be that on the northern and southern sides the same arrangement was followed, but using two different types of windows.¹⁴

In those sides in which no entrance exists one can assume that, for reasons of symmetry, the grille filling the central window was of the same type as that which appeared in the two windows at either end of the side. With the exception of the south-western side of the octagon (windows 23-7), where the arrangement is disturbed, the arrangement of the 10th/16th-century windows thus appears to have been similar to that used for the coloured glass windows in place today, with the window-grilles in opposite sides identical apart from their inscriptions.¹⁵

Despite the similar arrangement, it is clear that the modern stucco and glass windows in the outer windows on the sides of the octagon aligned to the cardinal points (windows 1, 4, 10, 13, 19, 22, 28 and 31), and of which an example is on display in the Haram Museum (pl. 28.6), bear little relation to those of the 10th/16th century. These grilles, in which the interior space is subdivided into a series of panels, seem to have replaced the arabesque type of grille recorded by de Vogüé in window 1 (pl. 28.1).¹⁶ The inscriptions of the windows on the eastern side (windows 1 and 3) are, however, similar to those recorded by de Vogüé and Sauvaire. It thus appears that elements of the 10th/16th-century design survive in the modern window-grilles, but incorporated into grilles of quite different type.

Of the remaining four types in place today, the

type of grille in windows 2, 3, 20, 21, 23, 25 and 27 (type 2, pl. 28.2 and fig. 28.4) is recorded by de Vogüé and, as has been demonstrated, seems to follow the form of a 10th/16th-century type. A further type (type 5, fig. 28.5), based on a hexagonal grid and now to be seen in windows 11-12, 24, 26, and 29-30, is similar, but not identical, to another 10th/16th-century type recorded by de Vogüé (pl. 28.3).¹⁷ A third type (type 3, fig. 28.4), now in windows 5, 7, 9, 14, 16, 18, 32, 34 and 36, may also reproduce another form of this date, for in more than three windows there is no evidence for the form of the grille having been altered substantially (Appendix 28.2, comments for windows 5, 7, 9, 32 and 34). The lack of small interstitial medallions between the larger cartouches of the border may indicate that the grilles now in place are modern copies of the 10th/16th-century windows in which the form of the original border has not been preserved. The final type of window-grille (type 4), now in windows 6, 8, 15, 17, 33 and 35, may also preserve the form of one of the grilles installed by Sultan Sulaiman, for its central motif—a medallion with terminal trefoils—appears in one of the windows of the dome (pl. 28.18, fig. 28.7) which, there are reasons for thinking, dates from this period (Appendix 28.3, comments for window 6). Similar windows appear in Persian miniatures from the late 9th/15th century onwards (fig. 28.6), and in Ottoman miniatures of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.¹⁸

From this survey, and from the evidence assembled in Appendix 28.2, one must conclude that, apart from one intrusive later type, the stucco and glass windows in the octagon today preserve the general forms of the 10th/16th-century windows. In many cases however the borders and inscriptions which appeared on the earlier windows have been altered. The modern arrangement conforms to the spirit, if not the letter, of the arrangement introduced at the time of Sultan Sulaiman.

If the forms and arrangement of the grilles indicate a certain fidelity to 10th/16th-century prototypes, this is not so with the glass used in the windows. Just as some of the earlier inscriptions have been copied but without reference to the grille type in which they appeared in the 10th/16th-century arrangement, so too the treatment of

¹³ Numerous examples may be found in the Burji Mamluk buildings of Cairo, for example, in the *madrasas* of Sultan Barquq (786-8/1384-6) and Inal al-Yusufi (795/1392). In Istanbul, symmetrical arrangements of coloured glass windows are found in the Süleymaniyye (965-6/1557-8) and in the Mosque of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (979/1571).

¹⁴ The outer grilles on both these sides today copy late forms (see Appendix 28.2, comments for window 19). Before the major restorations of this century a window-grille of the type now in windows 6, 8, 15, 17, 33 and 35—a type likely to reproduce the form of a 10th/16th-century grille, but for which there is no evidence of use in the windows of the eastern or western sides—appeared on the north side of the octagon, in window 30 (see Appendix 28.2, comments for window 30).

¹⁵ This is confirmed by the fact that there is no evidence for the grille now in window 20 ever having been substantially altered (Appendix 28.2). Apart from its inscription, the form of the grille is identical to that recorded by de Vogüé 1864: 96, pl. XXV in the window opposite (window 3). The same type appears in window 3 today.

¹⁶ For a discussion of this type see note 42 and Appendix 28.2, comments on windows 19 and 28.

¹⁷ Similar hexagonal grids appear in the windows depicted in 10th/16th-century Ottoman paintings (Bakirer 1990a: fig. 95).

¹⁸ The window in the accompanying drawing (fig. 28.6) appears in an illustrated version of the *Khamseh* of Nizami produced in Herat in 900/1494 (Stchoukine 1954: pl. LXXI). For similar window grilles in Ottoman paintings see Anon (n.d.: pls. XLII, XLIV, LII, LXXXI). Although the precise nature of the relationships between the windows depicted in Ottoman miniatures and their Persian counterparts, and the relation of both to window grilles in actual buildings, remains to be determined, it seems clear that a relationship exists (Rogers 1983: 230 n. 38; Bakirer 1985: 151). See also the discussion in Section 6.

the inscriptions in the earlier windows has not been preserved with strict accuracy. The use of colourless glass for the letters of the inscriptions is respected, but these are set against a blue ground in place of the original red. Indeed one suspects that little of the 10th/16th-century colour scheme is preserved in the coloured glass windows now in place. The predominant tones of the glass in the modern windows of the Dome of the Rock are blue and yellow. The painting executed by Harvey in 1327/1909 shows a wide range of colours—including colourless, red, yellow, green, turquoise, royal blue and purple—among the glass filling the windows (Creswell 1969 frontispiece). To judge from the painting, however, the predominant tone of the glass in the 10th/16th-century windows of the Dome of the Rock was not blue and yellow, but red, with blue and purple being the main subsidiary colours. This hypothesis finds some support in the reports of 10th/19th-century visitors to Jerusalem, who mention the purple hue of the windows in the Dome of the Rock (Conder 1879: 317). If the colours of the glass in the windows of the Süleymaniyye in Istanbul can be trusted,¹⁹ then red and blue were also the predominant colours of the glass used at this period in the windows of religious buildings in Istanbul.²⁰ If this is accepted, then it follows that the colours of the light which penetrates the interior of the Dome of the Rock today bear little resemblance to the colours which filled the interior after the restorations of Sultan Sulaiman.

In addition to information regarding the form of the coloured glass window-grilles installed by Sulaiman the Magnificent, some details of the techniques used in their manufacture are available. Clermont-Ganneau, in an account dating from 1291/1874, mentions handling a fragment of one of the windows. It seems likely that this was from one of the windows installed by Sultan Sulaiman, some of which were replaced at this time. He describes the method of manufacture as follows:

Every one knows that these windows consist of a simple slab of plaster, rather thick, cut

into holes in various pretty patterns; at the end of these holes are fixed little pieces of transparent coloured glass, combined with exquisite taste (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 218-9; Richmond 1924: 40).

This is clearly visible from the reverse of one of the windows removed from the Dome of the Rock and now in the Haram Museum (pl. 28.7). The stucco windows were strengthened by the use of rods of cane or iron and were mounted in thick wooden frames set into the window-openings (Richmond 1924: 79; 1926: 40).²¹

Most of the windows in the Haram Museum seem to date from the 1340s/1920s and were probably removed during the restorations of 1378-84/1958-64. It is probable however that some of the 10th/16th-century glass was reused in the later windows.²² The modern copies of window-types of the latter date preserved in the Haram Museum contain glass which does not appear to be modern.²³ This glass is cut from circular panes of window-glass of the type known as crown glass. The practice of cutting small pieces of coloured glass for use in *qamariyyat* from such circular plates was pioneered in Umayyad Syria and had continued subsequently in various parts of the Muslim world.²⁴ Despite the tendency for later visitors to describe the glass used in the windows of both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa as 'painted', de Vogüé rightly emphasises the point that the effect of the windows is not achieved by the use of painted glass—as in medieval European cathedrals for example—but by the juxtaposition within the lines of a pattern formed by stucco tracery of pieces of coloured glass, '*de la vitrerie pure et simple*' (1864: 96).

Replacing the windows in both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa must have required vast quantities of good quality glass. A single window-grille of the simple type pierced with large circular apertures which were used between the outer tiles and the inner *qamariyyat* could have used as many as fifty-five circular panes of clear glass, the diameter of each being about 20cm.²⁵ With fifty-two windows in the Dome of the Rock alone provided with such grilles, almost 3,000 panes may have been required. Additional clear glass would have been required for the protective grilles of the Aqsa, even without taking into account the coloured glass needed for the windows in both

¹⁹ The windows have evidently been either repaired or replaced with copies, for Arseven publishes a photograph of a fragment from one: (n.d: fig. 456). Goodwin (1971: 237) concludes that the window-grilles of the Süleymaniyye 'follow the original design but have been restored.' Bakirer (1985: 150) suggests that the windows are either original 'or else remade according to their original designs.'

²⁰ The construction notebooks of the mosque mention the purchase of white, red, yellow, deep blue, ruby and purple glass, much of which would have been used in the windows (Barkan 1972-9, vol. 1: 17; vol. 2: 175-6; Rogers 1982: 292). Red, purplish-red and turquoise were the predominant colours of the glass used in the windows of the Yeni Cami in Istanbul (finished 1074/1663) (Anon 1975: 69, colour plate on page 167). It is not known whether these are original; Bakirer (1985: 150) concludes that either they are, or that they copy the original windows.

²¹ For the use of metal rods in the manufacture of Turkish windows, see Lecompte (1902: 79).

²² See note 50.

²³ It is clearly distinct from that used in the window bearing the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz (pl. 28.11), which is flat glass with a high gloss, cut into large pieces.

²⁴ See notes 3 and 4.

²⁵ Based on Arseven (n.d: fig. 453, 3). The diameter of the panes is given by Richmond (1924: 78).

buildings. Although the glass industry at nearby Hebron could conceivably have provided at least some of the glass for both Mamluk and Ottoman windows,²⁶ it seems likely that much was imported from Istanbul. Since substantial quantities of both coloured and clear window-glass were imported to Mamluk Egypt and Ottoman Turkey—usually from Venice²⁷—it also seems probable that some of the glass used in the windows of the Dome of the Rock was imported. A *firman* dated 984/1576, however, which lists materials assembled during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman for repairs to the buildings of the Haram, makes no mention of glass (Heyd 1960: 101).

The fact that the pieces of coloured glass were attached to the rear of the stucco tracery rather than being sandwiched between two thick layers of tracery makes it clear that, technically at least, these windows were produced under the influence of local traditions. In Egypt and Syria the technique of attaching pieces of coloured glass to the rear of one layer of stucco tracery appears to have replaced the earlier technique of ‘sandwiching’ the glass between two layers of stucco tracery in the mid-8th/14th century (Herz Bey 1896: 3–4; Flood 1993: 146–8).²⁸ The latter technique continued in use in Ottoman Turkey; the windows of the Süleymaniye in Istanbul were produced in this way (Arseven n.d.: 182–3, figs. 455–6). This technique was later transmitted to the Yemen, where it continues to be used in the manufacture of stucco and glass windows (Bonnenfant 1977: 256–8). That a technique pioneered in Mamluk *qamariyyat* should be used in the manufacture of the windows of the Dome of the Rock in preference to a technique in use in the Ottoman capital suggests that these windows were manufactured by craftsmen of local origin.

By the time of the Ottoman conquest, coloured glass windows had been an integral part of the decorative repertoire of Mamluk architecture for almost two hundred and fifty years. The coloured glass windows of the

Ashrafiyya Madrasa (887/1482) in the Jerusalem Haram are mentioned by both Felix Fabri and Mujir al-Din (van Berchem 1923: 369, n. 2 and n. 5), and are described in its *waqfiyya* (Ibrahim 1961: 437). This was an imperial foundation which reflected the influence of Cairene architectural models, and for which materials were brought from Syria (Burgoyne 1987: 601). Van Berchem (1927: 333) suggests that the presence of coloured glass windows in the Ashrafiyya is evidence that the craft of *qamariyyat* manufacture was flourishing at this period. As an imperial *madrasa* the Ashrafiyya is, however, a special case and cannot be taken as the norm. There is no evidence for the existence of a local Jerusalemite tradition of coloured glass windows in the late 9th/15th century, and during the following century the lack of skilled craftsmen in Jerusalem is bemoaned in several documents (Heyd 1960: 156 n. 2). This is in contrast to Cairo, where coloured glass windows continued to be produced in the Ottoman period, the glass used in their manufacture being known as *zujaj qala’uni*, after the sultan during whose reign it was believed that such windows were introduced (Hanna 1984: 41). Although little is known of the *qamariyyat* industry in Damascus after the 8th/14th century, craftsmen were brought from Damascus to Jerusalem to work on various building projects in the 970s/1560s (Heyd 1960: 156, n. 2). It seems likely therefore that the 10th/16th-century windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque were the work of either Egyptian or Syrian craftsmen.

In spite of the use of local techniques in their production, one aspect of the windows is redolent of the stucco and glass windows of Ottoman Turkey: the fact that the pieces of glass used in the windows

are inserted obliquely, and not vertically, so as to overhang and meet the eye of the visitor at right angles ... (Clermont-Ganneau 1874: 138; 1899: 219; de Vogüé 1864: 96).²⁹

The resulting effect is to counteract the distortion caused by viewing the windows at an angle and to render the details of the design more legible. This also seems to have been facilitated by the use of tracery in two different planes, the main lines of the composition projecting further from the surface of the plaster panel than those of the subsidiary ornament filling the border cartouches (Richmond 1926: 40).

Although some still remained in the 13th/19th century (de Vogüé 1864: 103), any 10th/16th-century windows in the Aqsa have long since disappeared. Like those in the Dome of the Rock, the windows appear to have

²⁶ The flourishing state of the Hebron glass ateliers is noted by 8th/14th-century Western travellers (Bellorini and Hoade 1948: 68). There is some suggestion that the glass used in the *qamariyyat* which Qa’itbai sent to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina may have come from Hebron (see Newhall 1988: 241).

²⁷ For the Mamluk period, we have evidence that ‘Frankish’ glass (*al-zujaj al-afranjī*) was used in the windows of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (see van Berchem 1922: 369, n. 5; Ibrahim 1961: 427). Al-‘Umari mentions ‘Cypriot’ glass (*al-zujaj al-qibristī*) in the windows of a palace in the Cairo citadel, possibly the Qasr al-Ablaq (see Casanova 1897: 643). For Ottoman imports of Venetian window-glass, see Goodwin (1971: 347); Petricioli (1973: 91, fig. 22); Bakirer (1985: 148); and Rogers (1983: 245, 250).

²⁸ Any finds of window fragments manufactured according to the new technique from contexts which might pre-date the Bahri Mamluk period are either unstratified or described with so little precision that no conclusions can be drawn.

²⁹ For the same phenomenon in Turkish windows see Arseven (n.d.: fig. 457; 1939: fig. 404). The angle of downward slope in the tracery of the grilles in the Haram Museum is about 30°.

borne a continuous inscription in which the names of Sultan Sulaiman were given (van Berchem 1927: 439, no. 294). Sauvaire recorded the date of 996/1587 in this inscription. The date cannot be accurate, since Sulaiman died in 974/1566: it may have been a misreading for 936/1529-30, one year later than the date formerly visible in the windows of the Dome of the Rock (Meinecke 1988: 260-1). Nothing is known about the style of the Aqsa windows, but there are suggestions that they were of inferior quality to those in the Dome of the Rock. De Vogüé (1864: 103) suggests that this impression may be due to the absence of the exterior tile grilles which one finds in the Sakhra, so that the light entering the Aqsa had a harsher quality. The form of the outer grilles now in the windows of the mosque suggests that slabs of stucco filled with circular discs of crown glass—similar to the intermediate grilles in the windows of the Dome of the Rock—were installed at this time.

4. The Jerusalem windows in the context of imperial Ottoman architectural decoration

The coloured glass windows in the Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock have occasionally been described as ‘carpets’ of light (Schick 1887: 20). Although used as a poetic simile, this description may be more apt than those who coined it imagined. It is a notable aspect of Mamluk *qamariyyat* that many of the designs employed in their tracery are not exclusive to them, but reflect certain aesthetic trends which make themselves felt in the decoration of contemporary metalwork and textiles (Flood 1993: 148-52). The same seems to be true of Ottoman glass windows. As noted previously, the border motifs in some of the 10th/16th-century windows in the Dome of the Rock reproduced those on the tiles surrounding the exterior of the windows (pls. 28.4-28.5).

A further manifestation of this phenomenon is the fact that the colours and patterns of Burji Mamluk *qamariyyat* show marked parallels with those found in late Mamluk and early Ottoman carpets. Like the original 10th/16th-century windows in the Dome of the Rock, these were predominantly blues, red and purples. This may be part of the same shared aesthetic, or of a generalised ‘textile mentality’ (Golombek 1988), but there are indications of a more specific utilitarian dimension to the relationship between textile or carpet designs and certain types of architectural decoration. A good example of this is Semra

Ögel’s suggestion that the painted ornament on the interior of Ottoman domes reproduces the embroidered decoration of tents (Ögel 1973-6: 221-2). The ornament of the walls of such tents frequently suggest openings, and textiles were often hung on solid wall surfaces to similar effect (Denny 1990: 97-8). The textiles which hung in front of doors and window-openings were sometimes decorated with single-arch motifs which recall the form of the doors and windows which they covered.³⁰ A similar impulse is at work in the use on the leather covers of books of single sun designs (*shamsas*) which anticipate the illuminated *shamsa* of the frontispiece. It is not surprising therefore that the stucco tracery of Mamluk and Ottoman windows often appears to reproduce forms familiar from carpets or book covers (Bakirer 1985: 150-1). At both the Timurid and the Ottoman courts the use of cartoons which originated in imperial scriptoria for decorative enterprises executed in different media and on different scales is well documented (Raby and Tanindi 1993: 17, 22-3, 54-9). Such a scenario would go a long way towards explaining the overlapping styles of Ottoman window-grilles, tilework, frescoes, tent decoration, book-covers and carpets.

The large rectangular fields of at least two of the 10th/16th-century window-types in the Dome of the Rock (pl. 28.18, figs. 28.3 and 28.7) recall the design of contemporary carpets or book-covers. No precise parallels can be cited, but the concept of a rectangular field in which a central medallion is framed by four partially visible medallions is similar (Raby and Tanindi 1993: figs. 18-9, 62-3). Analogous motifs appear in the painted decoration of 10th/16th-century mosques in Istanbul (Otto-Dorn 1950: 52 fig. 8). Even if they were executed locally, one suspects—since the windows were installed at the behest of the sultan himself—that their designs may have originated in an imperial scriptorium. The transfer of designs from paper to ceramics, and subsequently to wall-painting and carpets, is a marked characteristic of the imperially-sponsored art of Istanbul in the 10th/16th century (Denny 1979: 9). The same phenomenon is apparent in the stucco and glass windows of the same period. For example, the four corner panels of the window above the *mihrab* in the Süleymaniyye Mosque in Istanbul, on which a flowering prunus appears (pl. 28.8 and fig. 28.8), reproduces a design which is found on tile panels appearing in a series of buildings with imperial associations in the capital.³¹

In the light of the available information one may

³⁰ See for example that depicted in a miniature in the 10th/16th-century *Hadiqat al-Su'ada* in the Türk-ve Islam Museum, Istanbul (Milstein 1990: 83, pl. VI).

³¹ The earliest appears to be a tile panel on the façade of the Sünnet Odası in Topkapi palace which was originally placed on one of a number of structures constructed by order of Sultan Sulaiman in 934-6/1527-8 (Atasoy and Raby 1989: 102). Tile panels with similar decoration appear in the following locations: the Tomb of Hürrem Sultan (967/1559), the Baths of Selim II, a *minbar* in the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha (969/1561) (see Denny 1977: figs. 136, 219-20, 251).

conclude that the designs of the 10th/16th-century coloured glass windows in the Dome of the Rock may have been determined in the Ottoman capital. Whether this is so or not, the technical considerations just cited indicate that they were not produced by craftsmen from Istanbul. The absence of skilled artisans such as carpenters and stone-cutters in Jerusalem at this period is recorded in several contemporary documents (Heyd 1960: 156 n. 2), which renders it likely that the craftsmen who produced the windows were brought from Egypt or Syria.

Not only the techniques used in the manufacture of the windows, but also the treatment of the inscriptions which they bear find their closest parallels in the *qamariyyat* which filled the windows of Mamluk mosques, *madrasas*, *khanqahs*, tombs and palaces. In Cairene tombs and *madrasas* of the 8th/14th century there are several instances of an inscription—usually a Qur’anic quotation—continuing from *qamariyya* to *qamariyya*.³² This is in contrast to the fenestration of Ottoman mosques, where one often finds the use of windows containing coloured glass restricted to the *qibla* wall, with a single elaborate epigraphic window-grille being reserved for the window above the *mihrab*.³³ It may be that this distinction merely reflects the predominance of different architectural forms and their associated systems of fenestration in different areas of the Islamic world. Nonetheless, taken in conjunction with the technical features mentioned previously, the treatment of the inscriptions which appeared on the windows installed by order of Sultan Sulaiman is one more pointer to the hybrid nature of the Jerusalem *qamariyyat*.

Not only were large quantities of glass imported to fill the windows of the new mosques erected in Istanbul,³⁴ but these very windows are sometimes mentioned in *waqf* documents along with the other ‘culturally significant architectonic elements of the mosque’s interior’ (Necipoğlu 1985: 99). As the case of the 10th/16th-century windows in the Dome of the Rock shows, the cultural significance of such windows might be enhanced by the inscriptions which they bore. The appearance of the names and titles of Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni in the windows of a building on the third holiest site in the Muslim world should be seen in the context of the latter’s building activities in Jerusalem as a whole, and within the Haram al-Sharif in particular

(Meinecke 1988). The inclusion of the sultan’s name in the inscriptions of the windows, with their blend of universal Qur’anic affirmations and specific historical aspirations, establishes an immediate connection between the holy places and the newly triumphant Ottoman dynasty. The replacement of the exterior mosaics with a covering of glazed tiles may be seen as part of a similar attempt to stamp an Ottoman identity on the Dome of the Rock (Necipoğlu 1990: 154). There were well-established precedents for such endeavours for, more often than not, the numerous campaigns of repair and restoration undertaken by the Mamluk sultans in the Haram al-Sharif were not merely the product of utilitarian sensibilities but of a desire to establish visual links between the Umayyad monuments and their own dynastic architecture (Flood 1997: 72).

While Sulaiman’s bequest of coloured glass windows to the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa was an inherent part of the overall restoration of the Jerusalem monuments, it also follows a precedent set by earlier custodians of the holy places. In section 6 it will be argued that at least some of the coloured glass windows in the Dome of the Rock were replaced as part of the work undertaken in 718-19/1318-19 by order of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. In the following century, a series of coloured glass windows—a novelty in the Hijaz—were set in place along the *qibla* wall of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina by order of Sultan Qa’itbai (Samhudi 1891: 170; Newhall 1987: 241). The installation of coloured glass windows as part of a major programme of restoration in the Haram is indicative both of the important role which such elements played in the repertoire of Ottoman architectural decoration in general, and of their ability to act as bearers of religious and political meaning in specific circumstances.

The functional association between the window and light rendered it a natural vehicle for iconographic allusions to the theme of divine light. This association appears to have been particularly exploited in Ottoman architecture. In the *waqfiyya* of the Süleymaniyye Mosque (965-6/1557-8) in Istanbul, the Light Verse (Sura XXIV:35) is invoked, ‘to show that the mosque is illuminated by divine light’ (Kürkçüoğlu 1962: 22; Necipoğlu 1985: 100). To the same end the use of coloured glass is restricted to the windows of the *qibla*, while the Light Verse itself appears in the most elaborate window, directly above the *mihrab*. The same verse appears in a series of domes erected in the city in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (Von Hammer 1834: 76; Goodwin 1971: 235; Ögel 1973-6: 225-6). Contemporary descriptions of the coloured windows compare their colours to the ever-changing colours of the wings of the Prophet or the Archangel Gabriel (Sözen 1989: 90; Pasha 1983: 216). Since Evliya Çelebi’s is the earliest description of the 10th/16th-century Jerusalem windows available, it is worth

³² In the windows of the mausoleum adjoining the Madrasa of Aslam al-Silahdar (746/1345) and in the prayer-hall of the Barquqiyya (786/1384-6).

³³ As in the Süleymaniyye (Necipoğlu 1985: 100; see also Kuban 1968: 27; von Hammer 1834: 71). This is also the case in the Jami’ al-Taurizi in Damascus, which was restored in the late 9th/15th century.

³⁴ See note 27. Imports of window-glass for the mosques of Istanbul are also mentioned by Evliya Çelebi (see von Hammer 1834: 113).

comparing his description of the Süleymaniyye windows to that which he gives of the windows in the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque. Of the Süleymaniyye he says:

Sinan opened windows on every side to give light to the mosque. Those over the Mihrab and Minber are filled with coloured glass, the brilliance of whose colours within, and the splendour of the light reflected from them at noon, dazzle the eyes of the beholders, and fill them with astonishment. Each window is adorned with some hundreds of thousands of small pieces of glass, which represent either flowers, or the letters forming the excellent names (i.e. the Divine attributes); they are, therefore, celebrated by travellers all over the world (von Hammer 1834: 75).

In this same traveller's account of the windows installed in the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa by Sultan Sulaiman, there are implicit connections with those of the Süleymaniyye. Although Evliya Çelebi omits to mention that the Light Verse appears in the Süleymaniyye windows, he asserts that it is present in the windows of the Dome of the Rock—an assertion for which there is no corroborating evidence.³⁵ It seems unlikely that Evliya Çelebi took the time to decipher the inscriptions in the windows and more probable that, the connection between natural and divine illumination being well-established, he assumed that the Light Verse would appear in the windows of the Dome of the Rock, even as it did in the windows of the Süleymaniyye. In fact, although no details are given of the coloured glass grilles in the sixteen windows of the dome, we are told that it is 'full of divine lights' (St Stephan 1942: 90). We are also told that, on seeing the Rock, it was customary for pilgrims to offer a prayer which began, 'O God, let there be light in my heart ...' (St Stephan 1942: 86).

Using language reminiscent of his somewhat clichéd description of the Süleymaniyye windows, Evliya Çelebi gives an idea of how the windows in the Dome of the Rock appeared in the early 11th/17th century:

The master builder lavishly adorned [the piers] with richly gilt ornamentations, as well as variegated paintings so that, when the sun rays fall through the stained window glass on these piers, a stranger, not accustomed to the sight, would be bewildered (St Stephan 1942: 89).

The clearest suggestion that there is a direct connection between the windows of the Süleymaniyye and those installed by Sulaiman in the buildings of the Haram comes in the description of al-Aqsa. We are given the following description of the dome in front of the *qibla* and the *mihrab*:

It is a rotunda of 'light above light' (Sura XXIV: 35). Round it the verse is inscribed: 'Allah is the Light of Heaven and Earth' (Sura XXIV: 35). It was restored by Sulaiman Khan ... Sulaiman Khan selected from personal acquaintance the gifted master, the glass-mosaicist, the Drunkard 'Abdullah (Serkhosh 'Abdo), who has performed marvels in this prayer-niche of the Noble Mosque, by using twelve kinds of different fine and iridescent colours, so much so that the reflected rays, falling on the ground, lighten the entire mosque and fill the whole large congregation with light and meditation, inspiring them to reverent and submissive prayers. Besides the glass panes of twelve colours already mentioned there are one hundred and five glass panes in all, crystals, rock-crystals, and violet-coloured glass included (St Stephan 1942: 82-3).

Further on in the same passage the Light Verse is invoked in a description of the artificial illumination of the mosque. Apart from the explicit connection made between the Light Verse and the coloured light radiated through the windows and reflected from the mosaics of the dome, Evliya Çelebi ascribes the vitreous ornament of the Aqsa to Abdullah the Drunkard. The coloured glass windows of the Süleymaniyye are attributed to Ibrahim the Drunkard (Mayer 1954: 265; Goodwin 1971: 235-7).³⁶ While it is possible that the same skilled imbibor was responsible for the windows in both Istanbul and Jerusalem (Meinecke 1988: 261), given the fact that the buildings stand at a remove of almost thirty years—not to mention the unhealthy lifestyle of the individual—this seems unlikely. Instead it may be that Evliya Çelebi is attempting, or reporting an attempt, to acknowledge a connection between the celebrated glass ornament in two buildings which stand at the centre of the metropolitan and provincial architectural programmes undertaken by Sulaiman.

³⁵ As mentioned in Section 3 (iii). It is noteworthy that two of the inscriptions attributed to the Jerusalem windows—the Light Verse and the names of the first four caliphs—do appear in the epigraphic ornament of the Süleymaniyye (Goodwin 1971: 235).

³⁶ Since the name of this individual does not appear among the lists of craftsmen recorded as having worked on the mosque, Rogers (1983: 243) suggests that either he was permanently absent with a hangover, or that he may have been a mythical figure.

Some indication that the transcendental significance attributed to natural light in this description and those cited previously was not an idiosyncratic one is found in the Dome of the Rock itself. In addition to the lunettes and windows filled with coloured glass mentioned previously, a single low rectangular window closed with a metal grille and wooden shutters was pierced in two faces of the octagon, on its south-eastern and south-western sides. The openings were created at the same time, for each once bore an inscription which gave the date of 1006/1597-8 (van Berchem 1927: 340-2 nos. 243-4). The inscription accompanying the south-eastern window states that the work was undertaken as a result of a revelation in which the benefactor was told to open a window in the Qubbat al-Sakhra so that the morning sun might penetrate the building and give it the appearance of Paradise (*jannat alma'wa*).³⁷ Although it stands at a remove of sixty years from the installation of the coloured glass windows, read in conjunction with the evidence from Istanbul the inscription suggests the Ottoman approach to fenestration in the Dome of the Rock was not motivated solely by utilitarian or aesthetic considerations.

5. Changes to the windows in the octagon of the Dome of the Rock since the 10th/16th century

At least eight campaigns of restoration to the Dome of the Rock have been carried out since the time of Sulaiman Qanuni.³⁸ Many of these were extended to the Aqsa mosque also. The campaigns known to have involved alterations to the windows of one or both buildings are those of 1133-5/1720-1, 1233/1817-8, 1291-3/1873-5, 1342-6/1923-7 and 1378-84/1958-64. For convenience, a summary of those changes to the window-grilles of the Sakhra which can be documented is provided in Appendices II and III. Several windows in the octagon were replaced during the restorations of 1291/1874, while

more were replaced in the period between 1291/1874 and 1342/1923, some on the occasion of the Kaiser's visit in 1316/1898. It is clear however that the majority of the changes occurred during the two major restorations of the present century. Between 1342/1923 and 1346/1926 for example twenty windows were removed and replaced (Anon 1928: 13). A single window (e.g. window 19) may have had its *qamariyya* replaced on as many as three occasions in the past hundred years. In some cases the modern coloured glass window bears no relation to that previously in place. In others, copies of one type of 10th/16th-century window-grille occur in windows where another type would originally have appeared.

On the basis of the information summarised in Appendix II and discussed in Section 3 (iii) above, the following conclusions may be offered. Of the five different window-types now *in situ*, one appears to copy a design of the 13th/19th century.³⁹ The remaining four types preserve the form of the *qamariyyat* introduced during the restorations undertaken by Sulaiman the Magnificent, but in most cases the inscriptions have been altered. In addition, the colour of the glass in the present *qamariyyat* bears little relation to that used in the 10th/16th-century windows. At some time during the present century a type of 10th/16th-century window-grille (pl. 28.1) has been lost, and another (pl. 28.3) altered.⁴⁰

Because the windows have undergone so many changes, little can be said of any 11th/17th- or 12th/18th-century *qamariyyat* which may have been introduced in the period between the restoration of the monument by Sultan Sulaiman and the major campaigns of restoration undertaken in the present century.

An exception to this is the period of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz (1277-93/1861-76). The design of a fragmentary window-grille now in the Haram Museum which bears the names and titles of 'Abd al-'Aziz (pls. 28.9-11 and fig. 28.9) seems to have been based on a 10th/16th-century type, but did not copy it exactly.⁴¹ A second window in the Haram Museum which may also date from this period (pl. 28.7) is more faithful to the 10th/16th-century original. It appears that at least one new type—based on a pastiche of elements derived for the most part from 10th/16th-century window-grilles—was introduced at some point in the 12th/18th or

³⁷ Van Berchem 1927: 341 no. 243. The story of an architectural project undertaken as the result of a dream or vision is suspiciously reminiscent of the manner in which Sulaiman's programme of restoration in the Haram is said by Evliya Çelebi to have been inspired (St Stephan 1942: 87).

³⁸ Ibrahim I 1052/1642-3 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: no. 245); Ahmad III 1133-5/1720-1 (Göyünç 1982: 328; St Laurent and Reidlmayer 1993: 77-9); Mahmud I 1155/1742 (Göyünç 1982: 329, n.8); 'Abd al-Hamid I 1194-5/1780-1 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj, 1980: no. 246); Mahmud II 1233/1817-8 (Le Strange 1890: 135; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: nos 250-9); 'Abd al-'Aziz 1291-3/1873-5 (van Berchem 1927: 329-30; Creswell 1969: 91); 1342-6/1923-7 (Anon 1928); 1378-84/1958-64 (Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: no. 238).

³⁹ See note 42.

⁴⁰ I am assuming that the tracery in the form of a hexagonal grid (now in windows 11-12, 24, 26 and 29-30) is based on the form depicted above (pl. 28.3).

⁴¹ The presence of the name of this sultan and the form in which it appears indicates that the grille could only have been removed from window 12, for van Berchem (1927: 329) recorded such an inscription in this position. Curiously, van Berchem makes no mention of the date, perhaps because it was barely legible when the grille was in place.

13th/19th century and copied subsequently (pl. 28.6).⁴²

While the window-grille with the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz is clearly intended to blend with the earlier *qamariyyat* in the Sakhra—and should not therefore be taken as typical of late Ottoman coloured glass windows—they do betray certain technical peculiarities. The glass which was used in their manufacture is quite different from that which Richmond describes in the earlier *qamariyyat* (1924: 79). In place of the small pieces of streaked and bubbled glass used earlier, large pieces of flat translucent glass with a high surface gloss were used in the window of 'Abd al-'Aziz (pl. 28.11). The fact that so many of the window-grilles installed during the restorations of 'Abd al-'Aziz were subsequently replaced is a testimony to the poor quality of the plaster of which their tracery was composed, a fact noted by Richmond (1924: 79).

The final detail which may be used to distinguish window-grilles of this period from earlier *qamariyyat* is the treatment of the inscriptions which they contain. Not only was the content of the inscriptions altered when the window-grilles were remade—with the name and titles of 'Abd al-'Aziz being frequently interpolated (Appendix 28.2, windows 12, 16 and 24)—but the manner in which the inscriptions were executed was also different. The letters of the inscriptions were executed in relief against a flat panel which was perforated with random drillings, a feature entirely absent from the 10th/16th-century windows. In the earlier windows, the letters of the inscription were filled with colourless glass set against a deep blue ground. In the dated window, however, the letters of the inscription were filled with yellow glass set against a green ground. Although such a use of colours is unattested for the 10th/16th-century windows in the Dome of the Rock, it is found in the windows of some 10th/16th- and 11th/17th-century mosques in Istanbul.⁴³

Major changes to the windows of the octagon were undertaken during the large-scale restoration campaigns of 1342-6/1923-7 and 1378-84/1958-64. Of the thirty-six

grilles in the windows of the octagon, twenty were replaced in the first period of restoration (Anon 1928: 13). All the grilles on the north, north-western and west walls were either repaired or replaced at this time (Megaw 1952: 55). The extent of the changes in the later restoration is not known, but at least two of the window-grilles in the octagon were subsequently removed and replaced with copies of those removed (Shafi'i 1970 65).⁴⁴ In view of these extensive changes, it seems probable that, even where they preserve the forms of earlier window-grilles, most, if not all, of the *qamariyyat* now in place are creations of the present century.

6. The windows in the dome

The difficulties which one encounters in trying to map the changes to the window-grilles in the octagon during the period of Ottoman suzerainty are redoubled when one comes to consider the windows in the dome itself. Owing to the difficulties of gaining access, it appears that these window-grilles were altered or replaced less frequently than those in the octagonal outer walls. This is witnessed by the fact that when the interior lighting was judged inadequate for the Kaiser's visit in 1316/1898—due at least in part to the poor state of the window-grilles in the drum of the dome and the accumulation of dirt on the glass which filled them—rather than undertaking the arduous task of cleaning or replacing the grilles, a solution was found in the simple expedient of piercing openings in the base of the dome itself (Richmond 1924: 81).

Common to all types of window-grilles in the drum of the dome, except one, is the division into an arched lunette and a rectangular field. The intervening epigraphic panel which one finds in the window-grilles of the octagon is absent. An assessment of individual grilles is complicated by several factors. Firstly, it is clear that until the major renovations which took place this century, it had been common practice to replace part of these window-grilles—possibly while they were still *in situ*—rather than replace them *in toto*. This was no doubt a consequence of their inaccessible location, and led to windows being filled with grilles which were composed of sections which dated from different periods (as noted by Megaw 1952: 56). Before the restorations which took place this century, it was often the case that the style and date of the lunette differed considerably from that of the tracery in the central field of the window associated with it (pls. 28.16-8). The resulting problems with the endeavour to deconstruct and date the

⁴² Although grilles of this type were manufactured and installed in the 1340s/1920s (they appear in some published photographs of the restoration, see Anon 1928), there is good reason to believe that these were merely copying an earlier type, for similar grilles appear in the earlier painting of Harvey (Creswell 1969: frontispiece). It was therefore at some point before the beginning of the present century that the type was introduced. Its similarity to the window above the *mihrab* in the Süleymaniyye (pl. 28.8, fig. 28.8) suggests that it may have been modelled on a generic 10th/16th-century type at the time of a later restoration. Today it replaces one of the 10th/16th-century types which has vanished altogether from the repertoire represented among the grilles in the Dome of the Rock (see comments for windows 19 and 28, Appendix II).

⁴³ For example, in the Mosque of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and in the Yeni Cami. It may however be significant that the windows of the former mosque were replaced in the 13th/19th century (see Kuban 1968: 36).

⁴⁴ These were in the south-eastern and south-western sides, but the exact locations are not given. At least one of those replaced seems to have been a modern grille, installed in the 1340s/1920s: see comments for window 19 in Appendix 28.2.

various parts of such grilles is magnified by the fact that the Ottoman windows have all been replaced and one is obliged to work from photographic evidence.

A more serious difficulty is the divergence between textual evidence or archival records—where they exist—and the evidence of the windows themselves. The implications of the latter problem will become clear shortly. The accumulated evidence for the changes to the windows in the drum of the dome has been summarised in Appendix III. While this is not intended to be an exhaustive survey, it does provide some chronological *termini* for the discussion which follows.

When Richmond studied the building in 1338-9/1919, he concluded that some of the Mamluk window-grilles—or at least parts of them—still survived (1924: 78; Creswell 1969: 79 n. 6). The same conclusion was reached by Megaw when he surveyed the monument in 1367/1947 and again in 1372/1952 (1952: 56). These grilles were presumably from the extensive restorations to the building carried out by order of al-Nasir Muhammad in 718-9/1318-9 (Creswell 1969: 79 n. 6), but one cannot be certain that what appeared to be Mamluk grilles were not in fact later copies of 8th/14th-century windows. Some of the modern window-grilles set in place during the renovations of this century were clearly inspired by the design of the 'Mamluk' windows. Common to all but one of these types is the division into a lunette filled with a symmetrical vegetal motif and a rectangular field below. This is filled variously with a repetition of the axially-arranged vegetal motif (windows 9 and 10; pl. 28.12) or with a *shamsa* in the form of a twelve-pointed starburst (windows 1, 2, 13 and 14; pl. 28.20). There are at least two variants in the borders of the latter type. The third type is again filled with vegetal tracery and has a wide outer border, but lacks the differentiated lunette (pl. 28.13).

The modern window-grilles in which axial vegetal motifs predominate are clearly related to one of the windows published by Richmond (pls. 28.12-3). Some support for the suggestion that the window-grilles seen by Richmond dated from the 8th/14th century is found in the wooden ceilings of the outer ambulatory. At least part of these are thought to date from the restorations carried out by al-Nasir Muhammad (Creswell 1969: 91). Panels decorated with axial vegetation occur in the interstices between the larger rectangular panels of which the ceiling is composed (pl. 28.14). The similarities between the design of the small ceiling panels and some of the windows formerly in the dome suggest that both were set in place at the same date. Prominent among the designs used for the large square panels of the ceiling in the outer ambulatory are ten- and twelve-pointed starbursts (pls. 28.15-6) similar to the motif which appears in the lunette of a grille published by Richmond (pl. 28.12), and now appear in windows 1, 2, 13 and 14 (pls. 28.18-20). Before the

restorations of 1378-84/1958-64, Megaw counted nine windows with arabesque grilles or lunettes in the drum and concluded:

In the ceiling of the outer ambulatory is seen the same combination of rectilinear motifs with arabesques akin to those in the dome. Consequently it seems permissible to connect all those 9 window panels with a single scheme of re-decoration despite differences of form and detail, and to assign them to the repairs carried out under an Nasir Muhammad (1952: 56).⁴⁵

Window-grilles in which axial vegetal motifs appear are found in some of the Bahri Mamluk monuments of Cairo.⁴⁶ The type seems to disappear before the mid-8th/14th century for, among the surviving monuments, it is not found after this date.⁴⁷ Although vegetal or 'arabesque' motifs appear in the 10th/16th-century windows of the octagon (pl. 28.1), these are manufactured according to a technique different to that which Richmond observed in the arabesque windows of the dome. This then would lend further support to a date in the early 8th/14th century for the appearance of the type in the windows of the Dome of the Rock.

On the basis of the resemblance between the windows of the drum and the wooden panels in the ceiling of the ambulatory, one might suggest that a third type of grille—in which geometric rather than vegetal tracery predominated—was also set in place in the 8th/14th century. Richmond mentions that the six window-grilles in the drum of the dome, which he attributes to the pre-Ottoman period, consist of both vegetal designs and geometric patterns (1924: 78). Although he gives no details of the latter, it seems probable that the modern grilles in which a single twelve-pointed *shamsa* appears in the central field preserve these patterns (pls. 28.18-19).⁴⁸ *Qamariyyat* in which a central rectangular field is filled with such *shamsas* are still to be found in the contemporary Mamluk monuments of Cairo,⁴⁹ and the same type appears in photographs taken before the restorations of the 1340s/1920s (pl. 28.20).

⁴⁵ Richmond (1924: 78) assigns only six of the grilles to this date.

⁴⁶ For example in the mausoleum of Sultan Qala'un (683-4/1284-5).

⁴⁷ The last surviving examples are in the Maridani Mosque (741/1340) and in the mausoleum of Aslam al-Silahdar (746/1345). It is conceivable that the disappearance of the type is related to the introduction of a new and faster technique of manufacturing *qamariyyat*, which produced grilles in which geometric tracery predominated.

⁴⁸ These are to be seen in windows 1, 2, 13 and 14.

⁴⁹ For example in the Madrasa of Inal al-Yusufi (795/1392).

No technical details are available for the windows currently *in situ* in the dome, but the windows seen by Richmond were filled with red, blue, green, yellow and white glass. The following details are given:

The panes are large compared with those of the sixteenth-century windows, and the lines of plaster that take the place of the lead in our windows are narrow, barely more than one centimeter wide. The glass is set at a distance of from six to seven centimeters from the outer surface of the plaster. On the inside the glass is held in place by a fillet of plaster, beveled on each edge, and about one centimeter wide and one centimeter thick, covering the joints between the panes (1924: 79).

Richmond also notes that the glass used in the windows just described is 'streaked and filled with bubbles', but this is not on its own a reliable chronological indicator, for glass from earlier windows may be used in later replacements.⁵⁰ Despite this, the significance of this description cannot be overstated, for comparison with the description of the 10th/16th-century windows in the octagon given above clearly indicates that these were produced in a different manner. While the Ottoman window-grilles have small pieces of glass roughly attached to the exterior of the tracery, those formerly in the drum consisted of pieces of glass held between two layers of stucco. The change from the latter technique to the former cannot be dated with certainty, but it is thought that the simpler technique was in use in Egypt from the middle of the 8th/14th-century onwards (Herz Bey 1892: 3-4; Flood 1993: 146-8). The use of the earlier 'sandwich' technique would therefore support a date early in the 8th/14th century. It has already been noted that Ottoman Turkey was one of the few regions of the Muslim world to retain the 'sandwich' technique for the manufacture of stucco and glass windows, but that the Haram windows which date from the Ottoman occupation are made according to the contemporary local tradition, that is, with pieces of glass attached to the exterior of the grille using a thin application of stucco. The windows in the drum described by Richmond are exceptions to this.

One final piece of evidence which one might use to support the suggestion that some of the grilles seen by Richmond and Megaw had not been replaced since the Mamluk period is the presence of 'cross-bars of wrought iron' in the intervals between the stucco and glass grilles of

some of the windows and the Ottoman pierced tile panels which filled their exteriors (Megaw 1952: 88).⁵¹ The precise windows in which such grilles could be seen before the restoration of 1378-84/1958-64 were never recorded but, although they occasionally survived into the Ottoman period and beyond, metal grids were not part of the system of fenestration introduced to the windows of the octagon by Sulaiman Qanuni. Instead, it is in the Mamluk period that one finds ample evidence for the use of such metal grilles in the windows of both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa (see Section 2). In the case of some of the drum windows it may be therefore that the only change introduced in the 10th/16th century was the provision of an outer pierced tile panel.

Thus far the stylistic and technical evidence seems to concur in validating Richmond's attribution of some of the window-grilles which he saw in the drum to the renovations carried out at the behest of Nasir al-Din Muhammad in 718-9/1318-9. A major problem presents itself, however, in the form of an unpublished register (*defter*) which records the repairs to the monument carried out at the behest of Ahmad III in 1134-6/1721-2. This unpublished document apparently suggests that all of the coloured glass windows in the drum of the dome were replaced at this time:

Plain and colored glass is listed according to the number of panels needed for each window. Two kinds of window are specified: twelve ordinary windows using little glass, and fancier windows for the *qibla* wall using a large number of small pieces of the 'Persian' type, with more color (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 79).⁵²

The mention of 'Persian' windows is particularly interesting,⁵³ in view of the fact that the term commonly used for coloured glass windows in Ottoman Turkey, *rezvenî-menkus* ['decorated windows'] (Essad 1926: 266), was itself a combination of Persian and Arabic terms (Arseven n.d: 182). While such nomenclature suggests a hybrid ancestry for Ottoman coloured glass windows, the dearth of surviving material evidence renders any evaluation of the connections between Persian and Ottoman stucco and glass windows hazardous. A mutual relationship in technical and stylistic matters does, however, seem likely.⁵⁴

Although these are not mentioned, it is hard to

⁵¹ See also note 6.

⁵² A summary of the document (*Basbakanlik Arsivi, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* no. 7829) is given by Göyünç 1982: 328-9.

⁵³ Although from the published references to the *defter* it is unclear as to whether the epithet 'Persian' is being applied to the windows or to the glass.

⁵⁴ See note 18.

⁵⁰ This is the case with the *qamariyyat* produced today in the Haram workshop. Owing to the high cost of the material, broken glass was apparently used in Turkish windows of the Ottoman period (see Rogers 1983: 250-1).

believe that the windows of the octagon were unaffected by this phase of restoration. The fact that 16,200 pieces of coloured and plain glass were ordered from Istanbul for the purpose gives some idea of the extent of the undertaking (Göyünç 1982: 328). The evidence for exports of window-glass to Istanbul in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries has been given above. Since window-glass was among the most common exports to Istanbul during the late 11th/17th century (Mantran 1962: 617), it may be that some of the glass for the windows was imported from further afield than Istanbul.

In the light of the evidence which indicates that some of the windows still extant in the drum earlier this century preserved the forms of Mamluk and 10th/16th-century windows, the suggestion that all were replaced in the reign of Ahmad III raises a number of questions. One may rule out the possibility that some of the coloured glass in the grilles may have been changed without the entire grille being replaced, for many of the grilles seen by Richmond and Megaw had their glass sandwiched between two layers of stucco. There would therefore be no way to remove the glass without destroying the stucco tracery in which it was held.⁵⁵

A further possibility is that, although all the windows were replaced, the forms of the earlier windows were copied. This copying would have had to extend to the technical aspects of the windows, for as previously noted the windows formerly in the drum were produced using two different methods. The use of two different techniques in a single phase of restoration seems highly unlikely.

Another apparent anomaly is the purchase of brass wire for use in replacing the windows. It has been suggested that this reflects the influence of European stained glass in the manufacture of the 12th/18th-century windows (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 79). It seems more likely, however, that the wire was used to strengthen the border of the grilles, or for the provision of a mesh to cover the reverse of the grilles. The use of copper and brass wire for the latter purpose was common in Mamluk Cairo (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 90-1), and Megaw mentions the presence of thin wire netting behind the windows of the drum (1952: 88). The use of metal rods for strengthening the outer borders of the stucco grilles and the wooden frames in which they were set has been mentioned above. One must conclude that none of the evidence produced so far supports the suggestion that any grille introduced at this period reflected the influence of European stained glass.

The architectural evidence suggests that either the document in question is in error, or that it is only partly correct, and that the changes to the windows of the drum were not as extensive as it suggests.

When he studied the monument, Megaw suggested that six of the window-grilles in the dome (those in windows 3-5, 7-8 and 15) and part of another (in window 11) dated from the 8th/14th century. To these I would add the grilles which filled windows 6 and 16. In view of the evidence just cited it seems highly unlikely that all the window-grilles in the drum were replaced during the reign of Ahmad III—even if some were altered at this time, fewer than half can have been affected.

It is clear from the evidence summarised in Appendix 28.3 that there are only four windows (5, 6, 9 and 10) in which the grilles now in place may preserve the forms of the stucco and glass set in place in the 10th/16th century or earlier. It is striking that the types of grilles in these windows are exactly those published by Richmond (pls. 28.12-3). It may be therefore that these are the only window-grilles in the drum which have preserved the form of the earlier stucco and glass windows, if not the original grilles themselves. On the basis of these survivals, and the evidence summarised in Appendix 28.3, there are only two possible alternative scenarios for the arrangement of the windows. One possibility is that a pair of the type without lunette published by Richmond (pl. 28.13) appeared at the centre of each side of the drum, flanked by the type with lunette (pl. 28.12). An alternative arrangement would have pairs of one type alternating with pairs of the other. Neither solution is entirely satisfactory,⁵⁶ and if, as argued above, these types preserve the form of 8th/14th-century windows, it is not at all clear how the windows installed by Sultan Sulaiman fitted into this scheme.

Although evidence for alterations to the windows of the drum in subsequent campaigns of restoration is lacking, it seems likely that both parts of the grilles and entire grilles were subsequently replaced. There are four types of window-grilles which have now vanished but which may be seen in photographs and paintings of the Sakhra which predate 1342/1923. The style of these was crude compared to that of the window-grilles for which a Mamluk date, or a date early in the Ottoman occupation, has been proposed. The tracery in the lunette of the grille formerly in window 1 (visible in pl. 28.17) consisted of an axial vegetal motif similar to that of the windows published by Richmond (pls. 28.12-3). The rectangular field of the same window was filled with tracery which, to judge by its crudity and lack of resemblance to the lunette, clearly belonged to a later date (fig. 28.10). It appears to copy the

⁵⁵ Megaw (1952: 88) comments: 'However the drum window panels of the type attributed to the repairs under al-Malik an-Nasir Muhammad have their glass inserted from the inside and so, in their present form, access to the outside face would not enable missing glass to be replaced.'

⁵⁶ The problems with both arrangements are discussed by Megaw (1952: 56-7).

type formerly in window 12, now in window 13 (pl. 28.18, fig. 28.7), for which a 10th/16th-century date has been proposed. Of all the grilles known to have filled the windows of the drum, it is the only example known to have borne an inscription.⁵⁷ It seems likely that this dated from the restoration ordered by Mahmud II in 1233/1817-8. As will be seen below, extensive changes were made to the windows of the Aqsa at this date. The erection of scaffolding around the exterior of the dome to enable the regilding of the dome would also have facilitated access to the windows.⁵⁸ A grille of less complex form which filled the adjacent window (window 2), and has now vanished, may also have dated from this period. This consisted of a network of hexagonal tracery (visible in pl. 28.17).

Of the two remaining windows (7 and 11) in which grilles of types now no longer present once appeared, that in window 11 (pl. 28.19) was the least complex of all four vanished types. While the lunette of the window was filled with the arabesque tracery for which a date in the 10th/16th century or earlier has been proposed, the lower part of the tracery consisted of a plaster panel pierced with a crude geometric pattern based on touching circles (Megaw 1952: 56). The crudeness of style and flat two-dimensional plane in which the tracery was executed distinguishes it from the grilles just discussed. For this reason one might propose a date in the second half of the 12th/19th century.⁵⁹

As regards the form of the grilles installed during the restoration of the monument ordered by Sulaiman Qanuni, it has already been suggested that the grille now in window 12 preserves the form of one of the 10th/16th-century grilles (pl. 28.18, fig. 28.7). It is possible that a grille which once appeared in window 7 was of this date. The grille was more complex than any of the three just discussed, consisting of tracery based on a pattern of eight-pointed stars (visible in pl. 28.20). The main lines of the tracery were raised above the background, a characteristic of the 10th/16th-century windows in the octagon.

A further problem with the windows of the dome is to determine which, if any, were replaced during the restoration carried out by Sultan Sulaiman. Since all the windows of the octagon were replaced during this major restoration, it seems reasonable to suppose that all the windows of the drum were also provided with new grilles.

Despite this, the evidence for the survival of 8th/14th-century windows just cited suggests that only some of the grilles in the windows of the drum were replaced at this stage. It might be thought that what have been described as 8th/14th-century window types are in fact those installed by Sultan Sulaiman. However, the fact that the technique used in their manufacture differs considerably from that used in the 10th/16th-century windows of the octagon argues against this. For this reason, and for the stylistic reasons adduced above, I have differed from Megaw in dating the forms of the grilles published by Richmond to the period of al-Nasir Muhammad rather than that of Sulaiman.⁶⁰ As has been shown above, the survival of metal grids in some of the window-openings may also indicate that not all the Mamluk grilles were replaced in the 10th/16th century.

The height of the dome and the accumulation of dirt on the exterior of the windows renders any assessment of the colours of the glass in the windows of the drum difficult.⁶¹ The colours of the glass in the modern windows cannot be taken as a guide to those of the Ottoman windows. A noteworthy feature of the painting by Harvey (1327/1909) (Creswell 1969: frontispiece) is that the grille formerly in window 13 (pl. 28.18, fig. 28.7), which the one now in window 12 copies, is distinguished by its colour scheme from the other windows in the drum. The predominance of blue and red glass in the grille is in harmony with the colours of the 10th/16th-century windows shown in the octagon (see section 3). This may be taken as further support for the suggestion that this represents an original 10th/16th-century type.

It is clear that the windows in the drum of the dome are more problematic than those of the octagon. The problems result from discrepancies between the documentary and material evidence and are exacerbated by the tendency of craftsmen involved in the various Ottoman restorations to copy the forms of earlier window-grilles when they replaced them with new ones. The process of replacing the windows has continued in the present century. When Megaw submitted his report in 1374/1952 he could identify nine of the window-grilles in the dome as preserving 8th/14th-century forms. It seems

⁵⁷ This could not be deciphered from the available photograph.

⁵⁸ The presence of the scaffolding is mentioned by Richardson (1822: 304).

⁵⁹ The cupola was restored in 1291/1874 (van Berchem 1927: 330), which might have provided an opportunity for replacing some of the grilles. The fact that at the time of the Kaiser's visit twenty-four years later the lack of light from the dome windows led to openings being pierced in the dome itself (Richmond 1924: 81) suggests that any alterations undertaken at this time cannot have been extensive.

⁶⁰ Megaw (1952: 56) concludes that the grilles which he saw in windows 6, 9, 10 and 13 'undoubtedly derive from Sulaiman's repairs, though some may in their present form be later reproductions of panels first installed during these repairs.' Three of these grilles were of the types published by Richmond (pls. 28.12-3). The fourth was similar to that now to be seen in window 12 (fig. 28.7) and does seem to be the only type among the windows of the drum which can be ascribed to the work of Sulaiman's craftsmen.

⁶¹ When the monument was visited in January 1415/1994, the dome was being regilded and the windows were obscured by exterior scaffolding.

that most of the grilles in the dome which he saw have been replaced subsequently. Where copies of earlier grilles have been produced these have not usually been re-installed in the correct position. Of the eight different types of grille now in place, only three (those in windows 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13 and 14) are likely to preserve the forms of the grilles installed by al-Nasir Muhammad, while only one (that in window 15, fig. 28.7) may be tentatively attributed to Sulaiman's restoration. The remainder seem to copy the forms of window-grilles installed during the restorations of the 12th/18th and 13th/19th century.

The complexities of this accretional approach to fenestration become clear when one considers Megaw's recommendations for the restoration and replacement of the drum windows, made in 1374/1952. These include replacing the 'Mamluk'-type windows with copies, identical in all respects except their method of manufacture. Thus, the glass should no longer be held between two layers of tracery, but attached to the reverse of the grilles, as is the case in the 10th/16th-century windows of the octagon (1952: 88). Megaw also recommends that another feature of the Ottoman windows, the use of downward-sloping tracery, should be replicated in the modern copies. Many of the modern window-grilles produced subsequently for the windows of the drum were thus a mixture of Mamluk forms and Ottoman techniques.⁶² As such, they perpetuate a tradition of hybridisation which has characterised the approach to the stucco and glass windows taken by restorers over almost five centuries.

The constant replacement of the window-grilles in the Dome of the Rock has both practical and political dimensions. In view of the dearth of evidence for the fenestration of the building between the Umayyad and Mamluk periods, whether the replacement of such grilles was of necessity from the time of the building's completion or is a more recent phenomenon is not clear. What is clear is that from the 8th/14th century onwards the window-grilles were removed, replaced and repaired with surprising frequency. The political implications of this process have been considered in Section 4 and elsewhere (Flood 1997: 72) but there can be little doubt that at least some of these restorations were motivated by concerns for the fabric of the building. The complex system of fenestration introduced in the 10th/16th century seems to have accelerated the rate of decay of the coloured glass windows (see Section 3[ii]), contributing to the frequent need to replace them. The rate at which the window-grilles were

replaced in later centuries suggests that there may have been a subsequent decline in the quality of the window-grilles—for example, the grille filling window 19 in the octagon has been replaced three times since 1311/1893 (see Appendix II).

7. Changes to the windows of the Aqsa since the 10th/16th century

Unfortunately far less literary and visual material is available on the windows of the Aqsa than on those of the Qubbat al-Sakhra. The dearth of information about the windows installed in the reign of Sulaiman I has been noted in the preceding section. This hiatus may be because the windows of the mosque have been subject to more vicissitudes than those of the Sakhra. During the renovations of the 1360s/1940s, for example, it appears that all the window-grilles were removed,⁶³ while any of those which survived appear to have been destroyed in the conflagration of 1386-7/1967.

It is not clear whether the repairs to the Dome of the Rock in 1133-5/1721-2 also involved changes to the fenestration of the Aqsa. The first evidence for such changes comes with the restoration undertaken by Mahmud II in 1233-4/1817-8. In addition to the installation of new windows in the Dome of the Rock, the windows in the dome of the Aqsa were altered. A lithograph published in 1279/1862—and which therefore pre-dates the renovations of 'Abd al-'Aziz—shows a remarkable arrangement in the windows of the dome (Paris 1978: pl. 47). This arrangement may be seen in photographs of the dome taken before the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 (pl. 28.21).⁶⁴ The large windows are blocked from their base to approximately one-third of their height. The lower part of each window is filled with a landscape scene executed in a European idiom. The grilles filling the upper parts of the windows are of at least two types: those in which the lunette is not distinguished, and those in which the lunette is separated from the rectangular field below. In the latter type, the rectangular field is further subdivided into two vertical arched panels. It appears that the two types alternated in the windows around the dome.

The date at which this idiosyncratic system of fenestration was introduced can be determined from travellers' accounts. 'Ali Bey al-'Abbassi, who visited the building between 1218/1803 and 1222/1807, makes no mention of the landscape scenes, stating only that the cupola has

⁶² No information is available on the changes made to the windows during the restoration of 1378-84/1958-64. At some later date two windows in the south-eastern and south-western sides of the octagon were replaced with copies of the types removed (Shafi'i 1970 65). Which two windows these were is not specified.

⁶³ This is clear from the published photographs of the restoration (see Hamilton 1949).

⁶⁴ Also in an unpublished photograph of the dome's interior (Creswell Archive no. 1476).

... two rows of windows, and is ornamented with arabesque paintings and gilding of exquisite beauty ('Ali Bey al-'Abbassi 1816: 217).

Wilson, who saw the mosque before 1299/1881, is less complimentary, telling us that

Some wretched paintings by an Italian artist were introduced when the mosque was repaired at the commencement of the present century (Wilson 1881: 66).

Since the only large-scale repairs at this date were undertaken during the reign of Mahmud II, the paintings in the windows were probably introduced at this period. 'Ali Bey's mention of two rows of windows in the cupola suggests that the division of the windows into two parts may have followed an earlier precedent. Richardson visited Jerusalem during the renovations of Mahmud II and mentions the windows in the Aqsa dome:

The dome is painted of different colours, and lighted by windows in the side. The glass in these windows is also painted blue, yellow, red, and green. The light admitted through such a medium is softened and delightful, and calculated to inspire sentiments suited to a place of worship (Richardson 1822: 306).

It is not clear whether Richardson is describing the window-grilles installed by Mahmud II or those which they replaced, although the absence of any reference to the landscape scenes suggests the latter.

The paintings and the window-grilles associated with them seem to have disappeared in the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7. It may be that some of the early 13th/19th-century windows in the dome bore the *shahada*, for Sepp (who visited in 1278/1861) mentions a window-grille with such an inscription, although without specifying where in the mosque (1873: 416). When van Berchem visited in 1333/1914, he recorded the *shahada* in three of the window-grilles in the dome. A similar inscription was to be found in a window in the chapel of the Forty Martyrs (van Berchem 1927: 450). Wilson (who saw the mosque before 1299/1881) mentions that the southern window of the dome was particularly fine, 'of a delicate blue colour' (1881: 65). The fact that this grille stood out from the others suggests that some of the window-grilles may have been replaced during the restorations of 1291/1874.

Of the remaining windows in the mosque, little can be said. Van Berchem mentions that the window above the *mihrab* bore a quotation from Sura III: 32-37 executed in yellow letters against a blue ground (1927: 450). This *aya*,

with its reference to the *mihrab*, is obviously appropriate to such a context and may be found in the *qamariyyat* above the *mihrab* in Mamluk *madrasas* and tombs.⁶⁵ Although yellow is sometimes used for the letters of inscriptions in 10th/16th-century windows in Istanbul,⁶⁶ in the context of the Haram this detail is more likely to indicate that the grille dated from the time of 'Abd al-'Aziz. Before the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 the rose window in the chapel of Zachariah was filled with crude stucco tracery, possibly also of 13th/19th-century date, from large parts of which the coloured glass was missing (Enlart 1925-7: fig. 355). Wilson (1881: 65) mentions a fine window in the same location, in which 'the colours are not so effectively blended as in the windows of the Dome of the Rock'.

It thus appears that even before the two major restorations of this century and the fire which followed them, few of the stucco and glass windows installed as part of the restoration of the Haram buildings ordered by Sulaiman were still in place. This fact appears to be acknowledged by van Berchem, who concluded that most of the window-grilles were modern and mediocre in quality (1927: 450). The impression that the decoration of the Aqsa was not as well-preserved as that of the Qubbat al-Sakhra is conveyed by several 13th/19th-century visitors. Beaufort (1861: 158) for example, states that while the latter is 'lovely and beautiful', the former is 'grand but triste'.

Despite this, it may be that certain details of the 10th/16th-century windows are preserved in the modern grilles. For example, in some of the *qamariyyat* now in the windows at the western end of the *qibla* wall, the main elements of the design are set against an imbricated background. This detail was found in the window-grilles executed in 1342-6/1923-7,⁶⁷ which presumably replaced earlier grilles, and may be seen in the *qamariyyat* which survive in the Church of the Coenaculum. One of the latter grilles (pl. 28.22) bears the date 1344 (1925) and it seems likely that the *qamariyyat* were installed by the same team which worked on the Aqsa restorations, at the time when the Coenaculum was still a mosque.⁶⁸ This type of background ornament appears in

⁶⁵ In the mausoleum of Aslam al-Silahdar (746/1345). Other quotations from the same *sura* appear in the window above the *mihrab* in the mosque of al-Salih Tala'i (rebuilt in the early 8th/14th century) and the Madrasa of Gani Bek (830/1426-7).

⁶⁶ For example in the windows of the Süleymaniyye and the Yeni Cami.

⁶⁷ Although they were created to replace *qamariyyat* destroyed in 1386-7/1967, one of these window-grilles bears the date 1347/1928.

⁶⁸ These do not appear to have replaced earlier coloured glass windows, for none are visible in photographs taken in 1340-1/1921-2 (Enlart 1925-7: fig. 340).

the windows depicted in Persian miniatures by the early 10th/16th century.⁶⁹ It is also found in the window-grilles of the Süleymaniyye and the later grilles in the Harem of the Topkapi.⁷⁰ It may be therefore that such a background was also used in the 10th/16th-century windows of al-Aqsa.⁷¹

8. Conclusion

The buildings of the Haram al-Sharif are architectural palimpsests on the surface of which successive generations, whether motivated by piety or by politics, attempted to make their mark. This phenomenon is nowhere more apparent than in the stucco and glass window-grilles of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa. Such grilles play at once a functional role—controlling the amount of light entering and ensuring the protection of the interior of the buildings—and an aesthetic one, transforming the quality of the light by which we perceive these interiors. The impact of such window-grilles on the interior space cannot be definitively quantified, for it too is part of a continuously evolving whole. The interior of the Dome of the Rock must have appeared quite differently when the colours of the light falling on its Umayyad mosaics and marbles were dictated by the aesthetics of 10th/16th-century Istanbul, than it did in the 12th/18th century when the same mosaics were whitewashed and many of the windows installed by Sulaiman replaced by cruder copies in which glass of harsher tones was set.⁷²

For this reason no attempt has been made to assess the qualitative aspect of changes to the windows over the past half-millennium. What has been attempted instead is a quantitative assessment based on stylistic and chronological considerations. Special emphasis has been placed on the restorations ordered by Sulaiman the Magnificent, for it was at this period that the most extensive changes to the windows of both the Aqsa and the Qubbat al-Sakhra were undertaken, with new window-

grilles being set in place in both. Although the designs of these window-grilles seem to have followed the fashions of contemporary Istanbul, there are technical and historical reasons for suggesting that they were manufactured by craftsmen brought from Syria or, more probably, Egypt.

The paucity of information about the Ottoman stucco and glass windows of the Aqsa precludes any firm conclusions. It is clear that new window-grilles were installed in the Aqsa as part of the campaign of restoration carried out at the behest of Sulaiman. At the end of the last century it appears that some of the grilles installed at this time may still have survived. In view of the numerous vicissitudes which the mosque has suffered subsequently, it seems unlikely that the modern system of fenestration preserves much of the 10th/16th-century arrangement.

Different problems arise in connection with the windows of the octagon in the Dome of the Rock and those in the drum of the dome. While most of the stucco and glass window-grilles found in the octagon today give some idea of the 10th/16th-century windows, they include at least one type which is likely to post-date this period (pl. 28.6; Appendix 28.2, windows 1, 4, 10, 13, 19, 22, 28, 31). Conversely, the form of at least one of the 10th/16th-century window-grilles is no longer represented among the modern windows (pl. 28.1). Some of the latter seem to be faithful reproductions of types introduced by Sultan Sulaiman (pl. 28.2; Appendix 28.2, windows 2, 3, 6). Others are based on the 10th/16th-century types, but with certain details altered. Sometimes an earlier inscription has been copied in the correct location and sequence, but on a grille of a different type to that on which it originally appeared (Appendix 28.2, window 1). There are also grilles which faithfully reproduce type and/or location, but on which the inscription has been altered (Appendix 28.2, windows 20, 23). While the arrangement of the window-grilles is in keeping with that introduced in the 10th/16th century, the colours of their glass do not adhere strictly to the 10th/16th-century scheme.⁷³

This is even more true of the grilles now in the windows of the drum, which seem to preserve the forms of window-grilles of several different periods. Even where the form of an earlier grille has been faithfully copied, the new grille has often been placed in a different window to that in which its prototype appeared (see Appendix 28.3, windows 12 and 13). Because no changes to the grille in a particular window have been documented, it does not mean that no changes have occurred. Conversely, in view of the discrepancies between documentary and material

⁶⁹ See, for example, a window depicted in an illustrated *Khamseh* manuscript, possibly produced in Sistan around 927/1520, in which an arabesque design is set against an imbricated ground (Soudavar 1992: 177, no. 67).

⁷⁰ For the Süleymaniyye windows see notes 19–20. For Topkapi see Anhegger-Eyüboğlu (1979–80: 59–60, figs 26a, 28); Bakirer (1985: 150, fig. 74). Of the Topkapi windows Rogers (1983: 250) concludes: 'Though the inherent fragility of the stucco panels makes it barely possible that any of these are original, they may well be faithful copies'.

⁷¹ Although it should be noted that, apart from what appears to be an intrusive late type (pl. 28.6), there is no evidence for the use of an imbricated background in the 10th/16th century windows of the Qubbat al-Sakhra.

⁷² The fact that the walls were whitewashed is mentioned by Horn 1962: 204. This was also the case in the early 13th/19th century; see Richardson 1822: 296.

⁷³ Creswell (1969: 221) comments on the windows installed in the 1340s/1920s, '... the colours of the glass are no longer what they were. This can be verified by the new stained-glass windows recently put into position, the tones of which are very crude.'

evidence, it seems unlikely that documentation of changes to, or replacements of, the windows should be taken as absolute proof that such changes were as far-reaching as claimed. It is to be hoped that the future publication of the documentation which concerns the restorations ordered by Ahmad III may resolve the issue, but for the moment one must conclude that it is highly unlikely that all the window-grilles in the drum were replaced at any point during the Ottoman period, for many Mamluk *qamariyyat* seem to have survived in this location until relatively recently. Even after the major restorations of the 1340s/1920s, Megaw (1952: 56) could identify as many as nine windows in the drum as likely to be wholly or partly, work of al-Nasir Muhammad's time. There are therefore reasons for thinking that, contrary to the practice employed in the windows of the octagon, not all the Mamluk window-grilles in the windows of the drum were replaced during the restorations ordered by Sultan Sulaiman.

Why this may be so, or what the relationship between the surviving Mamluk grilles in the dome and the new windows installed by Sulaiman was, is not clear, but perhaps the grilles installed in the dome in the 8th/14th century were in a better condition than those of the octagon. Even in the octagon, where the stylistic and epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that all the stucco and glass windows were replaced by Sulaiman, the survival of metal gratings in some of the windows until the present century suggests that, in certain cases, the exterior grilles set in place during the Mamluk period may have been retained, hidden between the inner grilles and the outer grilles of pierced tiles (Megaw 1952: 88; Shafi'i 1970: 65; see note 6 above).

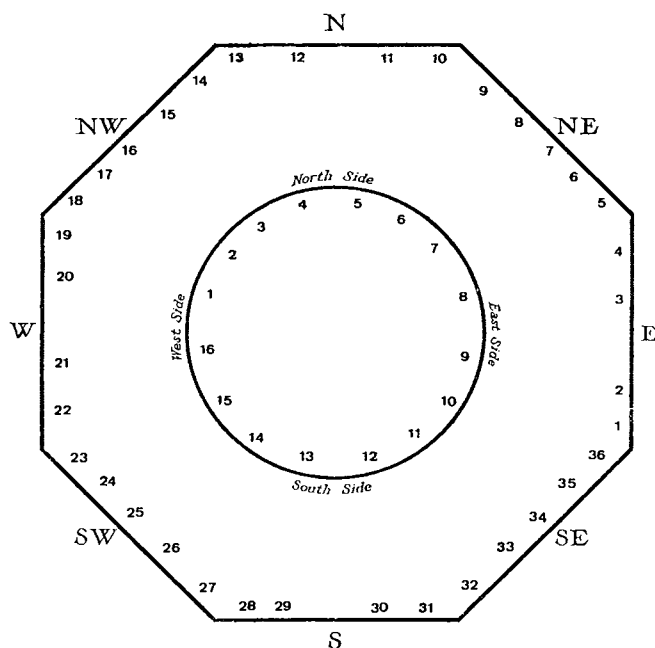


Fig. 28.1 The Dome of the Rock: key to the window numbers cited in the text and appendices.

The fact that any of the forms of the Mamluk or the 10th/16th-century grilles have survived serves to indicate that the process of copying early types continued in subsequent restorations. This was certainly the case with the post-Ottoman restorations, which entailed the replacement of some ruined window-grilles with copies of those removed (Appendix 28.2, windows 13-14). Over five centuries the process of copying earlier types, repairing damaged grilles *in situ* and replacing spoiled windows, often resulted in hybrid forms. The poor quality of some of the resulting 12th/18th- and 13th/19th-century pastiches—hard to appreciate from the window-grilles in place today—is witness to the lack of a vibrant, evolving tradition of *qamariyyat* manufacture in Jerusalem during the Ottoman occupation. Richmond (1924: 80) had suggested bringing craftsmen from Cairo to restore the windows. When major restorations of both the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Aqsa were undertaken between 1342/1923 and 1346/1927, two master craftsmen had to be brought from Istanbul to teach the craft to local artisans (Anon 1928: 13). The present windows in the Dome of the Rock, which conform to the spirit—and sometimes to the letter—of the 10th/16th century, are largely products of the workshop established at this time. Its successor was responsible for replacing the *qamariyyat* in the Aqsa destroyed in the fire of 1386-7/1967 and continues to operate from a workshop adjoining the mosque (pl. 28.23).

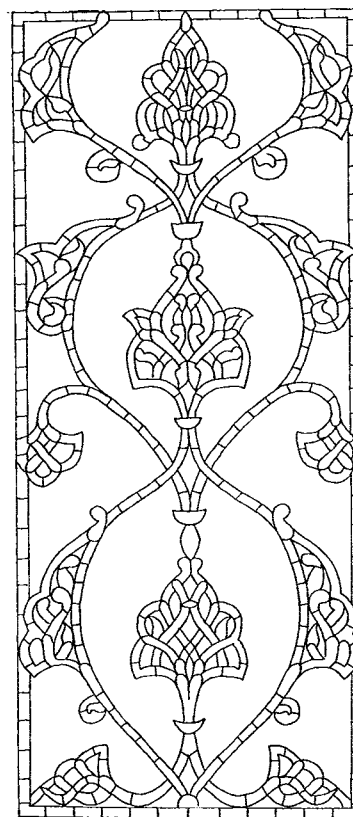


Fig. 28.2 Detail of the central field of the window type seen in pl. 28.1, based on a window-grille in the Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem.

APPENDIX 28.1

The Dome of the Rock: Inscriptions in the windows of Sultan Sulaiman

This reconstruction of the inscriptions in the 10th/16th-century windows is based on the evidence published by van Berchem (1927: 329-31), who drew heavily on the unpublished notes of Sauvaire, and the inscriptions recorded by de Vogüé (1864: 96-7). The translations of Qur'anic verses are largely based on those of Yusuf 'Ali. Sometimes van Berchem indicates precisely where in an *aya* the quotation in a particular window begins and ends. Where this is not indicated, I have used the average length of Qur'anic quotation in the windows as a guide in dividing an *aya*. This is the case with the Qur'anic inscriptions which are continued across windows 4-5, 16-8, 29-31, and 32-4.

I have departed from van Berchem's reconstruction in one respect only. According to van Berchem, verse 1 of Sura XLVIII appeared in the first window of the southern side of the octagon (window 28). Verse 2 appeared in the next three windows (29-31), and verses 4 to 5 in the windows of the following, south-eastern, side (32-36). It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the lengthy quotation from Sura XLVIII originally included all five of the first verses. The missing verse 3 would therefore have appeared in window 31, which would produce a scheme in which quotations of approximately equal length appeared in each window.

East

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. And your God is One God ... (continued on window following)
3. there is no God but He, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate: Sura II 163-64.
4. God! There is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal ... (continued on window following)

North-East

5. No slumber can seize Him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens ... (continued on window following)
6. and on earth. Who is there who can intercede in His presence ... (continued on window following)
7. except as He permits? He knows what is before them or after or behind them. Nor shall they encompass anything ... (continued on window following)
8. of His knowledge except as He wills. His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth ... (continued on window following)
9. and He feels no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme: Sura II 255/256.

North

10. O God, aid and sustain the armies of the Muslims ... (continued on window following)
11. Prolong the days of our lord, the sultan... (continued on window following)
12. lord of the necks of the nations, the sultan ... (continued on window following)
13. Sulaiman, son of the Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayazid.

North-West

14. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
15. The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained ... (continued on window following)
16. by such as believe in God and the Last Day, ... (continued on window following)
17. observe regular prayers, and practise regular charity ... (continued on window following)
18. and fear None but God: Sura IX 18/18

West

19. And these things were accomplished in ... (continued in window following)
20. the year nine hundred and thirty-five
21. Inscription unknown.
22. Inscription unknown.

South-West

23. Our Lord, the sultan, the great ... (continued on window following)
24. king and the honoured *khaqan* ... (continued on window following)
25. lord of the necks of the nations, sultan ... (continued on window following)
26. of the Arabs and of the foreigners, Sultan Sulaiman ... (continued on window following)
27. son of the Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayazid.

South

28. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Verily We have granted thee a manifest Victory: Sura XLVIII 1/1.
28. That God may forgive thee thy faults of the past and those to follow ... (continued on window following)
30. Fulfil His favour to thee: and guide thee on the Star-right Way: Sura: XLVIII 2/2.
31. And that God may aid you with powerful help: Sura XLVIII 3/3.

South-East

32. It is He who sent down tranquillity into the hearts of the believers ... (continued in window following)
33. that they may add Faith to their Faith; for to God belong the forces of the heavens and the earth; ... (continued in window following)
34. and God is full of Knowledge and Wisdom: Sura XLVIII 4/4. That He may admit the believers ... (continued in window following)
35. to Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell there for ever, ... (continued in window following)
36. and absolve their evils—that is, in the sight of God, the highest achievement (for man): Sura XLVIII 5/5.

APPENDIX 28.2

The Dome of the Rock: Windows in the Octagon

The window numbers refer to the windows indicated in fig. 28.1.

East

1. Apart from its inscription (the *bismillah*), which follows that of the earlier window, the window now in place bears no relation to the 10th/16th-century window recorded by de Vogüé (1864: 96, pl. XXIV). This was removed in the 1370s/1950s and may be among the windows in the Aqsa Museum.
2. See comments for window 3. The inscription of the grille now in place follows that of the 10th/16th-century window (See Appendix 1).
3. The form of the window now in place follows that of the 10th/16th-century window recorded by de Vogüé (1864: 96, pl. XXV, my plate 28.2). The colours of the glass are quite different, with blue and yellow now the predominant colours and the red glass of the earlier window absent. This suggests that the glass either has been replaced, or that the grille is an accurate copy in which modern glass has been used.
4. The window-grille now in place is similar to that in window 1. It therefore seems to have been set in place at some point during the present century.

North-East

5. Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that this was a 10th/16th-century window.
6. Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that this was a 10th/16th-century window. The design and border of this window is not unlike one of those published by de Vogüé (pl. 28.2 above). The type is clearly related to one of the window-grilles of the dome (fig. 28.7), which is likely to preserve the form of a 10th/16th-century grille. Even if this grille is modern, it seems likely therefore that it copies a type installed in the time of Sulaiman the Magnificent.
7. On inspection in 1333/1914, van Berchem (1927: 330 n. 4) suggested that the grille filling this window may have been remade in 1291/1874, while preserving the form of the original 10th/16th-century window. The inscription which the latter window bore (see Appendix 1) is preserved in the window-grille presently *in situ*.
8. See comments for window 6.
9. The same type as window 5. Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that this was a 10th/16th-century window.

North

10. The window-grille now in place is similar to that now found in window 1. It seems that this was installed during the restorations of the 1340s/1920s, when the earlier grille was removed to the Aqsa Museum (Megaw 1952: 55). This differs from the type in place earlier, visible in Creswell (1969: pls. 15-16). The latter seems to have been a 10th/16th-century type, for it is similar to that recorded by de Vogüé in window 1. There is some suggestion that the vanished grille may have been remade at some time before 1333/1914 (van Berchem 1927: 332, n. 4), but if this was the case the form of the window installed during the restoration undertaken by Sultan Sulaiman seems to have been preserved.

11. The grille seen by van Berchem in 1333/1914 appears to have dated from the 10th/16th century, or to have copied a window-grille of this date (1927: 332, n. 4). It is not certain that the form of the grille presently *in situ* follows that of the grille which it replaced.

12. The grille filling this window was replaced during the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz, for the window seen by van Berchem in 1333/1914 bore the name of this sultan (1927: 329). This was replaced in the 1340s/1920s (Megaw 1952: 55) and the inscription on the grille presently filling this window makes no mention of 'Abd al-'Aziz.

13. The grille filling this window was replaced in 1291/1874 during the restoration undertaken by 'Abd al-'Aziz (van Berchem 1927: 329-30). The replacement window, visible in a photograph published by Creswell (1969: pl. 16), appears faithfully to have copied the form of a 10th/16th-century grille, for it is of a type recorded by de Vogüé in window 1. This was removed to the Aqsa Museum in the 1340s/1920s (Megaw 1952: 55) and replaced by a grille of an entirely different type.

North-West

14. The grille filling this window was replaced during the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz (van Berchem 1927: 329). Apart from the inscription, it may be that the grille installed at this time faithfully copied one from the time of Sultan Sulaiman. This appears to have been the case with the grille installed in 1291/1874 in window 13, and the border of medallions and cartouches (visible in Creswell 1969: pl. 17a) was used in the 10th/16th-century grilles. During the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 this was in turn replaced (Megaw 1952: 55). The present grille has a simple border of cartouches with no intervening medallions, which indicates that it does not follow the form of the 10th/16th-century window exactly, if at all.

15. The grille filling this window was installed between 1342/1923 and 1346/1927 (Megaw 1952: 55). It replaces an earlier grille of a different type (visible in Creswell 1969: pl. 5b), similar to that now found in windows 11 and 12.

16. The grille filling this window was replaced in 1291/1874, for that recorded by van Berchem (1927: 329) bore the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz. This grille appears to have had its central field subdivided into two vertical rectangular panels (visible in Creswell 1969: pl. 5b), and was perhaps similar to the type which now appears in windows 1, 4, 10, 13, 19, 22, 28 and 31. It was replaced in the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 by a window-grille of a different type (Megaw 1952: 55), similar to that now in place in windows 5, 7, 9, and 14.

17. See comments for window 15.

18. See comments for window 14. The grille removed between 1342/1923 and 1346/1927 is visible in Creswell (1969: pl. 18a).

West

19. In the period 1308-18/1890-1900 this window was filled with a grille of a type similar to those now in place in windows 11 and 12. The colours of the glass were, however, quite different, with the main lines of the hexagonal grid filled with red rather than yellow glass (Israel Antiquities Authority, Photographic Archive, Finn Collection P2619). To judge from the inscription recorded by Sauvaire in 1311/1893 (see Appendix 28.1), this was an original 10th/16th-century window-grille. At some time between 1311/1893 and 1333/1914 this grille was altered or removed, for van Berchem (1927: 329) recorded reading the *shahada* in this window. The grille in which this appeared is visible in Richmond (1924: fig. 7). Between 1342/1923 and 1346/1927 this was

replaced with a grille of a different form (Megaw 1952: 55), similar to those now in windows 1, 4, 10 and 13. During the restorations of the 1370s/1950s this was replaced with an exact copy of the latter grille, which is now on display in the Aqsa Museum.

20. In 1311/1893 Sauvaire recorded an inscription giving a date of 935/1528-9 in the grille filling this window (van Berchem 1927: 331). This suggests that the 10th/16th-century grille had survived until then. When van Berchem visited the Dome of the Rock in 1333/1914, this grille bore no inscription (1927: 329). A new grille was installed in the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 (Megaw 1952: 55). The grille currently in place is similar to those in windows 2 and 3, which follow a 10th/16th-century design. Since no information is available regarding the form of the grille seen by Sauvaire, however, it is not possible to be certain that a grille of this type appeared originally in this position.

21. The grille in this position had been altered or replaced by 1311/1893, for Sauvaire indicated that it was anepigraphic (van Berchem 1927: 330). It was again replaced in 1342-6/1923-7 (Megaw 1952: 55) and presumably in the subsequent restoration, for Megaw (1952: 54) reports that it had disintegrated by 1372/1952.

22. The grille in this position had been altered or replaced by 1311/1893, for Sauvaire indicated that it was anepigraphic (van Berchem 1927: 331). The design of this grille (visible in Creswell 1969: pls. 19, 20a) appears to have been based on some of those in the dome. In the 1340s/1920s it was replaced by a window-grille similar to those which appear today in windows 1, 3, 13, 10 and 19.

South-West

23. Until van Berchem's visit in 1333/1914, the grille in this window bore its 10th/16th-century inscription and may have been original, or remade after the original (van Berchem 1927: 332, n. 4). For reasons of symmetry, one would expect here a grille of a similar type to that recorded by de Vogüé in window 27 (pl. 28.3). If so, the grille was subsequently removed; the window-grille now in place is based on that which de Vogüé recorded in window 3.

24. The grille filling this window was replaced in 1291/1874, for van Berchem recorded the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz in this window (van Berchem 1927: 330). Like the grille formerly in window 12, which bore the name of the same sultan, this was subsequently replaced with a grille in which the sultan's name does not appear. Both grilles are based on that found in window 19, which appears to date from the time of Sulaiman the Magnificent, and were presumably installed in the 1340s/1920s or later.

25. Until 1333/1914 the grille in this position appears to have been, or to have copied, a 10th/16th-century grille, for the inscription which it bore contained the titles of Sultan Sulaiman (van Berchem 1927: 331, n. 6; 332, n. 4). This appears to have been replaced subsequently, for the window-grille now in place bears a different inscription. No information is available concerning the form of the earlier grille.

26. Until 1333/1914 the titles of Sultan Sulaiman were continued from window 25 in the grille filling this window. No information is available concerning the form of this grille which was subsequently replaced by one now in place, which bears a different inscription.

27. The original 10th/16th-century grille was recorded by de Vogüé (pl. 28.3). Although this grille appears to have been repaired or replaced subsequently, the inscription was copied in the new grille (van Berchem 1927: 331, n.7). At some time after 1333/1914 a new grille which follows neither the form nor the inscription of the earlier window was set in place.

South

28. The grille in this position was remade between 1312/1894 and 1333/1914, but its inscription followed that of the earlier window (van Berchem 1927: 331 n. 8). The later grille appears to have been of similar form to that of the grilles which appear today in windows 1, 4, 13, 10, 22, and 19 and may have been the model for these grilles. That a grille of this form was in place by 1327/1909 is apparent from William Harvey's painting of the interior of the Qubbat al-Sakhra (Creswell 1969: frontispiece). In a photograph published by Creswell (1969: pl. 21a) it can be seen that the inscription is executed against a background perforated by random drilling. Since drilling also appears in the background of an inscription on a fragmentary window now in the Aqsa Museum which bears the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz and the date 1291/1874 (pls. 28.9-10), it may be characteristic of windows of this date. It seems likely therefore that grilles which now fill windows 1, 3, 13, 10, 19, 22, 28 and 31 copy a type introduced in the last quarter of the 13th/19th century.

29. Van Berchem (1927: 331, n. 8) could find no evidence for this grille having been replaced. No details of its form are available.

30. Van Berchem (1927: 331, n. 8) gives no evidence for this grille having been replaced. The form of the grille was similar to that formerly found in window 6, for it appears both in Harvey's painting of 1327/1909 (Creswell 1969: frontispiece) and in a photograph taken by Richmond in 1338/1919 (1924: fig. 6). Since this type of grille appears to be contemporary with the 16th-century restorations, it seems likely that the example in window 30 was original. The grille was subsequently removed and replaced with a type which formerly appeared in window 19.

31. The grille in this window was re-made or replaced before 1311/1893, for it repeated the inscription found in window 28 (van Berchem 1927: 331, n. 8). A grille of the type discussed in connection with window 28 was in place by 1327/1909, for it appears in Harvey's painting (Creswell 1969: frontispiece). A similar window-grille is *in situ* today.

South-East

32. Van Berchem considered the inscription in this window as being faithful to that of the 10th/16th-century grille (van Berchem 1927: 331 n. 9). Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that the grille may have been one of the originals installed during the restorations undertaken by Sultan Sulaiman.

33. Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that this may have been a 10th/16th-century grille. No information on subsequent alterations has been found.

34. See comments on window 33.

35. The grille filling this window appears to have been replaced before 1311/1893, for it repeated part of the inscription in window 33 (van Berchem 1927: 331, n. 9). No information on subsequent alterations has been found.

36. Megaw (1952: 55) suggested that the grille in this window was an original 10th/16th-century window-grille. Either this was not the case, or the grille seen by Megaw was subsequently removed, for the grille seen in a photograph taken before the restorations of 1342-6/1923-7 (Creswell 1969: pl. 12a) has a border of cartouches alternating with medallions. The intermediary medallions do not appear in the border of the grille in place today.

APPENDIX 28.3

The Dome of the Rock: Windows in the Drum of the Dome

The window numbers refer to those indicated in fig. 28.1.

1. Before the restorations carried out in the present century, this window was unique among those in the dome in being filled with an epigraphic grille (pl. 28.17, fig. 28.10). The lunette and the rectangular field of this grille were executed in different styles and clearly belong to different periods. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that the lower part of the grille containing the epigraphic panel may have dated from the restorations carried out under Sultan Mahmud II in 1233-4/1817-8. However, the design of this lower panel appears to be based on the type of grille now in window 12, which seems to date from, or to copy a grille of, the 10th/16th century.

2. The type of grille currently in place bears little relation to that which appears in a photograph taken before the restorations of the 1340s/1920s (Creswell: 1969, pl. 5b).

3. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that the grille filling this window may have been an original 8th/14th-century *qamariyya*. The window in place today is similar to that now in window 16, a later replacement which bears no relation to the earlier type of grille which it replaced.

4. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that this grille was an 8th/14th-century creation. The one now in place appears to be later; the presence of a polylobed arch in the central field suggests that it is—or that it copies—an Ottoman grille.

5. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that the grille in this window was an original 8th/14th-century one. This same grille appears to have been damaged at some subsequent time (visible in Shafi'i 1970: plate on page 20). The grille now in place is similar to the example published by Richmond (1924: fig. 68) which would support Megaw's suggestion. Whether the grille now *in situ* is the same as that seen by Megaw, or is a later copy, is not clear.

6. Megaw (1952: 56) believed that the grille in this window was, or was based on, a 10th/16th-century type. For reasons discussed above, I would propose an earlier date for the type, which continues to appear in this window today.

7. Comments as for window no. 4. A type of grille now no longer represented among the windows of the drum appears in a photograph taken in the first quarter of this century (van Berchem: 1927, pl. XXV).

8. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that the grille filling this window antedated the renovations of Sultan Sulaiman. In a photograph taken before the restorations of this century (van Berchem 1927: pl. XXV) a grille with a large central *shamsa* is in place. The presence of both a polylobed arch and a pair of symmetrical cypresses in the central field of the grille now in place suggests that this grille is considerably later and is presumably not the one seen by Megaw.

9. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that this window-grille dated from the renovations of Sultan Sulaiman. The form of the window now in place is similar to that of one of the grilles published by Richmond (1924: fig. 67), which, for reasons discussed above, suggests that it follows the form of a Mamluk rather than an Ottoman grille.

10. Remarks as for window 9.

11. To judge from Harvey's painting of 1327/1909 (Creswell 1969: frontispiece), the grille formerly in place in this window was of a type no longer represented among the types of window-grilles which have survived. The same grille is visible in one of Creswell's unpublished photographs (Creswell Archive, no. 56) and more clearly in a photograph published by van Berchem (1927: pl. XX). Megaw (1952: 56) believed that the tympanum of this grille may have dated from before the Ottoman period, but thought that the geometric tracery of which the rectangular field below was composed was of more recent manufacture.

12. A photograph published by van Berchem (1927: pl. XX, my pl. 28.18), a photograph in the Creswell Archive (no. 56) and the painting executed by Harvey in 1327/1909 (Creswell 1969: frontispiece) all show a grille of different type in the same position. Megaw (1952: 56) suggested that this grille was, or was based upon, one of the grilles installed in the 10th/16th century. For reasons discussed above, this assumption seems reasonable. That now in place copies a type of grille with a central *shamsa* which may date from the period of al-Nasir Muhammad. It appears that in the course of one of the renovations of this century, probably after Megaw's report was written, both types were copied. The order in which they appear in the windows of the dome was reversed, however, with the 10th/16th-century type formerly in window 12 being placed in window 13 and the 8th/14th-century type formerly in window 13 being copied and placed in window 12.

13. See remarks for window 12.

14. The grille which fills this window in the painting executed by Harvey in 1327/1909 (Creswell 1969: frontispiece) is of a similar type to that now in place in window 16. This was subsequently replaced, for the grille now *in situ* is similar but not identical to one published by Richmond (1924: fig. 67), a type which seems to date from the renovations of al-Nasir Muhammad.

15. The grille which fills this window has been put in place this century, for a grille of a type similar to that published by Richmond (1924: fig. 68) and to those which now appear in windows 1 and 14 is seen in a photograph published by van Berchem (1927: pl. XXV). At present one of a different type, similar to that which now fills window 12, is in place. Megaw (1952: 56) believed the earlier grille to date from the Mamluk period, which is not unlikely.

16. The grille now in place bears no relation to that which appears in a photograph in the Creswell Archive (pl. 28.20), a grille which was similar to those now in windows 1, 13 and 14, with a central *shamsa*. The evidence for considering this type to be based on an 8th/14th-century form of window-grille has been discussed in section 6 above.

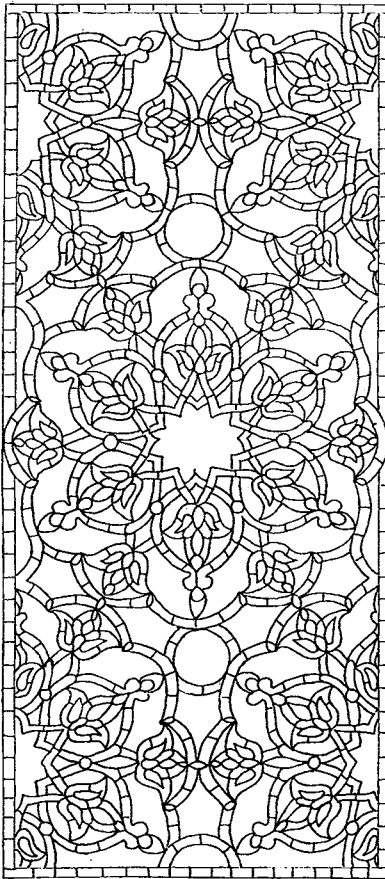


Fig. 28.3 Detail of the central field of the window type seen in pl 28.2, based on a window-grille in the Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem.

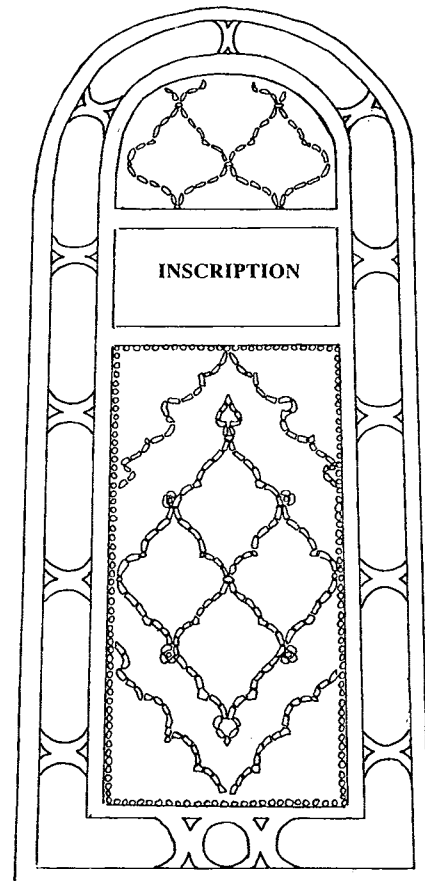


Fig. 28.4 Dome of the Rock, octagon window-grilles, type 3.

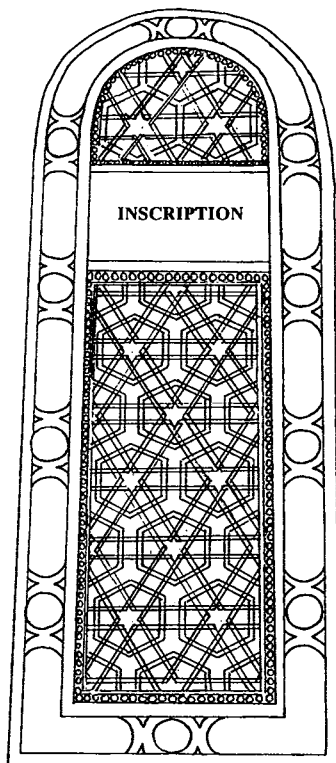


Fig. 28.5 Dome of the Rock, octagon window-grilles, type 5.

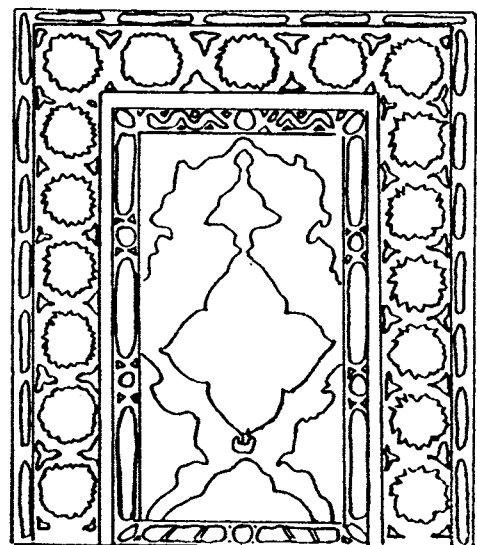


Fig. 28.6 Detail of a window depicted in an illustrated *Khamseh* of Nizami, Herat 900/1494.

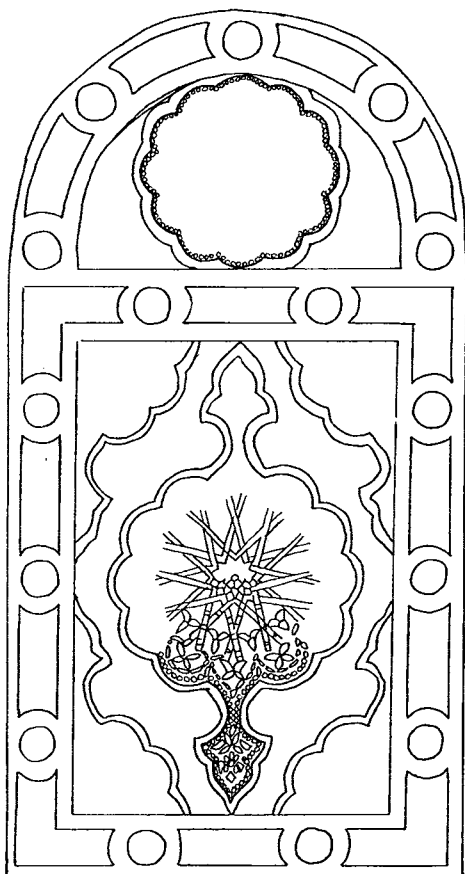


Fig. 28.7 Dome of the Rock, dome window-grilles, presumed 10th/16th-century type.

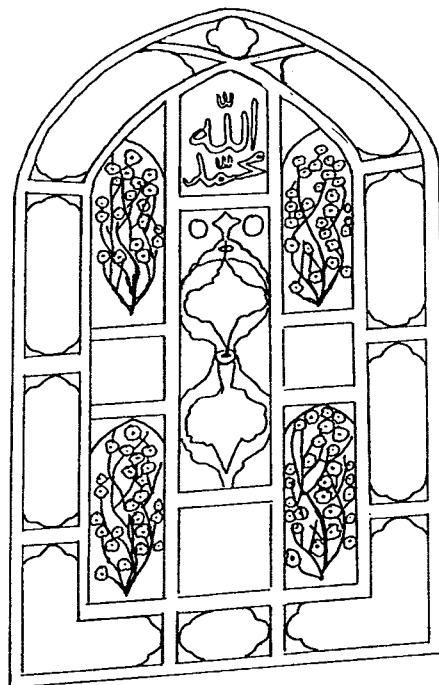


Fig. 28.8 Window-grille above the *mihrab*, Süleymaniyye Mosque, Istanbul.

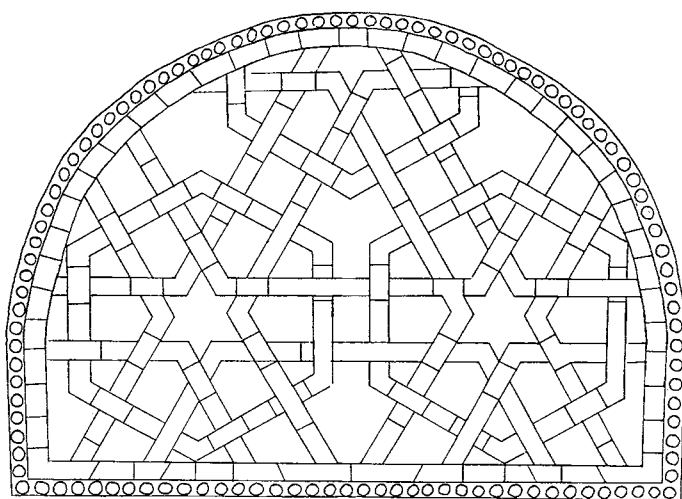


Fig. 28.9 Detail of a window-grille bearing the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz, now in the Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem.

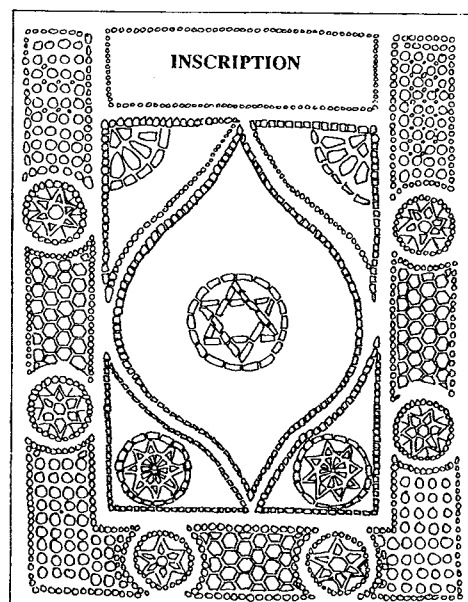
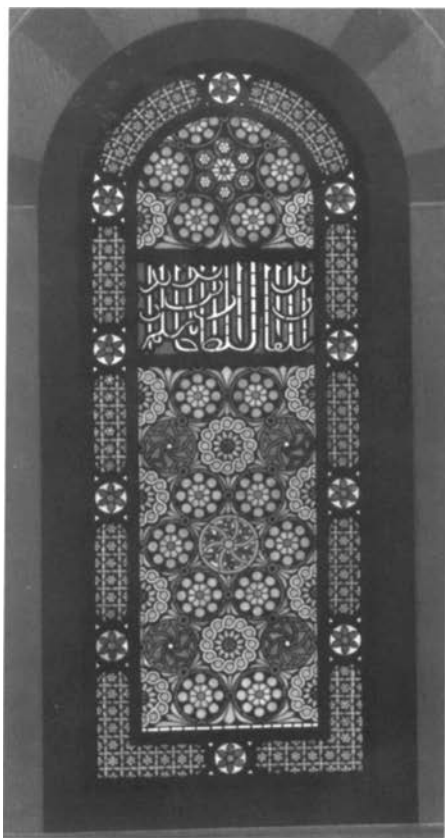
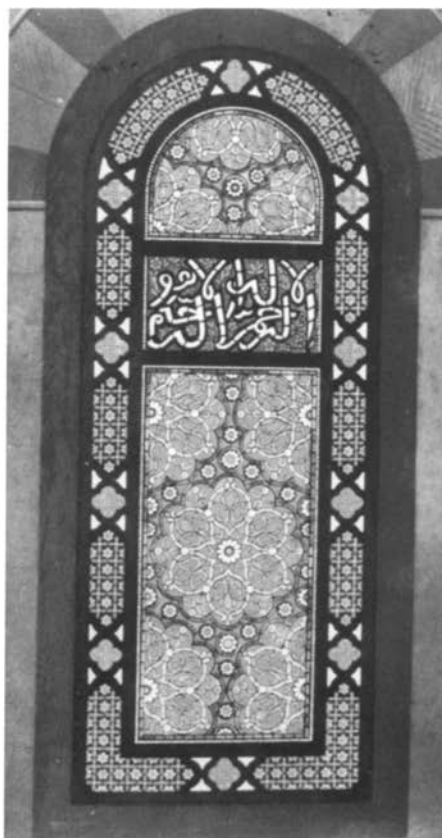


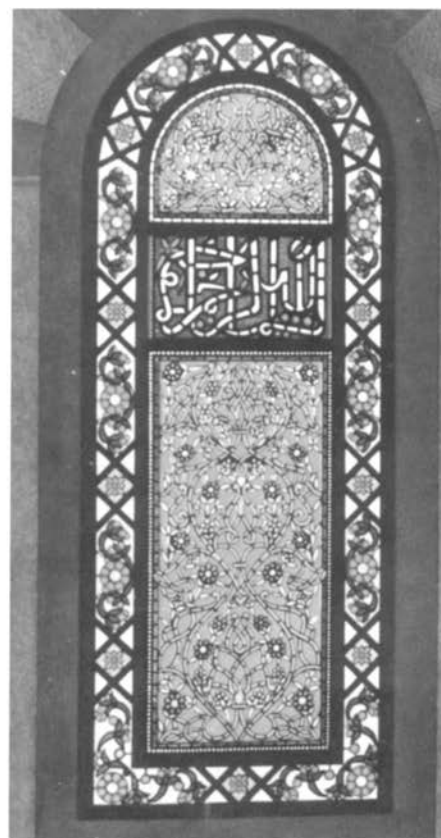
Fig. 28.10 Dome of the Rock, detail of an inscribed window-grille formerly in the dome.



Pl. 28.1 Dome of the Rock, 10th/16th-century window-grille formerly in window 1 of the octagon (after de Vogüé 1864: pl XXIV).



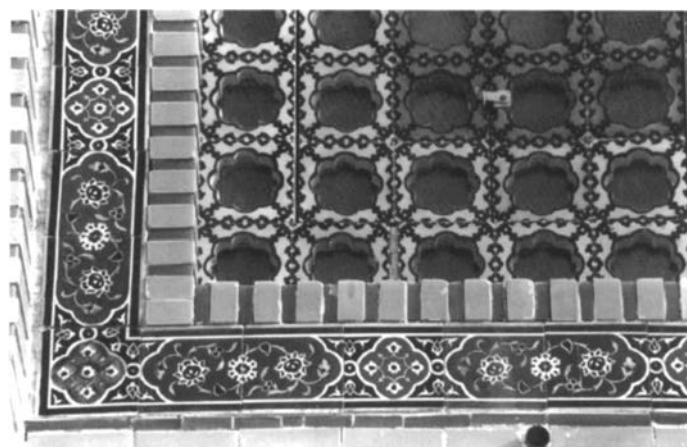
Pl. 28.2 Dome of the Rock, 10th/16th-century window-grille (type 2) formerly in window 3 of the octagon (after de Vogüé 1864: pl XXV).



Pl. 28.3 Dome of the Rock, 10th/16th-century window-grille formerly in window 27 of the octagon (after de Vogüé 1864: pl XXVI).



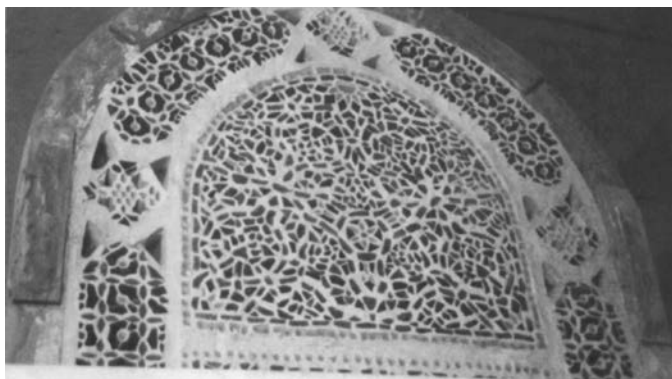
Pl. 28.4 Detail of border motif on a window-grille of the type seen in Pl. 28.2 (Creswell Archive, negative no 525).



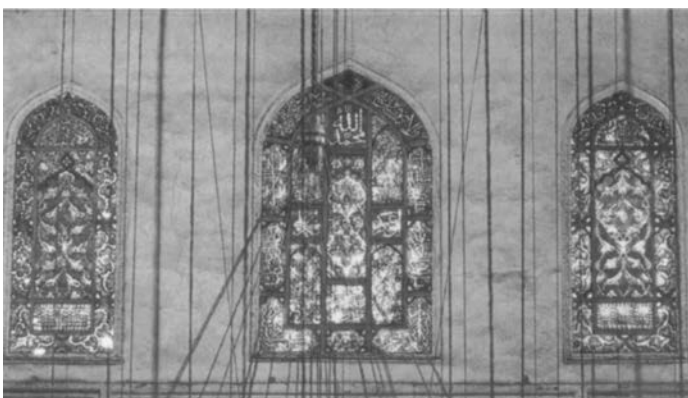
Pl. 28.5 Dome of the Rock, detail of a tile panel on the western façade.



Pl. 28.6 Dome of the Rock, window-grilles of the octagon, detail of type 1 (Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem).



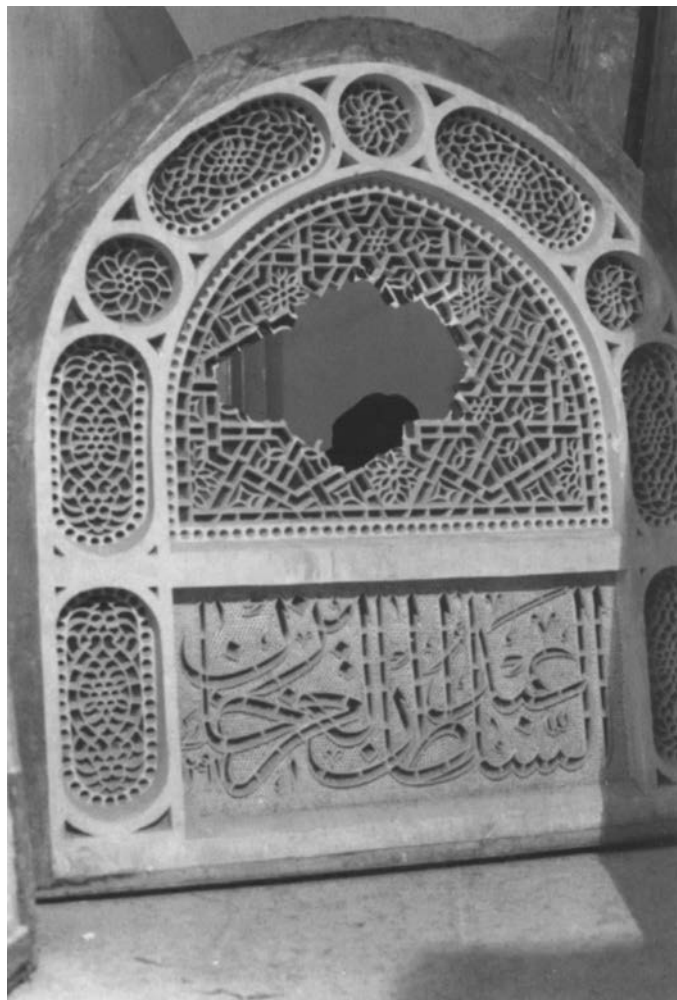
Pl. 28.7 Dome of the Rock, window-grilles of the octagon, detail of reverse of type 2 (Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem).



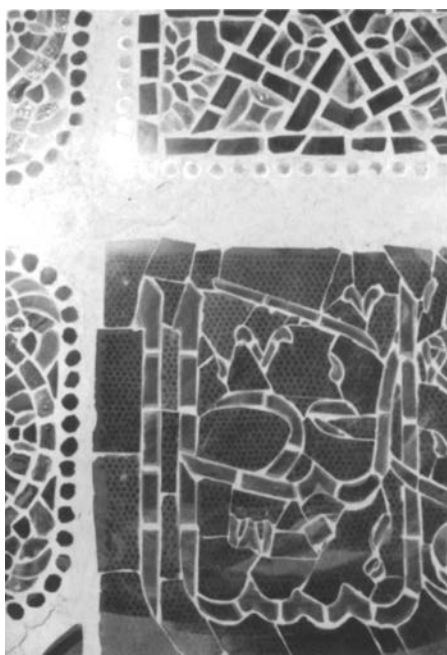
Pl. 28.8 Süleymaniye Mosque, Istanbul, window-grilles above the *mihrab*.



Pl. 28.10 Dome of the Rock, detail of the inscription visible in pl 28.9.



Pl. 28.9 Dome of the Rock, fragmentary window-grille bearing the name of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz and the date 1291 (Aqsa Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem).



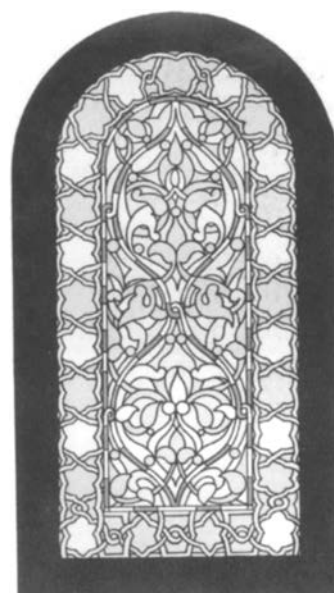
Pl. 28.11 Dome of the Rock, detail of the reverse of the window-grille shown in pl. 28.9



Pl. 28.12 Dome of the Rock, window-grille formerly in the dome (after Richmond 1924: fig. 67).



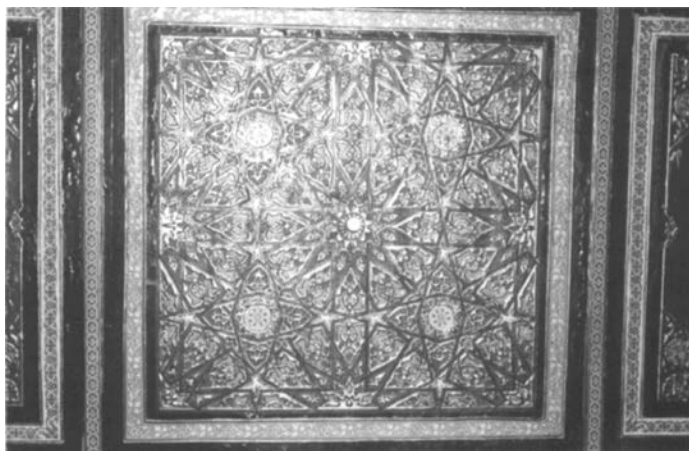
Pl. 28.14 Dome of the Rock, detail of the ceiling of the outer ambulatory (Photograph James Allan).



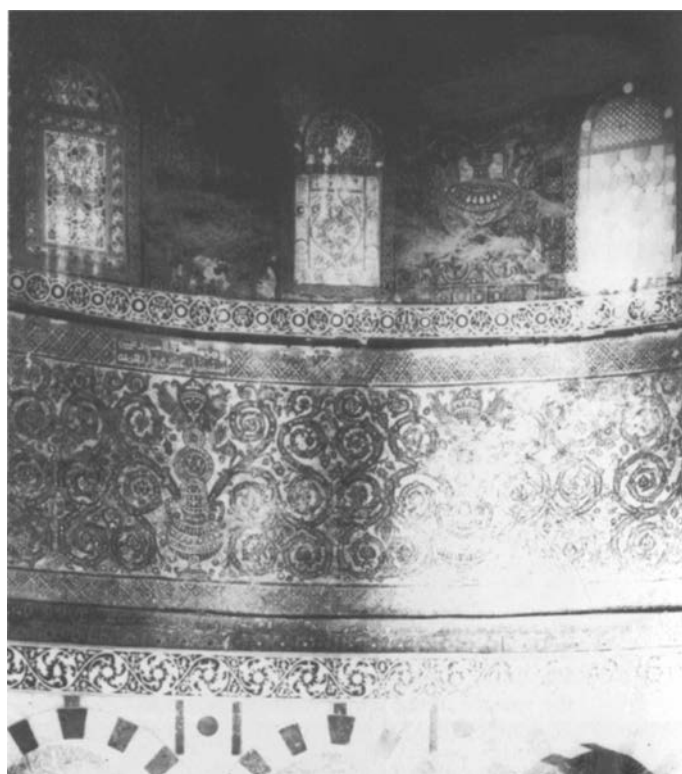
Pl. 28.13 Dome of the Rock, window-grille formerly in the dome (after Richmond 1924: fig. 67).



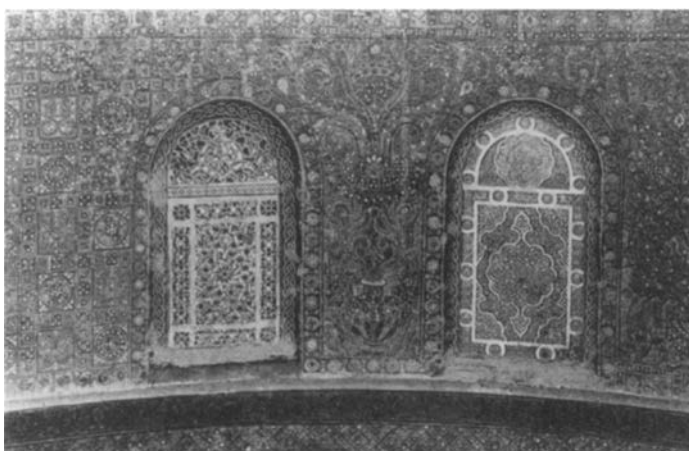
Pl. 28.15 Dome of the Rock, detail of the ceiling of the outer ambulatory (Photograph James Allan).



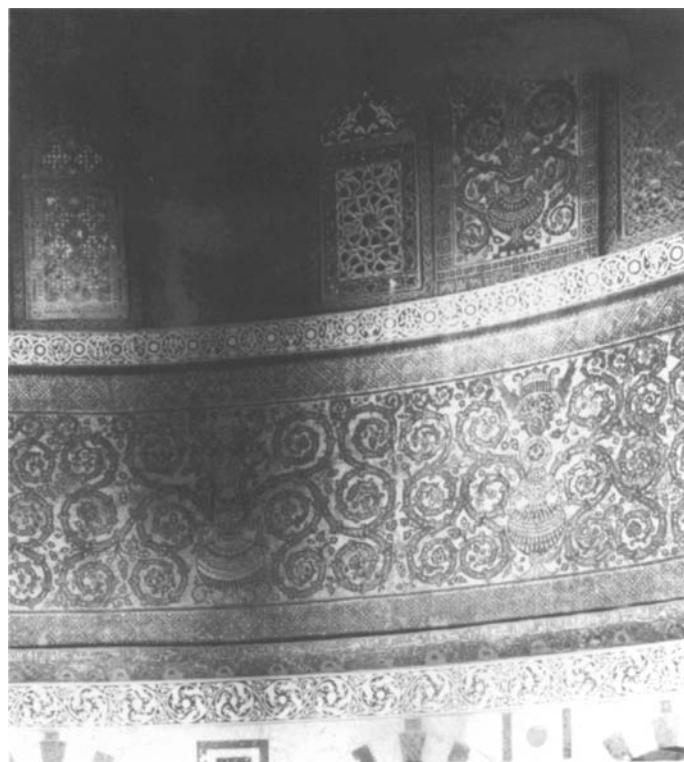
Pl. 28.16 Dome of the Rock, detail of the ceiling of the outer ambulatory (Photograph James Allan).



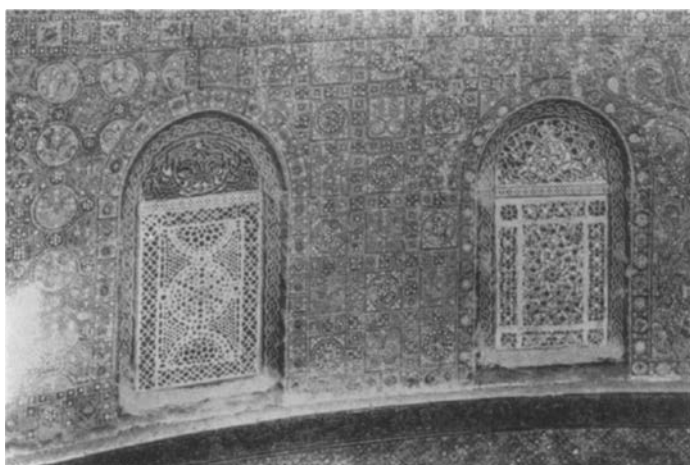
Pl. 28.17 Dome of the Rock, window-grilles in the dome before 1342/1923 (Creswell Archive, negative no 93).



Pl. 28.18 Dome of the Rock, detail of windows in the dome (after van Berchem 1927: Pl. XX).



Pl. 28.20 Dome of the Rock, window-grilles in the dome before 1342/1923 (Creswell Archive, negative no 55).



Pl. 28.19 Dome of the Rock, detail of windows in the dome (after van Berchem 1927: Pl. XX).



Pl. 28.21 Aqsa Mosque, interior of the dome before 1342/1923 (courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority).



Pl. 28.23 Window-grilles being manufactured in a workshop adjoining the Aqsa mosque.



Pl. 28.22 Church of the Coenaculum, detail of a window-grille bearing the date 1344/1925.

Chapter 29

THE PAINTED WOODEN CEILING IN THE INNER AMBULATORY OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK*

James W Allan and Marwan Abu Khalaf

In terms of woodwork, the Dome of the Rock is an extremely rich building. The dome itself, the beams between the arcades, the doors, and the ceilings of the outer and inner ambulatories are all made of wood. The only woodwork of probable Ottoman date, however, is the ceiling of the inner ambulatory, that between the octagonal arcade and the rotunda (Richmond 1924: 15). An inscription carved in stone, which used to be under the western porch and is now preserved in the Islamic Museum of al-Haram al-Sharif (Creswell 1989: 30), records that the first identifiable Ottoman reconstruction of this ceiling was undertaken during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid I, in 1194/1780 (van Berchem 1927: 343, no. 246). It reads:

قد جدد الملك التقي سلطاننا عبد الحميد
ذالباب والكاشان مع تسقيفها صحن الوصيد
تامين عبد صادق حقي محمد مير سعيد
سرّ الحميد مادح تعميرة بيتاً مجيد
كتبه [...] سنة ١١٩٤

The pious king, our Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid, renewed this door and the faience together with the ceilings of the Sakhra, encrusting them with Chinese porcelain bowls.

² Editor's note: This chapter was amplified by Professor James W Allan using material from the Creswell Photographic Archive in Oxford.

Confiding [the work] to a sincere servant, Haqqi Muhammad, a fortunate *amir*. The Praiseworthy One [i.e. God] rejoiced, praising [his work as follows]: 'His [the sultan's] restoration of a Sanctuary is excellent. Peace be upon you. Well you have fared. Enter in, to dwell forever.' ... wrote it. The year 1194 [1780].

Van Berchem discussed the meaning of the words *sahn* and *wasid* in some detail. The first could signify the terrace on which the Dome of the Rock stands, and the second the threshold of the door. However, he suggested that, grammatically, such an interpretation was impossible, and concluded that *sahn* was used here in the sense of a Chinese porcelain bowl, and *wasid* for the insertion of such bowls into the ceiling.

In addition to the numerical date at the end of the inscription, a date is also provided by the preceding words: 'His restoration of a Sanctuary is excellent,' which is a chronogram equivalent to 1195. Sauvaire proposed to drop the *alif* of the word *baitan* so that the date would then read 1194, and thus give the same year as the numerical date. Van Berchem, however, preferred to see 1194 as the date for the external repairs and 1195 as the date of the ceiling restoration.

The later date is certainly confirmed by two small *naskhi* inscriptions placed in two of the niches which form the cornice along the edge of the ceiling. They are opposite the south door on the exterior of the circular arcade, facing south. In addition to a date they also record the names of two of the workers. They read (van Berchem 1927: 347, no. 248):

يا شفاعت نبي الله سنة ١١٩٥ محمد بن سفيان

Oh intercession of the Prophet of Allah. The year 1195 AH Muhammad son of Sufyan.

يا شفاعت نبي الله سنة ١١٩٥ محمود

Oh intercession of the Prophet of Allah. The year 1195 AH Mahmud.

The 1194-5/1780-1 restoration was the last of the four 18th-century restorations of the Dome of the Rock conducted by the Ottoman sultans, and the only one, apparently, in which any work was done to the ceilings of the inner ambulatory. The others were in 1720-1, 1742, and 1753-4 (St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 84, n.12, in which they quote Aslanapa 1989).

The two niches described above were originally contiguous, but in 1382/1963 they were separated and a new inscribed niche placed between them. This reads:

This frieze was renewed [in] the year 1382 of the Hegira.

At the same time the two original inscribed niches must have been repainted, for the date now reads 1295 instead of 1195. The later date is repeated elsewhere around the frieze.

There were two major restorations of the building in the 19th century. The first was undertaken by Sulaiman Pasha in 1232-4/1816-18. The tilework element of this restoration programme is recorded in a number of inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock (van Berchem 1927: 348-60, nos. 250-70), and the full story is recounted by Ibrahim al-Murat.¹ He describes how it was found necessary 'to replace the roofing (*suqufat*) of the three places [the Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and the Haram] and the cornices (*rafayif*) all around, to replace the roofing (*suqufat*) of all the porticoes (*arwiqa*), and to replace the lead existing on all the roofs (*astaha*) because it was decayed from olden times, and to replace the tiles that were there, as they were no longer serviceable, and to renew all the parapets ...' He records that the timber was brought from the mountains of Lebanon to Jerusalem via Beirut and Jaffa, and many of the beams were of such length and weight that 270 camels were reported to have died in the attempt to transport the beams, as well as a large number of people. The largest of the beams were presumably destined for the Aqsa Mosque rather than the

Dome of the Rock. The work was encouraged by the Sublime Porte, which sent carpenters and painters, but left the payment for their labours to Sulaiman Pasha.

The precise difference between the Arabic terms *saqf* and *sath* is unfortunately unclear from Ibrahim al-Murat's text. However, the conclusion must be that work was indeed carried out on the ceilings of the Dome of the Rock in 1816-18.

The next inscriptions relating to the history of the ceilings, and hence the next specific information on their history, are those recording the second 19th-century restoration. This was undertaken in the year 1291/1874-5 by order of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz. The inscriptions are to be seen in seven of the domical caissons—three arranged symmetrically around the south east ceiling, and four arranged irregularly around the north west ceiling. In each the inscription reads (van Berchem 1927: 360, no. 271):

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر، ناصر الدنيا والدين

السلطان عبد العزيز خان ادام الله ملكه، سنة ١٢٩١ هـ

Glory to our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Nasir, Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din, Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan, may God prolong his reign. In the year 1291 of the Hegira [1874-5].

As van Berchem noted, this inscription is made up of two parts. The titles in the first part refer to the Mamluk Sultan Muhammad ibn Qala'un, who restored the ceilings probably in 1318. The reuse of these titles suggests that the idea of the domical caissons as used in the Ottoman ceiling goes back to a Mamluk ceiling of similar design, one in which the caissons were decorated with Muhammad ibn Qala'un's name and titles.² The second part of the inscription refers to the Ottoman restoration of 1874-5.

A third inscription is written in the four corners of the square around the central rosette on both the north and south ceilings. It indicates that the ceilings were also restored in 1382/1963 in the period of the late King Hussein's control of Jerusalem. This inscription reads:

جدد هذا السقف سنة ١٣٨٢ هـ

This ceiling was restored in the year 1382 of the Hegira [1963].

Megaw gives a detailed description of the roof over the inner ambulatory as he found it in 1947. This is worth quoting almost in full since the information is otherwise unpublished (Megaw 1947: 5-6, paras. 22-3).

¹ Ibrahim al-Murat 1926: 292-7. For inscriptions relating to this restoration, though none relate to the ceiling, see van Berchem 1927: 348 ff.

² For a history of Islamic ceilings, see Allan 1994.

The roof over the ... inner ambulatory is carried by eighty radiating trusses ... The tie-beams are in most cases 26 to 27cm deep and 22 to 23cm wide. They pass through to the outer face of the wall over the outer arcade. They rest on wall plates built into the two faces of this wall. At the drum end they rest on the top of a course of masonry and pass deep into the wall ... The principal rafters, 21cm by 21cm, are housed into the tie-beams at the lower end and at the upper hold a king-post of similar section. The king-post does not rest on the tie-beam, but the principal rafters are strutted from its lower end. The fourth main member of the truss extends from the top of the king-post where it is housed into the inner principal rafter, to the drum wall, forming a continuation of the outer principal rafter. These two timbers, which form the main rafter construction, were originally bound together across the top of the king-post by iron straps nailed at each end. At the outer angles of the trusses the principal rafters were bound to the tie-beams with similar iron strapping ... At the drum end, the masonry of the sixth and seventh courses above that on which the tie-beams rest has been cut to receive the ends of the upper members. The timber used in the trusses is oak, cedar, and *qatrani* pine. The common rafters, 11 by 9cm, which carry the boarding, cross from truss to truss. At the bottom end they rest on small wedge-shaped pieces of timber which have been added to the top of the trusses to ease the transition to the less steep pitch of the outer ambulatory roof. The joists to which the ceiling boards are nailed are hung from the tie-beams ...

It has required special care to accomplish an even transition between the circular plan and conical form at the top of the roof slope and the octagonal at the bottom. In the inner ambulatory roof it has been necessary to carry the king-posts up to different heights according to the span of each truss. Between the corner trusses the remaining 72 are disposed, 9 to each side. These vary in span and other details according to the points at which they rest in the drum wall and that over the outer arcade; with the result that trusses built to 6 different sets of dimensions have had to be used. 18 of the trusses have their actual span further reduced by reason of their being built into the buttresses attached to the



Pl. 29.1 Dome of the Rock. The upper side of the wooden ceiling during the restoration of 1963. (Courtesy of the Aqsa Mosque Restoration Committee).



Pl. 29.2 Dome of the Rock. The wooden trusses of the roof, before they were removed during the restoration of the 1963. (Courtesy of the Aqsa Mosque Restoration Committee).

drum or into the projecting masonry over the piers of the outer arcade. These reductions of span have not been taken into account in designing the trusses, with the result that in these cases a considerable part of the truss is built into the masonry.

From more recent observation it is clear that the

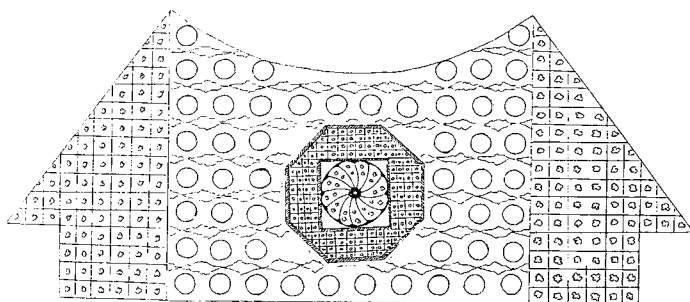


Fig. 29.1 Dome of the Rock. Sketch of part of the present wooden ceiling.

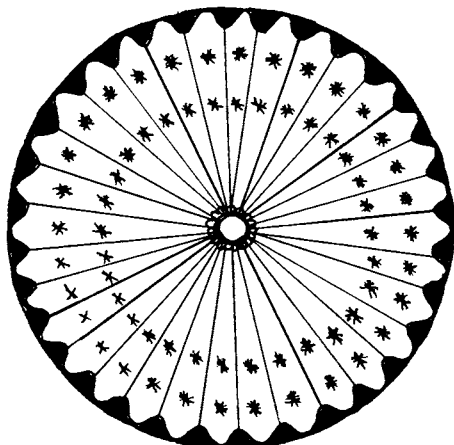
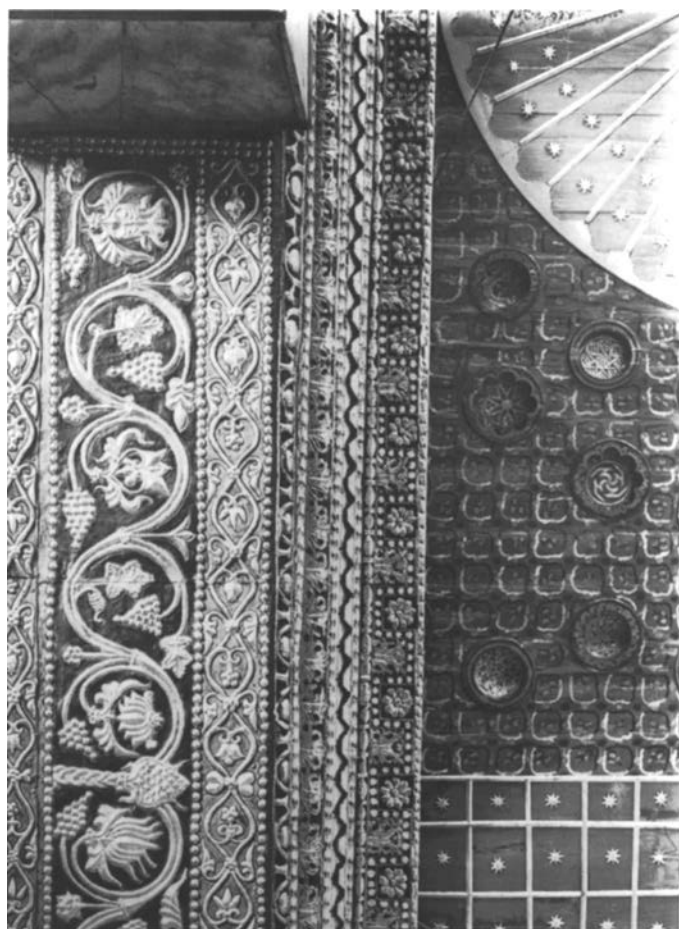


Fig. 29.2 Dome of the Rock. Sketch of the central medallion of the north west and south west parts of the present wooden ceiling.

ceiling is formed of wooden boards 20cm in width and 2cm thick. The wooden boards are joined to each other by the tongue and groove technique, and placed in longitudinal position between the walls of the octagon and the ring of the dome. The ceiling boards are nailed to the underside of the wooden beams, which form part of the wooden roof. The beams are 15cm wide and 5cm thick, and are placed in an upright position parallel to the sides of the octagon. These beams are supported by smaller ones set in a vertical position between them using the mortice and tenon technique (pl. 29.1). The iron hangers have now been replaced by stainless steel ones, attached to the underside of the trusses forming the roof of the Dome of the Rock (pl. 29.2).

Visually, the present ceiling is divided into eight parts, each part parallel to one side of the octagon. Six of these parts are ornamented with one particular design; the other two bear a second design (col. pl. XVII and fig. 29.1).

The commonest design is as follows. At each end of the panel there is a triangular area, with green painted background, divided by gilded wooden frames into small squares. Each square has an eight-lobed wooden star in the centre. The central part of each panel is of octagonal shape formed by a wooden frame painted red. Inside it is a

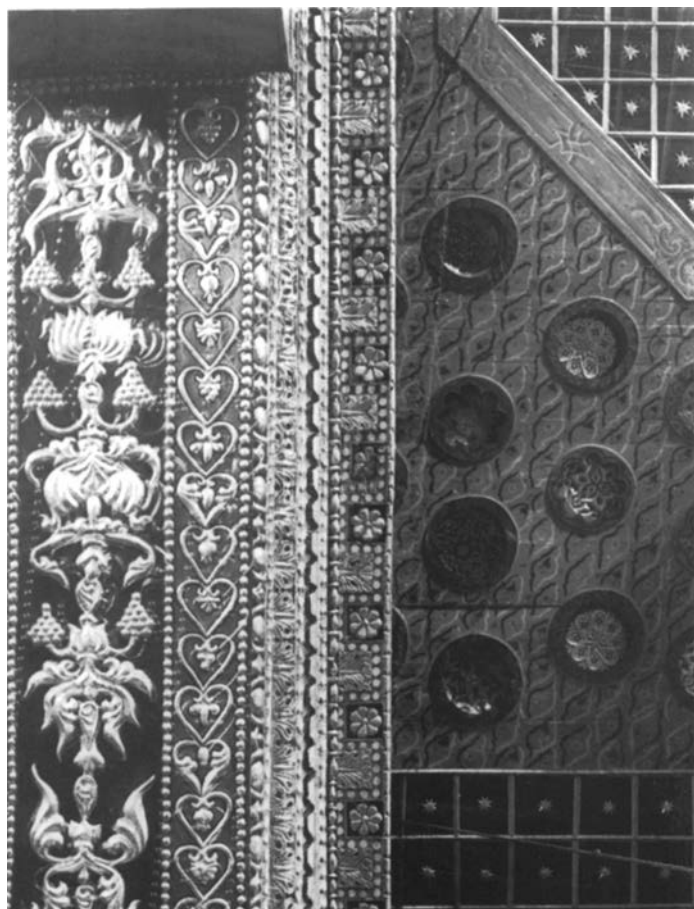


Pl. 29.3 Dome of the Rock. Detail of the wooden ceiling c. 1918-20. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford no. C 45.)

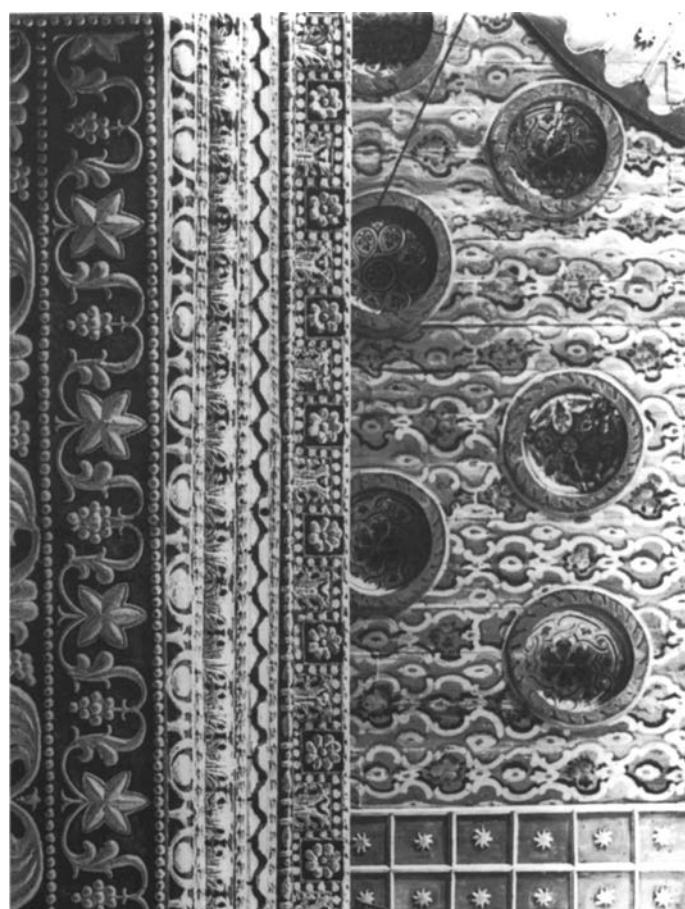
square, also formed by a wooden frame painted red. The space between these two forms is filled with small squares on a green painted background similar to those decorating the triangles. The field inside the square is painted orange, and at each of its corners there is part of an inscription indicating the last renovation of the ceiling which, as noted above, was during the late King Hussein's reign. Inside the square there is a circle on a red painted background, enclosed by a gilded wooden frame. In the centre of the circle there is a gilded wooden rosette from which spring branches of gilded wood placed in fan shape. Between each branch there are two gilded wooden stars similar to those in the small squares.

The north-west and south-west parts of the ceiling are different. Here the central octagons have been replaced by large circular wooden forms. Each circle contains forty-four branches radiating from a central rosette. Between each of them there are two gilded wooden stars similar to those at the centre of the small squared, and fan-shaped, branches (fig. 29.2).

The field between the octagons and the triangular ends of each of the eight panels is covered with beige-coloured paint. It is decorated with slightly curvilinear,



Pl. 29.4 Dome of the Rock. Detail of the wooden ceiling c. 1918-20. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum,



Pl. 29.5 Dome of the Rock. Detail of the wooden ceiling c. 1918-20. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford no. C 49.)

applied lozenge shapes, and with wooden domelets, the latter covering circular openings cut through the ceiling panels. The lozenges are painted white, and bear a central stylised tree.

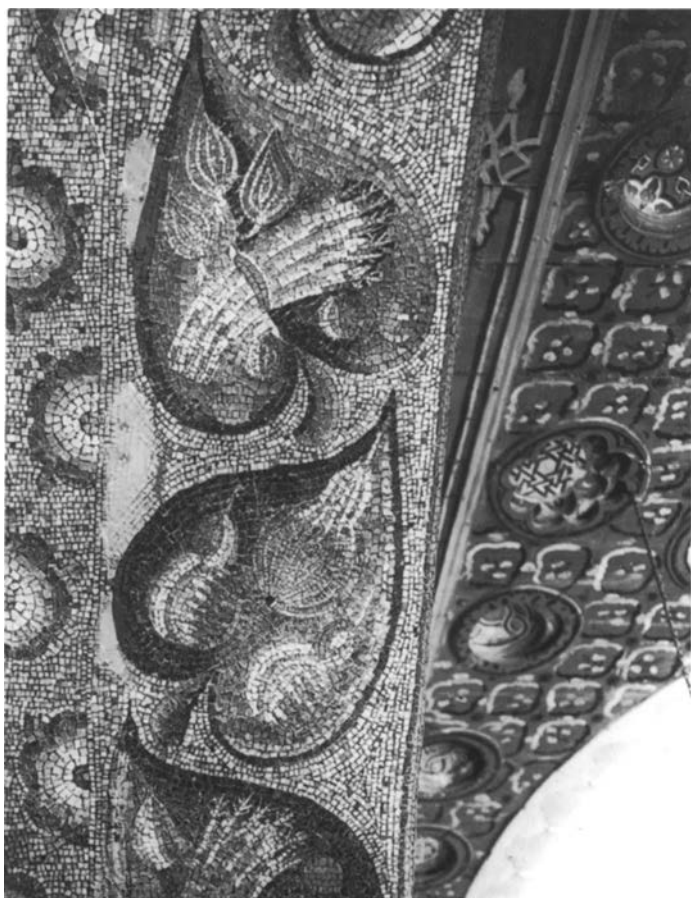
Although this is the appearance of the ceiling today, it should not be concluded that it is identical to the latest phase of the Ottoman restorations (that of 1894). For photographs published by van Berchem (van Berchem and Ory 1982: 40), and others now in the Creswell Archive in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, taken c. 1918-20, show that the areas between the central circles/octagons and the triangular corners of each piece of ceiling, apart from their domical caissons, bore one of three designs, none of which is identical to that which covers them uniformly today. One consisted of slightly irregular squares with curved corners, with a painted flower in the centre of each square (pl. 29.3); the second of irregular pointed ovals, set at the diagonal, again with a painted flower in the centre of each oval (pl. 29.4); the third of a more elaborate ogival lattice design with alternating ground colours and applied roundels or florettes (pl. 29.5). Although all these three designs appear to have been thickly enough constructed to have been made of wood, their very irregular forms suggest

that they are more likely to have been constructed of thick plaster applied to the ceiling boards.

According to de Vogüé (1864: 98), who saw the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock in 1860, the ceiling's domelets were made of porcelain. This accords with van Berchem's reading of the 1194/1780 inscription given above, though, perhaps surprisingly, there are no material remains to prove it.

During the late King Hussein's restoration, many of the domelets dating from the 1291/1894 restoration were removed, presumably because of their bad condition, and were replaced by new ones. Some, however, were restored by covering the outside of the caissons with a plaster layer so as to consolidate their structure. The domelets of the wooden ceiling are not fixed and they are all of the same size—42cm in diameter. They cover holes which are also uniform in size—34cm in diameter.

A few dome-shaped caissons, and a large number of flat, rounded caissons, painted in a similar style, are preserved in the Islamic Museum of al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. One of the latter variety is decorated with the *tughra* of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan (1861-76). These domelets and discs are of different sizes: 35cm,



Pl. 29.6 Dome of the Rock. Detail of the wooden ceiling *c.* 1918–20 (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford no. C 29).

42cm, 46cm, 47cm, or 56cm in diameter. Their stylistic similarity with those decorating the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock suggests that they could have come from the same ceiling. However, a well-known workman, Nadir Ishtayyah, who has been involved in the renovations of the Aqsa Mosque since 1958, maintains that they come from the Aqsa Mosque, and originally decorated the ceiling of the Mihrab Zakariyya. He claims that they were taken to the museum after the fire which took place in the mosque in 1969.

At first sight this conclusion is supported by the fact that the caissons are of varying size, for all those which decorate the ceiling in the Dome of the Rock today are of uniform size. However, that is not necessarily a valid argument, for photographs in the Creswell Archive indicate that prior to 1963 they varied in size, and also in form. Thus, in one particular photograph (pl. 29.6), at least three different sizes are to be seen. Moreover, the largest has two tiers of cusped work internally, resembling simple *muqarnas* work, and is topped by what appears to be a flat, painted disc. Thus, in principle, it is perfectly possible that many of these could come from the Dome of the Rock. That is not, however, to rule out the possibility of an Aqsa

Mosque source. Although van Berchem records no inscription to indicate an Ottoman restoration of the ceilings in the Aqsa Mosque, that does not prove that such a restoration never took place, and further investigation into the history of the Aqsa ceilings in appropriate archives may yet bring that information to light.

In the ceiling as it is today, the surviving domical caissons are formed of wooden circular frames, composed of several pieces of wood about 4.5cm wide and 3cm thick, spliced together and fixed by iron nails. The domed form is created by thin wooden pieces, triangular in shape, placed around the inner edge of the frame, which has been lowered to about 5mm so as to accommodate the bases of these triangles. The heads of these triangles are joined at the top by wooden pins. The domes were covered with glued fibres on both the outside and inside. The inner faces were then covered with plaster on which different decorative designs were carved. The designs are composed of a variety of vegetal, calligraphic and geometric decorative elements. These elements are all outlined in red and black, and then painted with different colours: gold, white, orange, light blue, etc. Technically and stylistically these domelets follow those in the museum of al-Haram al-Sharif, and many of them may indeed be of 19th-century date.

Along the edge of the ceiling there is a sloping cornice composed of niches. Each niche is formed of two turned wooden columns carrying a semicircular arch painted in brown and filled with dots painted in beige. The upper part of each niche is filled with a five-petalled rosette painted in orange, black and beige; the lower part is painted in green and contains a central star-shape. Between each arch there are five-lobed vine leaves, set within scrolls painted in gold (de Vogüé 1864: 98, pl. XXIIa; Creswell 1969: 90–1; Creswell 1989: 30) (fig. 29.3).

The construction of the domelets of the inner ceiling of the Dome of the Rock has already been described. Several techniques were used to construct and decorate this inner ceiling. They include tongue and groove, tenon and mortice, nailing, turning, splicing, plasterwork and painting.

The tongue and groove technique was used to join the wooden boards of the ceiling. Each board that was examined had a projecting tongue on one of its sides and a groove carved on the other side. The mortice and tenon technique was used for joining the beams and the crossbeams supporting the ceiling. This technique allows a projecting tenon from the two sides at each end of a cross beam to be fitted into cavities carved in the upright beams. The turning technique was used to form the wooden columns of the niches used in the sloping cornice placed along the edge of the ceiling. Splicing was used to join the wooden pieces forming the wooden frame of the domelets. The nails were used to fix the wooden boards to the

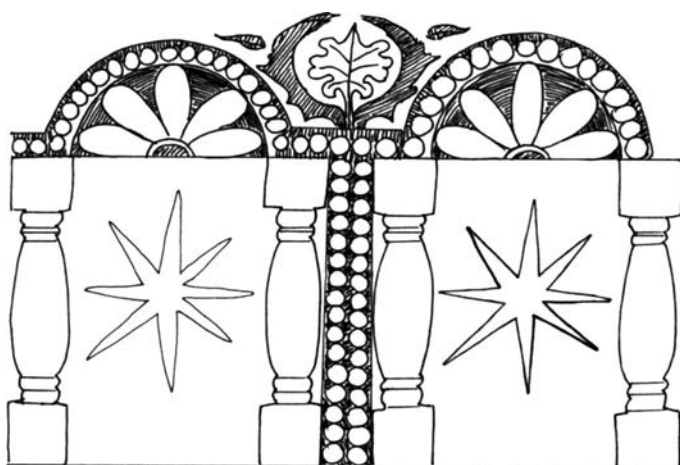
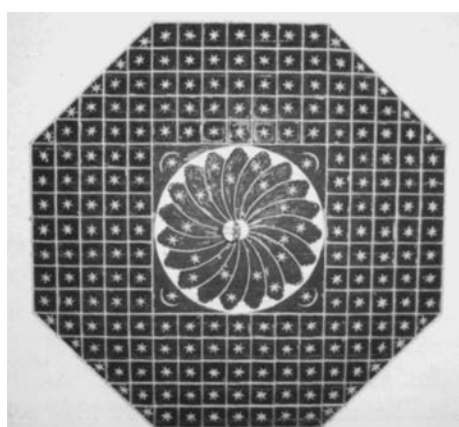


Fig. 29.3 Dome of the Rock. Sketch of the niches forming the sloping cornice surrounding the wooden ceiling.



Pl. 29.7 Nashashibi House. Part of the wooden ceiling dated to 1890 (Courtesy of Sharif al-Sharif).

underside of the wooden beams and cross beams. Plaster designs in relief are common, and painting was used throughout: the major colours are green, red, orange, black and gold.

A comparative study of this ceiling with other wooden ceilings in Ottoman Turkey, and more locally in Palestine, indicates that the style of the Dome of the Rock ceiling was familiar in both regions. For comparative purposes, the most important local wooden ceiling is that of the Nashashibi house, built by al-Hajj Khalil al-Nashashibi in 1890 outside the Old City of Jerusalem (Kroyanker 1985: 200) (pl. 29.7). The Nashashibi ceiling has a central octagonal shape on a green-painted background, covered with small squares formed of gilded wooden frames. Each square is filled by a gilded wooden eight-pointed star. In the middle of the octagon there is a square, within which there is a circle, containing a smaller circle from which spring branches of gilded wooden pieces placed in a fan-shape on a green painted background. Between each branch there is a gilded wooden star. The

square's corners are decorated with a crescent and star motif representing the national emblem of the Ottoman empire. The decorative scheme of this ceiling is thus very similar to the central part of each section of the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock.

A similar wooden ceiling is to be found in the 'Mamluk house', located in the 'Aqabat Shaikh Rihan in the Old City of Jerusalem, which was built by al-Hajj Sulaiman ibn 'Abdallah Agha al-Murali. The ceiling is painted light blue, and has a central rectangle within which there is an elongated octagon, formed by a gilded wooden frame, decorated with gilded wooden stars on a blue background. The field around the rectangle is decorated with wooden frames painted in black, white and gold, similar to those of the Dome of the Rock. This ceiling is mentioned in Chapters 25 and 30 of this volume.

A survey of 18th- or 19th-century buildings in Turkey reveals several wooden ceilings of a similar type. There are two wooden ceilings in the Topkapi Sarayi in Istanbul which are decorated with small squares divided by gilt frames with central rosettes. One of these is the canopy ceiling of the *valide sultan's* bedchamber, which is dated to the 17th-18th century (Koseoglu and Batur 1988: 39, pls. 31-2), and the other is the wooden ceiling of the Sofa Kiosk dated to the 18th century (Levey 1975: 115, no. 71). In a non-royal context, there is also a related wooden ceiling in the coffee house of the Istanbul bazaar. The ceiling of this latter building is decorated with lozenges formed by wooden frames, and is dated to the 19th century (Gezar 1983: 104, pl. 61).

There are other related wooden ceilings decorating houses in various towns throughout the north western Ottoman empire, such as the wooden ceiling decorating the Nerantzi Aibazi house in Kastoria. This ceiling is datable to the late 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. It is made of wooden boards painted red, and has four central octagons placed one within the other and divided by wooden frames into squares (Bammer 1982: 35 pl. 79). In Kutahya, the wooden ceiling decorating the house of Mustafazada Hasan Efendi is also divided by a wooden frame into geometric shapes. It is dated to 1139/1721 (Bammer 1982: 37, pl. 78). In Birgi, the house of Çakir Aga Konak, datable to the late 18th century, has a wooden ceiling divided by a frame into squares and geometric forms. Its vestibule, leading to the summer salon, also has a decorative oval ceiling (Goodwin 1971: 433, pl. 484). All these examples have similar motifs to those found in the Dome of the Rock.

The wooden ceiling of the Dome of the Rock is unique in its form, in that it was constructed to cover a particular octagonal space. On the other hand, its decorative scheme, and the decorative elements used, are a part of a more widespread 18th- and 19th-century Ottoman tradition, and are paralleled by decorated wooden ceilings in several buildings in the north-western Ottoman

empire and Palestine. For their restoration work in Jerusalem, Sulaiman the Magnificent (1545-66) and Ahmet III (1721-22),³ at least, included skilled labour from

³ St Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 78 note that the foremen and skilled labourers for this restoration project came from Istanbul, though the unskilled labourers were local. Some of the details of the restorations are given in Göyünç 1983: 328-9.

Istanbul alongside unskilled local labour. And the same is true of Sulaiman Pasha's work in 1816-18 under Sultan Mehmet II, as mentioned above. The close 19th-century comparisons provided by late Ottoman houses in Jerusalem suggest, however, that Muhammad ibn Sufyan and Mahmud were probably local craftsmen, and hence that Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, presumably for economic reasons, preferred to use local talent.

Chapter 30

CEILING DECORATION IN JERUSALEM DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD: 1856-1917

Sharif M Sharif

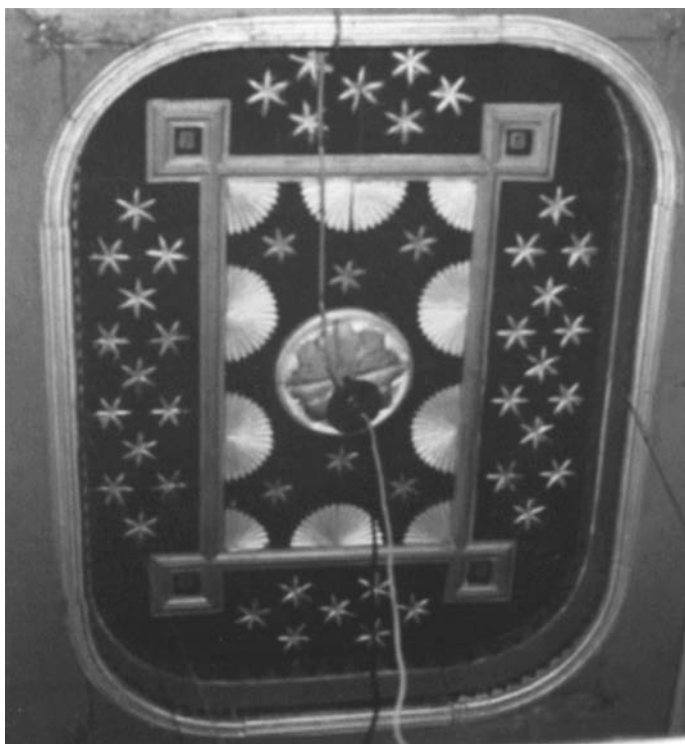
The houses of the Old City are representative of the typical town house of the Palestinian hill country—built of stone with thick walls and a cross vault carried on strong supports at the corners, with either a domed or flat roof (Canaan 1933: 36).

Internal and external pressures following the Crimean War (1853-6) led to changes in the country in the second half of the 19th century, the results of which can be seen in Jerusalem as in the other towns of the area, both in the architecture and in its interior decoration. This period of flux, which began in the later 19th century, continued into the early 20th century. On 30 May 1856, the Treaty of Paris determined the status of non-Muslims within the Ottoman empire, the sultan issuing an imperial decree to grant equality to Christians and Jews (Ben-Arieh 1984: 114). Non-Muslims could now serve on local district councils and in the courts, and foreign nationals were even permitted to purchase Ottoman land and build on it (Ben-Arieh 1984: 114). The 1858 Land Law, set up by the government because of economic problems following the war, had the effect of creating wealthy families, 'the City Efendi', who controlled vast tracts of land which provided them with revenue (Kark and Landman 1980: 112). Due to foreign immigration as well as internal growth, the population swelled from 9,000 at the beginning of the 19th century to 70,000-80,000 by the First World War (Kark 1986: 47). Inevitably, this influx of newcomers to Jerusalem led to change—cultural and social, as well as economic and physical.

Development in the economic sphere resulted not only from a general world-wide prosperity but more particularly from improvements in technology, shipping

and transport, exemplified by the opening of the Suez Canal, the new Jaffa-Jerusalem road in 1869, and the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway in 1892 (Kark 1986: 50). Inevitably, the removal of restrictions on non-Muslims brought an increase in building by Christian sects, in the form of churches, monasteries and educational institutions. Improved building materials and new methods of construction were introduced inside—and later outside—the walls of the Old City. The walls of the new buildings became less massive, the rooms were covered with wooden beams and later with iron girders, while the roofs were finished with red tiles and the windows filled with coloured glass. Thus a new European style of house emerged side by side with the traditional Palestinian type.

The first Christian buildings were established in the Muslim quarter because of its relative emptiness. Infiltration of a non-Muslim element into this area was, however, only a stage in the general trend towards expansion outside the Old City (Ben-Arieh 1984: 179). The Austrian Hospice, built between 1856-60, was the first such institution. Others were the consulates to the south east of the Damascus Gate, which greatly enhanced the prestige of the neighbourhood (Ben-Arieh 1984: 178). Dixon, who visited Jerusalem in 1864, commented that several Europeans of high rank resided there among the Muslims. To the east of Damascus Gate lived the Turkish *pasha*, the Austrian consul and the British consul, as well as other members of the most aristocratic groups in the city (Ben-Arieh 1984: 180). The lack of space within the Old City, bad sanitary conditions and rent increases, allied to an improvement in security for persons and property, all favoured settlement outside the walls of the city in the



Pl. 30.1 A ceiling in the Afifi family house, Shaikh Jarrah Quarter, Jerusalem.

second half of the 19th century (Kark and Landman 1980: 119). While the Christians and Jews began their building of residential houses and institutions as early as the 1850s, the Muslim community only began in the 1870s. The delay can be explained by the fact that they already owned houses within the Old City and did not feel the need for new ones. In addition, their houses were *waqf* property and in consequence cost them very little. Another important factor was the high cost of building a new house and, unlike the Jews and Christians, the Muslims had no foreign financial aid. It was in particular this last reason that meant only rich Muslim families were able to build houses outside the walls (Kark and Landman 1980: 130). Thus it was members of the highest Muslim circles that moved to the new neighbourhoods—the Husaini, Nashashibi, Khalidi, Alami, Jarallah, Nuseibeh, Afifi and Dajani families.

The members of these families had positions within the religious trusts which gave them great power and influence; they served as members of the district council which, according to the *vilayet* (provincial) law of 1864 and the law on *vilayet* administration of 1871, authorised the administrative council to decide on matters concerning public works, agriculture, land registration, finance, tax collection and the police. Of these, collection of tax was the most important function. Thus Jerusalem families represented on the council acquired considerable fiscal and economic power (Schölch 1989: 241). In addition, it was from these families that members were elected both to be representatives in the Ottoman parliament before the First

World War and to serve as mayor. The control of—and revenue from—large areas of land, as well as various other economic activities, provided them with the wherewithal to build sumptuous houses (Schölch 1989: 112).

The most characteristic element of these houses was the decorated ceiling which reflected both the change in building technology and the style influenced by Turkish and European taste. The ceilings can be divided into three types—the first is constructed with a recessed area in the centre that can be either octagonal, rectangular or square in shape. The area is decorated with gilding or silvering as well as carved wood in the form of stars, crescents and stars, rosettes, shells and fans in the centre. Examples of this type of ceiling can be seen inside the Old City, in the house of Muhammad Salih Husseini to the east of Damascus Gate in the 'Aqabat al-'Asili,¹ and the house of the Queder family located in front of the Russian Church of Alexander, which consists of two crossed squares forming a star-like shape.

A simpler form of this first type can be seen in houses belonging to the Khalidi and Jarallah families. They were particularly popular in the new city houses in the Shaikh Jarrah and the Husaini quarters; one appears in the *liwan* of Sitt Hind Husaini, two in the Afifi house nearby, two in the Nuseibeh house next door, two in the Nashashibi house at 7-9 Ethiopia Street (Kroyanker 1985: 200-6) and one in Musrara (Aido-Hanavi Street). Others appear in Ha-Rav-Kok Street, Ben Serah Street and in the area close to the Jaffa Road (pl. 30.1). Another interesting type is found in the Nashashibi apartments at 5 Ethiopia Street. This has a flat wooden panel with a round radiating fan-like shape at the centre and four stars and crescents at the four angles; surrounding them are tens of stars filling the octagon constructed around the central square. The ceiling recalls the ceiling of the inner ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock, which consists of a thin covering of wood in the shape of an octagon and a fan-like device in the centre of each panel. The ceiling was seen by de Vogüé in 1860 and still bears the artist's signature and the date 1195/1781. Certainly, to judge by similar ceilings in Cairo, it dates to the 18th century and could well have been repaired in 1291/1874-5 during the period of 'Abd al-'Aziz (Creswell 1932: 90-1).

This means that this first type of ceiling is found dating from 1781 to the 1890s and even later. It is typically Turco-Islamic in style and construction, and is based on floral and geometric patterns found in Istanbul during the 17th and 18th centuries. It spread to other provinces in the Ottoman empire, such as Syria, within the same period

¹ I am grateful for this information to Sitt Hind Husaini, who told me that the house belonged to her uncle; the ceiling must have been decorated by the same artist who was responsible for the ceiling in her own house, because it is apparently identical. Unfortunately I was not able to enter the house myself.



Pl. 30.2 Ceiling in the Mamluk family house, 'Aqabat Shaikh Rihan, Old City.



Pl. 30.3 A grotesque from the small room in the Ismail Beg Hussaini house, 'the Orient house'.

(Duda 1971: 29-39) and arrived in the houses of Jerusalem only in the second half of the 19th century.

The second type of ceiling has a similar recessed area in the centre, but has, in addition to the wood-carving and gilding, panels of painted flowers, still-life motifs and acanthus leaves made of gold leaf. Examples are to be found in the Rabah Efendi Husaini house, one of the first to be built outside the walls of the Old City; it dates to 1865-76 (Kroyanker 1985: 179-82). Now the American Colony Hotel, it boasts not only the famous Pasha room, but three other small rooms on the same floor that have similar painted ceilings.

The Pasha room has a high internal octagonal dome at its centre, painted in the celestial blue which in Ottoman houses has mystical associations (Goodwin 1971: 433). Around the central octagon there is a border, with bouquets of flowers depicted inside linked oval cartouches which are surrounded by gilded acanthus leaves. This border is in turn framed by a band of the same acanthus. In the four corners of the large outer square, triangles contain similar posies of flowers² to those found in the oval cartouches (col. pl. XXXVII). The three smaller rooms in the American Colony have recessed panels with identical flowers and acanthus leaves.

A ceiling similar to that in the Pasha room is found in the 'Mamluk' family house within the walls in 'Aqabat Shaikh Rihan to the east of the Damascus Gate, behind the Austrian Hospice. This has a smaller octagonal dome,

painted in celestial blue, and gilded wooden stars. Around this there is a broad square frame filled with acanthus leaves on a red ground. A second rectangle, set at an angle, contains this square; triangles of flowers on a blue ground emerge from the sides of the central square, with a gold star marking the apex of each. The ceiling in the Mamluk house and the Pasha room must have been decorated by the same artists, for they are not only identical in style but also in method of construction, although the Pasha room is larger and the ceiling more sophisticated. It is not easy to decide which of the two is the earlier, but in my opinion it was the Mamluk house ceiling that was the first, before the expansion outside the Old City (pl. 30.2).

Another example of the type is located in the second floor of the Salim Beg Husaini house behind the American Colony Hotel. Salim Beg later became mayor of Jerusalem.³ Once again, the ceiling contains a rectangular recessed panel but this time it is painted without the carved elements of the smaller rooms, for example, in the American Colony. The decoration consists of still-life and flower elements in the form of garlands, and a gold-painted star and crescent surrounded by leaves. The flowers and acanthus leaves are derived from 18th-century European Baroque and Rococo modes which became fashionable in all Ottoman regions in that period.

The third type of ceiling has a flat ceiling with no recess; it is constructed with plaster on lathes, the colours being applied by mixing them with gum or water. They are then painted on the dry plaster. There are two examples in the Orient House, in the entrance and *liwan* (pl. 30.3). The house was built in 1897 close to the buildings already discussed by Isma'il Beg Husaini, who was then the head of the Education Committee. He was visited by the

² The ceilings of the Pasha room and the other three small rooms were restored in July-August 1991 by Mr Frederic Mondello and myself. The restoration revealed details of the techniques used—the wooden dome had canvas glued to the wooden panels and coloured blue. The acanthus leaves were made of thin gold leaf applied over red Armenian sand, called *bolo* in Italian. The panel painting was applied over a thin layer of gypsum.

³ This house is today part of the Dar al-Tifl al-'Arabi Museum for Palestinian Heritage.

German emperor in 1898. The paintings consist of flowers and geometric patterns, and imitation stucco. The centre of the ceilings have medallions, grotesques and acanthus leaves, all painted in a three-dimensional manner. The *liwan* contains many repetitions of the patterns and includes baroque cartouches. This kind of ceiling, with the decoration applied in paint on plaster, was not as popular in Jerusalem as it was in other cities in Palestine in the same period such as Acre, Jaffa, Nazareth and Haifa, although examples of it can be found in Christian institutions which had the necessary funds to commission the work. A flat wooden ceiling with painted decoration is to be found, for example, in the *liwan* of the Coptic Patriarchate in the Old City. It has an oval medallion of wood in the centre surrounded by baroque cartouches. Geometric and floral designs of typical European form are arranged as a frame round the ceiling and to either side of the central medallion there is a lobed quatrefoil with an internal octagon of imitation bamboo acting as a border⁴ (col. pl. XXXVIII).

There used to be a similar ceiling in the *liwan* of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate but it was destroyed in 1992. However, in the house of Bishop Kerelios there is an example of a painted cross-vaulted ceiling which is comparatively rare. It has a central medallion of flowers of the type common in Acre and Nazareth, surrounded by symbols including heads of putti.⁵ Another example of a painted cross-vaulted ceiling is the entrance vault of the Imperial Hotel near the Jaffa Gate. The hotel was built by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in the years 1884-9 (Kroyanker 1993: 369-73). The decoration consists of a repeated grotesque based on acanthus leaves painted in three-dimensional relief. The shape is identical to the grotesque in a small room in the Orient House, which could well have been executed by the same artist in 1897-8 (col. pl. XXXIX).

Other important ceilings of this type are found in three guest rooms of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Convent of St Saba in the Judean desert. The two smaller guest rooms have identical ceilings. They have a three-dimensional stucco-like boss in the centre in the form of a medallion; around this there are two painted concentric fillets of leaves. In the four corners of the rooms there are painted baskets of fruit and flowers emerging from an acanthus leaf. A frieze runs round the upper part of the walls of both rooms and in one there is an inscription in



Pl. 30.4 Ceiling in small guest room, St Saba Monastery showing the signature of 'the priest Yohasef' in border.

Greek set within the parallel lines of the border reads 'the priest Yohasef' (in Greek), presumably the painter of the scheme (pl. 30.4).

The third guest room has a rectangular ceiling with a central medallion of grapes and vine leaves in three different colours. In the corners, four baroque roundels surrounded by acanthus leaves contain depictions of the four evangelists—to the north, Matthew with the customary angel and Mark with his lion and to the south John with an eagle. Unfortunately, Luke with the usual iconographic symbol of an ox has been destroyed. The three extant images are shown seated engaged in writing (Cavarnos 1980: 26) (col. pl. XL). Between each pair of evangelists there is a two-handled vase filled with roses, and the corners are linked by baroque acanthus cusps. The images of all three ceilings have been painted on dry plaster which was almost certainly applied on a lathe in the customary manner.

So far the ceilings described have been part of the fashion of the late Ottoman period, found not only in Palestine but also in the Lebanon, Syria, Bulgaria, Bosnia and other Ottoman provinces, all of which followed the initiative of Istanbul. The first style imitates traditional ceilings found in the houses of wealthy patrons in Turkey and the provinces during the 17th and 18th centuries of geometric and floral decorative motifs which are typically Turco-Islamic in character. The second type with its Baroque or Rococo ornament and still life elements also imitates Istanbul, where the first signs of an interest in the Baroque and Rococo modes appeared during the 'Tulip Age' in the first quarter of the 18th century in the so-called 'Fruit Room' of the Harem of the Topkapi Palace. Here bouquets of flowers and bowls of fruit were painted or carved on the walls (Gunsel 1988: 70).

The third type of ceiling represents a new kind of painting, not only of subject but also of technique for they

⁴ The bamboo motif is found on many ceilings of houses in Gaza Street and the 'Ajami quarter in Jaffa. In all there are some thirty examples here. It seems it was part of the repertoire of a certain group of painters, for the same motif is found in the Tuqan family house in Nablus and in other towns where artists from Jaffa were employed, such as Ramla and Gaza.

⁵ Identical medallion and putti dating to 1863 are to be found inside the Greek Orthodox bishopric church of Nazareth.

were executed on dry plaster in the Western fresco mode *a secco* (Gunsel 1988: 69). The subjects, usually framed in the customary Baroque motifs, consist of landscapes, topographical representations of Istanbul or other towns and cities, hunting scenes, flocks of birds in the sky, and boats floating on streams which run down to the sea (Gunsel 1977: 262-5). This change from the typical Turco-Islamic type of decoration to a more European mode occurred when the Ottoman empire was exposed to the West through political and economic relations. The experience of Yirmisekiz Mehmet Efendi, who went as ambassador to France in 1721, started a wave of westernisation in Ottoman royal circles. The European manner and style was taken up with enthusiasm, in particular the French mode (Kuban 1955: 149). The new style spread quickly to other regions of the empire during the second half of the 18th century, but only arrived in Palestine in the second half of the 19th century. It was the powerful notable families of the provinces who played a part in the diffusion of this new kind of architectural decoration just as they had in the capital (Gunsel 1988: 77-8).

It would appear that the new style of 'mural' was popular in Palestinian cities like Jaffa, Nazareth, Haifa, Acre and so on, where it is found in houses belonging to both rich Muslim and Christian families, and even to Jews and Druzes who belonged to the same socio-economic stratum of society. In Jerusalem it featured only in Muslim houses, the richest milieu of Jerusalem in that period. According to the list compiled by Yellin⁶ of the prices of buildings outside the Old City for March 1899-March 1900, the Muslims invested more money in their houses than wealthy Christians and Jews of similar status (Kark and Landman 1980: 132). In Jerusalem, the average is one to two ceilings in the majority of the houses that contain painted ceilings, while in other towns like Acre, Jaffa or Nazareth, the average is three to four ceilings per house.⁷ It is noticeable that the new iconography of hunt scenes, *trompe l'oeil*, cities by the sea and so on does not exist in Jerusalem houses, whereas in other towns the fashion from the capital was followed in every detail⁸ (col. pl. XLI).

⁶ David Yellin, a Jewish representative on the Council at that time, was also a journalist who wrote for a Hebrew newspaper abroad in which he described daily life in Jerusalem. As he was writing for a foreign paper in a language that no one in the country connected with the government could read, his information is regarded as highly reliable.

⁷ The number of ceilings per house in Nazareth is sometimes greater than in Jerusalem—for example, in the house of Salim al-Rais there are thirteen ceilings on two floors; another house built by al-Shaikh Amin Yusuf al-Fahoum has nine ceilings.

⁸ The city of Istanbul is found painted on a wall in the Khammar family house in Acre; this is a copy of many examples of the same painting found in houses in Istanbul. In Nazareth, towns by the sea such as Acre and Haifa are depicted in a frieze in the Azar family house. For more details, see Sharif Sharif 1994: 55-60.

In Jerusalem, the westernised decoration found in the houses of rich families arrived only after a long process of Ottomanisation. That is why Christian buildings, such as the French Hospital Church, or the Augusta Victoria, both of which were built in the same period and which were decorated in a truly Western style based on the eclectic mode of 19th-century painting in Europe, did not affect the local type of decoration. Even in Christian buildings of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate the style follows the type of Ottomanised western decoration rather than showing any direct influence from Europe. It can be argued that the new technique—that is, painting on plaster *a secco*—is related to the new central-hall type of house imported from the Lebanon by Lebanese Christians who settled in the coastal towns like Jaffa, Acre, and Haifa as well as in inland towns like Nazareth from the middle of the 19th century. These Christian Lebanese were wealthy merchants with wide business interests and contacts abroad who owned land in the vicinity of Jaffa and Nazareth (Fuchs 1987: 95-9). It was they who first imported the new fresco technique into Palestine. It may be for this reason that the style is more widely found on ceilings in Christian institutions in Jerusalem than in Muslim houses.

Who were these artists working in Jerusalem in the late 19th century? There is no clear evidence in the city or the surrounding area in the way of artists' signatures or dates. The only names that have survived are those in St Saba, probably of a priest working in the area, and one other Greek. This last man was probably from an island near Turkey and his signature appears in the Mahd 'Isa in the so-called 'Stables of Solomon' under the esplanade of al-Haram al-Sharif.⁹ This small *masjid* was apparently redecorated at the time of the visit of the German emperor to the Haram in 1898 at the same time that the colonnades were painted with similar motives, as can be seen in old photographs. It is possible that the Orient House was decorated in the same year for the same reason. And, to judge by the style and motifs, the ceilings of the Imperial Hotel also date to that year.

It was unusual for artists to sign their work, but there are two signatures by the same artist in Nazareth, a man identified as 'Saliba Yohanna of Jerusalem', and there is a further signature in Jaffa by an artist signing himself 'Hanna Sagbini'. The first signatures indicate that the artist was a Christian Arab, an icon painter registered with the Antioch Patriarchate under 'the School of Jerusalem', a group active in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine in the second half of the 19th century (Agemain 1969: 122-3) (pl. 30.5).

⁹ I would like to thank Mr David Myres who was working from the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for this important piece of information on the artist and his signature. (Ed. See Chapter 34 by D Myres, *Mahd 'Isa* in this volume)



Pl. 30.5 Azar family house, an angel with the artist's signature—'the work of Saliba Yohanna, the Orthodox, painter of Jerusalem, 1889'.

Saliba Yohanna worked in many houses in Nazareth, Haifa and Acre. Another painter from the same school who was active in the area was a man called Nicola Theodor of Jerusalem who painted the icons of the iconostasis in the Greek Orthodox Church of Acre in 1871. He also painted icons in the Catholic Patriarchate Church in Jerusalem in the 1880s, but no signature is to be found on the ceilings that he might have been expected to have executed. A similar instance of icon painters who also decorated houses, mosques and churches in the new style is to be found in Bulgaria in the 19th century.¹⁰ In the area of Kayseri there are several examples indicating the presence of well-trained local artists. There is some evidence that these artists were Christian, but the houses follow the decorative scheme found in the capital and diffused throughout the empire, regardless of the religious affiliation of the owner of the house (Gunsel 1978: 711-31). It has been pointed out that the multi-ethnic and multi-regional

make-up of the skilled artisans recruited to work on important building sites supported the change in style, technique and craft, and perhaps even typological concepts. In the long run it also fed the syncretism that characterised Ottoman culture in the 18th and 19th centuries (Cerasi 1988: 90). Christian religious architecture and decoration borrowed freely from Islamic-Ottoman architectural forms and Christian masters designed mosques as well as churches, houses and ceiling decoration.¹¹

In conclusion, it should be stressed that the style of ceiling with recessed painted panels is typical only of the Muslim élite in Jerusalem¹² in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This taste betrays a certain conservatism compared to the other towns in Palestine in the same period, where the new style from Istanbul was preferred. The reason for this may lie in the fact that Jerusalem was a 'Holy City' and was thus seen as different to other Muslim cities in the area like Cairo, Damascus, or even Istanbul. Those families that were coming to power as the Muslim élite were keen to extend Islamic influence into areas like the arts, especially at a time when European tastes were penetrating in parallel with their economic and social interests, all of which threatened Muslim traditions and caused a religious reaction to them. There is no question but that rich Muslims were educated in the European manner in their lifestyle and in their contacts with non-Muslims; but at the same time it seems that their attitudes towards religion and the social fabric (and in particular the framework of the family) were conservative, and this was a source of their power. Ceiling decoration can be seen as fascinating visual evidence of this dichotomy between East and West.

¹⁰ For further information see Anna Roschowska, *Die Bajrakli Moschee*, National, Institut für Kulturdenkmäler, Sofia 1977.

¹¹ Al-Jazzar mosque was built by a Greek master at the end of the 18th century and the Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali was built by a Greek from Istanbul; the best example is the Armenian family of Balian, a group of court architects.

¹² To my knowledge, the only other town in Palestine to have an example of this type of traditional ceiling is Nablus, where an example is to be found in the house of the Qasim family.

Chapter 31

THE EAST WALL OF THE HARAM AL-SHARIF: A NOTE ON ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

*Michael Hamilton Burgoyne**

In the familiar view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (pl. 31.1) the focal point is, of course, the Dome of the Rock but in the foreground, rising from the sacred ground of the Bab al-Rahma (Golden Gate) cemetery, is another structure of considerable archaeological interest: the east wall of the Haram al-Sharif.

The present city wall was built between 1537 and 1541 during the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent. According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited Jerusalem in 1649 and again in 1670-71, Sulaiman was inspired in a dream:

... Sultan Suleiman ... conquered the fortress of Belgrade and later on the island(s) of Rhodes and Malta(!) and accumulated thereby immense wealth. When he became an independent(!) king, the Prophet appeared to him in a 'blessed night' and told him '... You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse

the unbelievers, when they attempt to take possession of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its Sanctuary...and rebuild Jerusalem.' ... Suleiman at once rose from his sleep and sent from his spoils one thousand purses to Medina and another thousand purses to Jerusalem. Together with the required material he dispatched the master architect Qoja Sinan to Jerusalem, and transferred Lala Mustafa Pasha from the governorship of Egypt to that of Syria. (The latter) having been ordered to carry out the restoration of Jerusalem, gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo and sent them to Jerusalem to rebuild it ... (Stephan 1942: 96-7).

The local population of Jerusalem, as well as that of all other districts of Palestine, contributed their share of taxes to defray the cost of building materials and skilled labour (Cohen 1989: 2). The work was under the administrative control of 'the Superintendent of the Wall' (*al-amin 'ala al-sur*), Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (Cohen 1988: 467-77). Two inscriptions in Jerusalem, dated 1527 and 1531-32, refer to Sulaiman as *al-thani*, 'the second Solomon', suggesting that he saw himself as rebuilding the pristine Jerusalem of the biblical King Solomon (van Berchem 1922 1: 146-9; 2: 167-8; Meinecke 1988: 257-83, 338-60).

Sulaiman's wall incorporates in many places the

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remains of earlier walls. In the south-east corner of the city, the wall enclosing the Haram al-Sharif serves also as the city wall. It still contains part of an old, pre-Herodian wall as well as substantial remains of the wall built two thousand years ago by Herod to support the platform of his temple, erected on the site of Solomon's. The range of subsequent repairs, discernible in the masonry, confirms that Sulaiman's builders simply made further repairs and raised the existing Haram wall, adding crenellations and gunports to bring it into character with the rest of the new Ottoman city wall.

At first sight, the wall's complex layering of texture and plane seems hopelessly confused. Excavation is not permitted within the Haram and so, if progress in understanding the sequence of rebuilding and repairs is to be made, other techniques must be adopted. I believe that through systematic observation and analysis it will be possible to make sense of the bewildering variety of masonries in the wall. This is not to suggest that the masonries in the city wall have not been studied before. Indeed, such studies were initiated by the intrepid investigators of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1864 and are recorded in a series of beautiful drawings based on observations made both above and below ground level (Warren 1876; Wilson 1880: 9-65). The PEF investigations concentrated on the biblical history of Jerusalem and paid less attention to later periods represented by masonry in the upper parts of the wall. In the early 20th century the pioneering work of the Palestine Exploration Fund was augmented by new studies of the walls by two American scholars (Merrill 1908; Mitchell 1920: 28-50). Since then archaeological research has concentrated on excavation and little attention has been paid to the walls we see today, though archaeologists such as R W Hamilton (1940: 1-54) and C N Johns (1950: 121-90) included important comments on masonry types in their excavation reports.

Following on from these earlier studies I have attempted to identify areas of different types of masonry—thus my sketch of the wall (fig. 31.1, in folder) reveals a complex 'mosaic' of facing masonries representing a construction sequence in which periodic divisions and sub-phases can be distinguished. Various features are discussed in the Commentary (below, pp. 489-93). This, I hope, will provide a basis for future study. As more attention is paid to this and the other enclosing walls of the Haram,¹ it should be possible to establish a relative chronology of masonries, leading eventually to a datable sequence of construction. In the final paragraphs of this chapter I have taken the liberty of suggesting ways in which the study of the walls might progress taking account of recent advances in scientific techniques, which are beginning to be exploited in the archaeological interpretation of standing structures (see, for example, Morris 1994: 13-21).

Recording

In my assessment, the first requirement was to prepare an elevational drawing of the wall as accurately as possible (ICOMOS 1990, 1996). The combination of its enormous size and the need for minute observation makes the task difficult. The traditional and often the best way to prepare such a drawing is by 'direct' survey, hand-measured using tapes, plumb bobs, surveyors' levels etc. In this instance the size and complexity of the wall would have made direct surveying extremely time-consuming and would have required expensive scaffolding.

Modern 'indirect' techniques such as photogrammetry—whereby the outline of each stone is traced by an operative from stereoscopic pairs of photographs—and image-gathering by digital camera or electronic theodolite are developing rapidly in conjunction with computer-aided draughting (CAD) programmes. These are useful tools for the surveyor but both are expensive and they have inherent drawbacks.² The archaeological interpreter is deprived of insights to be made by actually producing the drawn record, such as recognising subtle changes in the colour or texture of stones or small variations in the size of the blocks. When looking at an image produced by someone else the eye tends to gloss over small irregularities, focusing instead on distinct features. The process of drawing, on the other hand, makes the draughtsman take notice of what would not normally be seen by less involved observers. Because it takes time to draw up a survey in the traditional way, inconsistencies gradually obtrude into the draughtsman's consciousness.

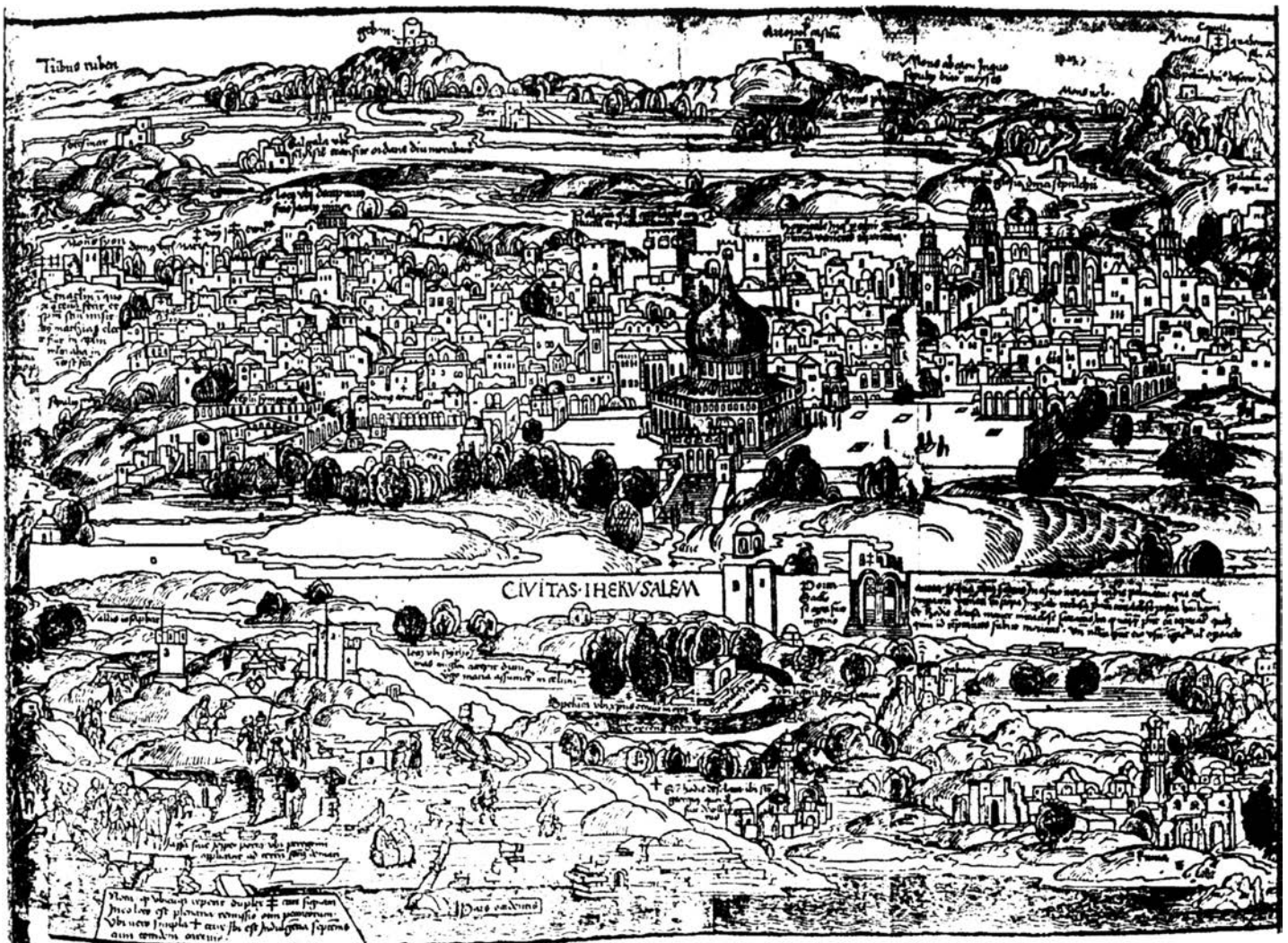
Without the resources to attempt any of the above methods of recording, I adopted another way, using 'rectified' photographs in which perspective distortions are minimised. In this method, it is essential that the photographs are of the highest quality and are reproduced to a standard scale. Joe Rock's magnificent photographs, on which my sketch (fig. 31.1, in folder) is based, show what can be achieved. Despite having photographs of the best quality, enlarged to a scale of approximately 1:100, there were substantial practical difficulties in producing the drawing. Executed at the same scale (reproduced here at about half size) it is almost 5m long, too long for any standard drawing board (and for most workplaces), making it hard in particular to keep

¹ I attempted a 'stratigraphical' analysis of the masonry at the south end of the west wall of the Haram in Burgoyne 1987: 263, fig 22.8.

² The problems and limitations involved in using this new technology are discussed by al-Asad in Grabar 1996: 175-83.



Pl. 31.1 View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives.



Pl. 31.2 Edward Reuwich of Utrecht's view of Jerusalem, from Bernard of Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* (1486).

track of levels—and the long thin shape made it difficult to present for publication.

Rather than attempt the time-consuming exercise of drawing every single stone, I elected rather to plot breaks in the coursing of stones (which appear as staggered vertical lines) and ledges or changes in masonry types (which appear as more or less horizontal lines). These lines may indicate a change in the construction process. By plotting such breaks, the longitudinal (side-to-side) extent and the height of coherent segments of stonework are outlined. Horizontal ledges between two segments, one above the other, may indicate a change in construction where, for instance, earlier stonework was cleared during repairs to prepare a level surface from which to build up new stonework. Such breaks do not necessarily, however, indicate different dates of construction. They may be simply a feature of a particular construction technique, as in the Herodian masonry where each course is set back a few centimetres from the course below, or of two immediately sequential phases of construction that would occur following an interruption when scaffolding was moved or raised as the work progressed, or when work stopped during inclement weather.

Further clues to changes of build include variations in colour and texture of the stones. The colour of limestone usually darkens on exposure to the weather, often quite quickly, to reach a hue that remains stable in the absence of atmospheric pollution, which was negligible in Jerusalem until recently. Stones from a particular quarry will normally develop a surface colour peculiar to that quarry, though variations within individual quarries are not uncommon. The texture of a stone also changes over time on exposure to the weather as the surface is abraded by wind, rain and frost.

History

The history of the building, realignment, destruction and rebuilding of the city wall has been reviewed by many authors. For some reason, scant attention has been paid to the walls of the Haram, and they have received surprisingly little attention from archaeologists even though substantial excavations have been made along the south wall, particularly during the last thirty years.

It is worth looking at what we know of the history of the east wall of the Haram. The following list summarises that history since the construction of Herod's Temple (itself incorporating remains of earlier structures) two thousand years ago. Historians will doubtless be able to furnish more details of events that might have affected the structural history of the wall; those that seem most

likely to have made a significant impact are marked with an asterisk.³

AD 70	'Destruction' of Herod's Temple by the Roman general Titus (at least all four corners of the Temple precinct's enclosing walls survive).
70-614	Temple area lay largely in ruins; work on walls unlikely.
614	City walls damaged during Persian siege.
638	Arab conquest; Temple area cleared of debris, 'Umar's mosque erected.
c. 660	Further clearing of the Temple area; restoration of enclosure may have begun at this time.
*692	'Abd al-Malik's construction of the Dome of the Rock and, possibly, work on the Aqsa Mosque. Reconstruction of the Haram walls and gates is likely to have coincided with these works.
709-15	Completion of the Aqsa Mosque.
728-43	Rebuilding of city wall?
745-46	Reported 'destruction' of the city wall.
*746-749	Earthquakes.
*754-80	'Abbasid reconstructions of the Aqsa Mosque, probably including repairs to the Haram walls.
756-57	Earthquake.
808	Earthquake.
*961	Ikhshidid repairs of part of east wall (inscription).
*1016	Earthquake.
*1033-4	Earthquake.
*1033-36	Fatimid repairs to the Haram walls (inscription).
*1068	Earthquake and Fatimid repairs (inscription).
1070s	Saljuk strengthening of city defences.
1098	Fatimids strengthen city wall as Crusaders approach.
1099	Crusader conquest of Jerusalem.
1105	Earthquake.
1116	City walls restored and strengthened.
1117	Earthquake.
1177-78	Crusader repairs to city wall.
1187	Ayyubid recovery of Jerusalem.
*1191-92	Salah al-Din's repair of city wall.
*1202-14	Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa's major refurbishment of the Haram and city wall.

³ For the long history of the walls before the Ottoman period, see Wightman 1993; for the early Islamic period, see Raby and Johns (eds.) 1992 and Magness 1991: 208-17; for Sulaiman's walls, see van Berchem 1920-27; for a comprehensive bibliography, see Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 3: 195-204.

- 1219 Al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa orders dismantling of city walls, probably excluding the Haram.
- 1229 Rebuilding of city wall ordered by Frederick II (little work likely to have been done).
- 1244 Restoration of city wall ordered by al-Salih Ayyub.
- 1277 Further destruction of city wall.
- 1295-1310 Mamluk repairs to east and south walls of the Haram.
- 1310-1537 Walls neglected.
- 1458 Earthquake.
- 1483 Wall depicted in Reuwich’s drawing of the city (pl. 31.2).
- 1517 Ottoman conquest (no military action in Jerusalem).
- *1537-41 Sulaiman’s reconstruction of city wall including restoration of the Haram walls.
- 1546 Earthquake (Mayer 1931: 86-7; Burgoyne 1987: 42 n.32; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 260-305; Amiran 1996: 120-30).
- 1552 City wall damaged near the Golden Gate; report on cost of repairs ordered (Heyd 1960: 156).
- 1615 Repairs to the city wall ordered (Ze’evi 1996: 9, 99-100).
- 1717-33 Repairs to wall near Bab al-Asbat (St Stephen’s Gate) by ‘Umar al-Nimr [al-Nammar] (al-‘Asali 1989: 216).
- 1826 Bombardment of the city from the Mount of Olives (Spyridon 1938:68).
- 1834 Earthquake (Spyridon 1938: 92-93).
- 1839 Earliest photographs (daguerreotypes) taken.
- *1882 Rebuilding of the south end of the Haram east wall (Schick 1882: 171).
- 1927 Earthquake (Willis 1928: 78-103; Blanckenhorn 1927: 288-96).

The history of repairs to the Haram east wall includes three that are likely to have been more comprehensive than others: (1) the Umayyad development in the late 7th and early 8th centuries; (2) the Ayyubid refurbishment by Salah al-Din and al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa around the turn of the 12th century following the recovery of Jerusalem from the Crusaders; and (3) Sulaiman’s reconstruction of the city walls in the mid-16th century. It would be reasonable to suppose that more or less substantial quantities of stonework dating from these reconstructions remain in the wall.

Interpretation

It is axiomatic that the lowest stones in the wall are the oldest. As it happens, the lower stones tend to be larger and

more carefully dressed; in other words, the better the masonry, the older it is likely to be (such is progress!). Also, where the wall stands above the level of the Haram platform (which is marked by a broken line in fig. 31.1, in folder) it is likely to be thinner (the thickness of the wall has not been established) since it does not need to resist the thrust of soil or substructures below that level, and so might be expected to have been more susceptible to wilful or accidental damage requiring more frequent repair. But in the event this does not seem to be the case. Reuwich’s drawing (pl. 31.2), by far the most accurate representation of Jerusalem before the 19th century, shows the wall south of the Golden Gate standing before Sulaiman’s restoration apparently not much higher than the level of the platform, and the wall north of the Golden Gate standing almost to its present height, well above the level of the platform.

Six types of masonry in the east wall are distinctive. The huge, protruberantly-bossed stones of the first of them predate the Herodian masonry that abuts on them towards the southern end of the wall.⁴ The large ‘panelled’ Herodian ashlar of the second type in the lower courses at either end of the wall, with their flat, squared bosses and drafted margins, are well known. The smooth, plain ashlar of the third type are found near the north end of the wall directly above what appears to be pre-Herodian masonry; this type may be Umayyad since it has affinities with masonry in the Umayyad buildings south of the Haram. The fourth type, consisting of alternately high and low courses, contains the inscription commemorating the Ikhshidid repairs in the 10th century. Masonry of the fifth type (stones marked ‘C’ in fig. 31.1 in folder) displays fine diagonal striations made by a fine-toothed comb-chisel or saw, occasionally also bearing masons’ marks, and is characteristically Crusader (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 4-47; Pringle 1981: 173-99; Ellenblum 1992: 168-89). The Crusader stones do not occur in uniform, homogeneous segments of masonry but are dispersed through areas of differently dressed stones, suggesting that these stones are in re-use. Indeed, it would be surprising if stones from earlier collapses—an obvious and convenient source of building material—were not gathered and re-used in repairs, perhaps redressed, possibly using the best of them for facework and the remainder for consolidating the hidden core of the wall. Such continual recycling of materials makes interpretation more difficult but where stones with a distinct and identifiable character, like the Crusader stones bearing masons’ marks, are clearly in secondary use we can deduce that their re-use is likely to have occurred in a later period. The sixth type of masonry

⁴ The date of construction of this pre-Herodian masonry remains to be established. For two differing views, see Lapperousaz 1987: 34-44 [Solomonic], and Ritmeyer 1992: 24-65 [Hasmonean].

is found in the upper part of the wall (and throughout the city wall) and must belong to Sulaiman's rebuilding. It is distinguished by a pecked surface, often surrounded by a roughly tooled margin. The size of the stones is more or less consistent, suggesting that the benefits of simplicity of administration and economies of repetition were not unknown to the stoneyard. False joints cut in large stones to match the coursing of adjoining smaller masonry, such as those on the inside face of the Ottoman wall south of the Bab al-Asbat (St Stephen's) city gate (pl. 31.3), are not found in the Haram wall. Smaller stones laid in shallow courses above the 'Sulaiman' type indicate later rebuilding of the top of the wall, including many of the merlons. Other masonry types display different characteristics such as rough bosses, a feature that is sufficiently common in buildings of all ages in the region to be unreliable as a diagnostic criterion. (The specially distinctive bossed masonry of the Crusader period at the south-west corner of the Haram is not present in the east wall.)

Certain construction techniques, such as the use of columns built transversely into the core of the wall leaving only their circular ends visible—of which there are 56 altogether—or incorporated architectural features such as gates, windows, gunports and crenellations, which may in themselves be datable (see Commentary), all help to define the period of construction of a segment of masonry. For example, the technique of using columns let into walls as a bond between the rubble core and the outer face of dressed stone is relatively common in fortifications. The earliest example is thought to be at the harbour of 'Akka (Acre), built for Ibn Tulun around the year 880 by Abu Bakr al-Banna' (the Builder) and described about a hundred years later by his grandson, Shams al-Din al-Muqaddasi: '... he arranged that whenever he had built five courses he bound them together with stout columns.' The purpose of the columns was explained by al-Maqrizi (1441) in describing the Crusader walls of Caesarea in Palestine: '... the Franks had transported columns of granite to this place, which they placed transversely in the walls, so that they had not to fear sapping, and could not fall should they be undermined' (Creswell 1969: 359-60 and 1952: 168). Columns were also used to repair the walls of Istanbul by Byzantine and Ottoman builders (Goodwin 1971: 177). Marble and granite were very costly imports, however, and would have been used in this way only for important structural reasons (to give extra solidity against siege or, possibly, earthquakes) or when work needed to be done in a great hurry or when there was a plentiful supply. In Jerusalem, the Umayyads, following their defeat of the Byzantines, re-used extensively columns from Christian churches in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. The earthquake in 1033 led to a number of churches being quarried for stones (probably including columns) by the Fatimids for rebuilding the city wall. After the defeat of the

Crusaders, the Ayyubids in restoring and strengthening the city wall are said to have utilised stones taken from Crusader monasteries. And the Mamluks in the late 13th century re-used quantities of Crusader columns in new buildings such as the Ghawanima Minaret (1297), which contains no fewer than 31, most set transversely into the shaft of the minaret.

Inscriptions may also be useful in attempting to date the adjacent masonry, whether they are *in situ* or in re-use (see Commentary). Other historical sources occasionally contain descriptions that are helpful. For instance, Shams al-Din al-Muqaddasi, a native of Jerusalem and a careful and reliable observer, wrote in c. 985 that the stones of the foundations of the Haram walls were 'drafted, finely faced and jointed [presumably describing the Herodian masonry, which he mistakenly ascribed to King David] on which the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik subsequently built, using smaller, well-shaped stones and added battlements (*shurrafuhu*)' (al-Muqaddasi 1906: 168, cited Le Strange 1890: 98). These Umayyad battlements seem not to have survived into the Fatimid period for Nasir-i Khusrau, writing in 1047, states that 'the summit of this [east] wall is perfectly level' (Le Strange 1890: 105).

Much more recent repairs can be identified in changes that have occurred since the wall was first recorded photographically in the middle of the 19th century.⁵

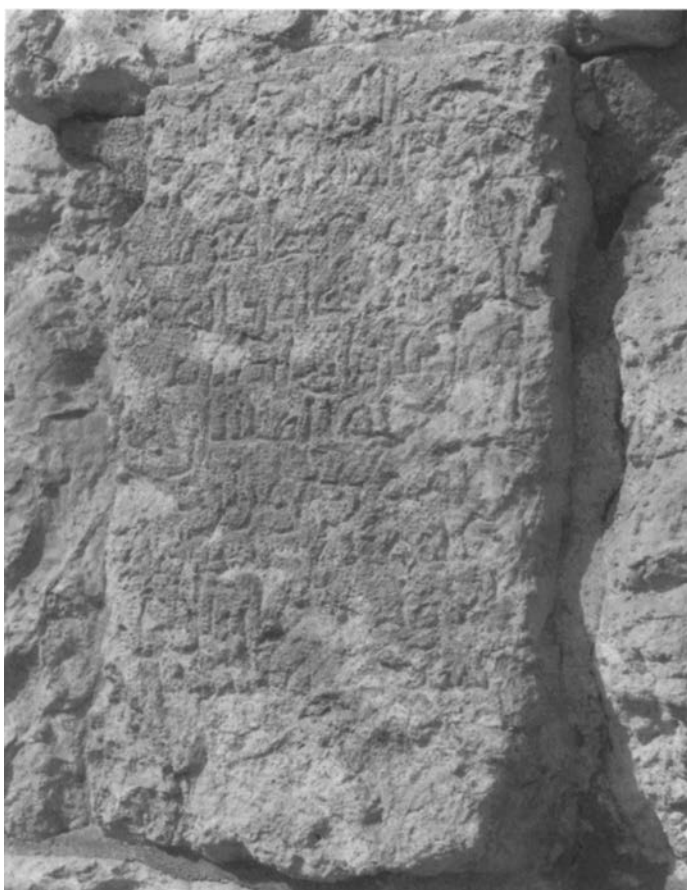
Another potentially useful clue is the extent of erosion or 'weathering' of a stone's surface but it is not a dependable indicator of age since the stones, though all limestone, will have come from different geological strata and from different quarries, and may have eroded at different rates. Moreover, in places stones have been laid not on their natural quarry bed, that is, not laid with their top and bottom faces lying as they did before being cut from the quarry. Failure to retain this natural bedding during construction leads to accelerated weathering. In other places hard and impervious Portland cement-based mortars, which are known to cause rapid decay of limestone, have been used for repointing. In several places stone surfaces have become soft and chalky, possibly because they are from inferior quarries or because hard mortars have been used in modern repairs.

Finally, comparison of particular masonry types with masonries of 'known' date in other structures can be of assistance in attempting to determine dates of construction. Care is needed, however, for differences in a stone's texture and finish may depend on the natural characteristics of the stone (varying from quarry to quarry or even within a quarry) and on the skills and techniques

⁵ Thus, for example, the disintegrating surface at the south end of the wall, repaired in 1882, is shown in Mitchell 1920: pl. 26.



Pl. 31.3 False joints cut in the masonry of the city wall south of Bab al-Asbat (St Stephen's Gate).



Pl. 31.4 Undeciphered inscription in the east wall of the Haram al-Sharif.



Pl. 31.5 Inscribed gable end of the tomb marker over the grave of Shaddad ibn Aws.

of the craftsmen involved. Besides, stones for different purposes often would have been cut differently: a royal palace, for example, might demand more smoothly dressed stone than that for a simple dwelling. Special techniques also appear to have been adopted for different sorts of buildings. In fortifications, for instance, where speed of construction is an important consideration, roughly bossed 'quarry face' masonry is common. None the less, further comparison of undated masonries in the wall with the masonries of dated structures will help to refine both relative and absolute chronologies.

Given how little we know of the building materials and construction techniques, I have not attempted in the drawing in the folder to assign masonries to a particular period, since to do so would run the risk of prejudicing the results of more scientific investigations in future. The one exception to this stance I have taken is to mark what I consider to be the lowest level of Ottoman stonework with a dotted line, which gives an indication of what Sulaiman's masons found and of what they and later builders added.

Prospect

The interpretation of the drawing in the folder is in many places speculative. For instance, I am conscious that I have discussed the wall almost as if it were two-dimensional when in reality it forms part of a three-dimensional structure. I have not yet examined the inside face of the wall, nor the substructures (Solomon's Stables) abutting against it at the southern end, nor the Haram pavements that extend in places to meet the wall. This note is presented not as a definitive statement but in the hope that it will stimulate further research. To this end, it should be possible in future to associate individual stones with individual quarries, but as yet no systematic mapping or historical or petrological analysis has been made of the quarries in and around Jerusalem.⁶

⁶ A gazetteer of quarries in and around Jerusalem based on survey and the collation of published evidence, which is considerable, would be a worthwhile exercise. See, for example, Shiloh and Horowitz 1975: 37-48; Shadman 1972; Merrill 1908: Ch. XLI. 'Stone mapping' whereby stones are identified petrologically with their original source, is becoming an established archaeological technique. Identifying individual stones with their source quarries does not necessarily provide a dependable dating criterion: stones from different quarries might well have been used in a single building campaign or the same quarry might have been used over a long period of time and, of course, stones were constantly recycled, sometimes re-dressed so that any distinctive tooling could date from a different time from the quarrying of the block. It would, nevertheless, be very useful to have a map of the various sources of stones used in the construction of the wall. Scientific analysis of building stone has developed rapidly in recent years since Ward-Perkins's pioneering study 'Quarrying

Clay, gypsum and lime mortars, too, have the potential to allow individual phases of construction to be identified. Though stones may be re-used, the mortar used to bind them is likely to have had a similar composition in a single campaign of repairs. Analysis of mortars is relatively straightforward and new techniques are emerging. Carbon dating, for instance, has been used successfully on some mortars.⁷ Even if it is unlikely that there will ever be sufficient funds available to analyse every stone and every mortar in the wall in one continuous research programme, it should be possible—through a series of field surveys, for instance, or during maintenance and repairs—to make carefully drawn records supplemented by scientific analyses of stones and mortars.

As research advances, so more and more information will be accumulated until a clear picture emerges to resolve, for example, the thorny issue of the date of the Golden Gate, and to confirm the true extent of each rebuilding from the time of one Solomon to that of another.

Commentary on fig. 31.1

Embrasure Numbering

In discussing various features of the wall, their location is given below by reference to the number (from 1 to 161) allotted to the embrasure above it.

Inscriptions

Two themes characterise the inscriptions (which are all Arabic) associated with the east wall: construction and burial. Of the former only one (dated 961-62) is positively associated with the construction of the wall; others may have some association but are no longer in their original locations. The funerary inscriptions are related to burials in the long-established Golden Gate cemetery covering the north slope of the Kedron Valley along the length of the eastern wall of the city. Modern inscriptions commemorate two Companions of the Prophet, 'Ubada b. al-Samit (died 654-55) and Shaddad b. Aus (died 677-78), whose traditional places of burial (observed by al-Muqaddasi in

in Antiquity: Technology, Tradition and Social Change' (1971: 137-58). See, for example, Fenton 1980: 37-47; Parsons 1986: 80-83; Middleton and Bradley 1989: 475-88; Hudson and Sutherland 1990: 1-15; Parsons 1990: 16-32; Parsons 1991: 1-27; and collected papers from the 1991 British Museum conference in *Archaeometry* 34.2 1992: 162ff.

⁷ See, for example, Kedar and Kaufman 1975: 35-8; Kedar and Mook 1978: 173-6; Malone, Valastro and Vanel 1980: 329-43. Other techniques of analysis are outlined in ICCROM 1982.

the 10th century) are covered by gabled grave markers enclosed within iron railings. On the gable of the grave of Shaddad is another commemorative inscription (see LXV below). None of these inscriptions is actually in the wall but another one is, tentatively ascribed to the 10th century (see LXIV below), as is an Ottoman graffito dated 1624-25 cut into the Golden Gate. A number of stones in the inner (west) face of the wall, about 16m south of the north-east corner of the Haram, are inscribed with various names including 'Allah', 'Ahmad', 'Muhammad b. al...'. The indifferent carving of the incised letters suggests that they are graffiti. The stones bearing the inscriptions appear to have been re-used after being inscribed for some are 4m above ground level, too high to reach without a ladder, and others are only just above ground level, too low to have been carved comfortably or to be seen easily. There are many late Ottoman and modern gravestones in the cemetery which, as far as I know, have never been studied.

In the following synopsis the number given to each inscription is the same as that used by van Berchem in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* and, in the case of the ones that have not been published before, a continuation of the numbering for a checklist of Arabic inscriptions not included in van Berchem's corpus devised by A G Walls and A Abu'l-Hajj (1980).

A. Construction

144 Date: c. 909

Cut in three blocks of stone in re-use built into the inside face of the east wall near the entrance door to the steps leading down to the Cradle of Jesus.

This is what was ordered by the lady ... and this (work) took place at the hand of Gharib and it (was completed) in Jumada II in the year 3.../9...[In the reign of Muqtadir bi'llah (908-32)].

This inscription has no proven connection with work on the wall (except for being re-used there). It may be connected with works at the Dome of the Rock undertaken by the mother of the Caliph Muqtadir, probably in 909.

146 Date: 961-62 (136)

Cut into several adjoining stones surrounded by similar masonry composed of alternately high and low courses that appear to date from the same period.

... ordered the construction of the Haram wall (*ha'it*) the Amir 'Ali Abu 'l-Hasan and the governor (*ustadh*) Abu 'l-Misk Kafur al-Ikhshidi ... and this work was at the hand of [that is, the responsibility of] Ahmad ibn

Ayyub ibn Jabir ... and the inscription was cut by 'Abdallah ibn Musa al-Sadafi ... and it [was completed] in the year 350 (961-62).

Van Berchem associated this inscription with the Ikhshidid family tomb 'very near the Bab al-Asbat', mistakenly assuming that the present Gate of the Tribes (Bab al-Asbat) is in the same place as the 10th-century gate of that name, which is the Haram gate now called Bab Hitta (Remission Gate) about 130m to the west. The Ikhshidid family tomb has not been discovered.

147 Date: 1034

On two stones in re-use built into the inside face of the wall in embrasure 29 in the base of the merlons on either side of the embrasure, one in each side.

... the Imam al-Zahir li-A'zaz Din Allah, the Amir of the Faithful ... and the vaults and the passage leading to them (?) and the south wall (*ha'it*) and the east wall (?) ... [in the month of Rabi' or Jumada] the Second in the year 425 (February to May 1034).

The vaults (*'aqba*) referred to in the inscription are possibly those of Solomon's Stables, presumably damaged in the earthquake of 1033-4.

148 Date: c. 1068

On a stone in re-use built into the inside face of the wall, beside those of 144 and ascribed tentatively by van Berchem to a date around 1068. Except for its place of re-use, this inscription has no apparent connection with the Haram wall.

212 Date: c. 1213 (47-8)

See fig. 31.1 folder drawing for its position in outer face of wall.

This place encloses building stones, placed [here] for the needs of the noble Haram.

Van Berchem noted that the distinctive epigraphic style is similar to the 'Coradin' style of inscriptions in the name of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, but followed Clermont-Ganneau in concluding that it was actually from the time of Sulaiman. I believe that it really does belong to the reign of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, for its elegant, careful, crisply incised bevelled cut *naskhi* script is typical of that period and is quite unlike that of Sulaiman's inscriptions. It appears, however, to be in re-use because the stone in which it is cut has rough edges and does not match the surrounding masonry.

B. Funerary

130 Date: 1624-25 (111)

In a steliform panel cut into the south jamb of the Golden Gate (see fig. 31.1).

This burial vault (*fisqiyya*) is a *waqf* in favour of the Maulawi *sayyids*. In the year 1034 (1624-25).

This inscription must refer to a burial vault built near the Golden Gate, perhaps the one exposed in a collapse in 1972 described by Fleming (1983: 24-37).

131 Date: 1720-21 (99-100)

On the front of a vaulted mausoleum built against the wall (see fig. 31.1).

This is the tomb of ... the Shaikh 'Ala al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali al-Ardabili. He died in the year 832 (1428-29). Then this mausoleum, ruined by the passage of time, was restored by Wali al-Din, known as Ibn al-Kawakibi, Judge (*qadi*) of the Victorious Armies in the Ottoman Empire. The year 1133 (1720-21).

C. Unpublished

LXIV Date: 4/10th century? (124-25)

Built into Haram wall (see fig. 31.1). It appears to have been inserted into the wall and, if so, the surrounding masonry will be older. It is difficult to decipher and no attempt to do so has yet been made. To judge from the style of the script (pl. 31.4) it is early, bearing some affinities with epitaphs of the 4/10th century (see van Berchem 1920 3: pl. IV).

LXV Date: 15th or 16th century? (136)

In the gabled end of a grave marker (see fig. 31.1); undated but the style of script (pl. 31.5) suggests a late Mamluk or early Ottoman date.

God. This is the grave of Shaddad ibn Aus al-Ansari, Companion of the Prophet of God (blessings and peace be upon Him). He died [in 58/677-78].

(See al-Ansari 1986 for further information about Shaddad ibn Aus al-Ansari.)

Besides their historical content, inscriptions can of course be analysed to reveal more of the intentions of their sponsors in the use, for example, of specific Qur'anic verses (see Cruikshank Dodd and Khairallah 1981) but the re-use of old inscriptions has not been studied systematically. The

Ottomans made no effort to reassemble the three stones containing no. 144 in their correct juxtaposition in order to make the inscription more readily legible. It is possible that the builders endeavoured to preserve and display the inscribed surfaces even though they had neither the time nor the epigraphic skill to place them in their original order. Or perhaps they regarded the stones merely as building material, ignoring the fact that they are inscribed; if so, there may be other stones with inscribed faces hidden in the wall. Another Fatimid inscribed stone was built by the Ottomans in the city wall upside down, farther to the north near the Burj al-Laqlaq (van Berchem 1922 1: 70-1). A similar group of Fatimid inscribed stones was built higgledy-piggledy in the street wall of a building near the Haram, probably in the Ayyubid period (Burgoyne 1987: 458; van Berchem 1922 1: 68-70). A Marwanid inscription was re-used by Ayyubid builders who slipped it undamaged but unreadable, like a book in a bookcase, into the masonry of the outer porch of the Bab Hitta in the north wall of the Haram. It was as if they intended to preserve it, as indeed they did, because it was found again more than 750 years later (Burgoyne 1982: 118-21). Another inscription, this time of Salah al-Din from his rebuilding of the city wall, is also carefully preserved but this time in full view as the centrepiece of the Ottoman Qubbat Yusuf built in 1681 (cat. no. 39; van Berchem 1925 2: 23-31).

It would be useful to assemble a corpus of re-used Arabic inscriptions although it would not be easy to compile as their presence will only be revealed during major repairs or demolitions—for such inscriptions were often used indiscriminately as building stones with their inscribed face hidden.

Gates

There are no open gateways in the east wall. Only one blocked gate, the enigmatic Golden Gate, is generally recognised, but there are three other gate-like blocked openings. All these openings were recorded by the PEF explorers but were dismissed as not being gates or, in one case, not being earlier than the 15th century. It is a measure of the influence of the early explorers that virtually no scholarly attention has been paid to these openings after the initial dismissive comments. The historical sources mention gates which might correspond to one or more of the openings but their locations are not described in sufficient detail to be sure. The Christian bishop Arculf, for example, who visited Jerusalem shortly before 685, refers to a '*postula*, which is a small gate, from which one descends by a stairway to the Valley of Jehoshaphat' (Wilkinson 1977: 95). Ibn al-Faqih (c. 903)—who listed the Haram gates apparently in order—included between the Bab Tauba (the present Triple Gate) and the Bab al-

Rahma (Golden Gate), a Bab Mihrab Maryam (Gate of Mary's Place of Prayer) and a Bab al-Wadi (Gate of the Valley). Al-Muqaddasi included in his description a Bab Silwan (Siloam Gate), which he counted as a city gate rather than one giving onto the Haram al-Sharif. Nasir-i Khusrau described 'in the width of the Haram area' a gate 'opening towards the east, called Bab al-'Ain (Gate of the Spring) passing out from which you descend a declivity to the spring of Silwan.' Mujir al-Din mentions no fewer than three blocked gates in addition to the Golden Gate in the vicinity: Bab Turiyya (Mount [of Olives] Gate), Bab al-Buraq (see below), and Bab Ariha (Jericho Gate) which 'has disappeared long ago, and since the Frank occupation there is no trace of it' (for all these, see Le Strange 1890: 173-90).

1. Arch springing and paired gates (9-10)

Warren and Conder (1884: 147) described

two stones which form the springing of an arch extending for 18 feet [5.5m]. These stones appear to be *in situ*, and they would appear to have formed a portion of an arch to the east, but this is not probable. Immediately above this springing there is a passage in the wall, filled up, which appears to be of later date than the drafted stones. The course below the springing projects 18 inches [45cms], as it appears to do under Robinson's Arch. A search for traces of the [corresponding] pier was made below ground without result.

The springing and the remains of the jambs of two openings are surely Herodian masonry *in situ*. The PEF excavations did not descend to the rock surface and so traces of a corresponding pier may yet remain. It is possible, therefore, that a bridge existed here in Herodian times to give access to the undercroft of the Temple platform in the area now known as Solomon's Stables. At first sight it seems to fit Arculf's description of a *postula* but it is unlikely that a Herodian bridge and staircase here would have survived Titus's destruction.

2. Unnamed postern (27-28)

This postern, situated about 79m north of the south end of the wall, was opened briefly in 1882 and recorded by Lieutenant Mantell for the PEF. It is 0.91m wide and 1.85m high, opening to a vaulted passage 1.16m wide and 2.59m high through the thickness of the wall. Conder considered it to be 'probably not older than the 15th century at the earliest'. It cannot be Mujir al-Din's Buraq

Gate (see below), which he describes as being opposite the eastern ('Buraq') staircase to the Dome of the Rock. It should be associated rather with his Jericho or Mount of Olives Gates. Clermont-Ganneau expressed the hope that excavation inside the gate in 1882 would reveal the store of stones mentioned in inscription 212. No such store was found.

3. Buraq Gate (104-5)

Mujir al-Din wrote that the small blocked gate south of the Golden Gate, known as the Gate of Buraq, was also called the Funerals' Gate (Bab al-Jana'iz) because it was through it that funeral processions formerly went out to the cemetery. Wilson (1865: 25, pl. X6) correctly considered this superficially gate-like feature, which is 15.5m south of the Golden Gate, not to be a blocked gate for 'it has the appearance of a hole broken through the masonry and afterwards roughly filled up'. There is not enough symmetry in the lower masonry to allow an opening to be defined and there is not enough bearing at either end of the longest stone (see fig. 31.1) to have allowed it to function safely as a lintel. Yet there is no obvious explanation for this unusual arrangement of stones. The issue is complicated by the presence of a curious basin cut into the masonry immediately south of the 'gate', with an earthenware pipe leading to it apparently from the interior of the Haram. From its appearance, not dissimilar to drinking fountains of the late 14th century in Jerusalem (at the Qiramiyya, the Tashtamuriyya, the Turba of Barka Khan, and the Tomb of Sitt Tunshuq), the purpose of this basin seems to have been to provide water for passers-by visiting the cemetery. It is not known how water would have been fed to the basin but there are many cisterns within the Haram (Wilson and Warren 1871: 204-17) including one with its mouth not 2m west of the Golden Gate (not recorded by Wilson and Warren), which might have supplied it.

4. Golden Gate (111-14)

This, the most elaborately decorated of all Jerusalem's gates, was described more than a century ago as 'still a vexed question', and remains tantalisingly unexplained. What was its purpose? Who built it? When was it built? A good deal of the present gate is Ottoman (as indicated by the dotted line in fig. 31.1), for at least the superstructure of the gate was in ruinous condition by the late 15th century (shown in Reuwich's drawing pl. 31.2, among others). Sulaiman's builders appear to have removed stones from the returns of the gate jambs, buttressed the jambs and rebuilt the façade above the ornamental archivolt, including ornamental features similar to those found elsewhere in the city wall and gates. The blocking masonry matches that of the upper part of the façade and must have

been built at the same time, replacing earlier blocking masonry. A close examination of the masonry of the Golden Gate, which to my knowledge has never been made and is beyond the scope of this chapter, will be needed if the construction history of this gate is to be elucidated. One clue that would be worth pursuing is to be found in the cornice moulding on the Haram elevations, which appears to match cornice mouldings on the exterior south wall of the Aqsa Mosque and on the Great Mosque in Damascus, and so may be inferred to be Umayyad.

Windows and Gunports

Windows

Windows in the wall provide light to Solomon's Stables and the Golden Gate. The only other structure abutting the wall, the Kursi Sulaiman (Solomon's Throne), has no openings in the wall. A double-domed building, the Suq al-Ma'rifa (Market of Learning), once occupied the south-east corner of the Haram but had no openings in the east wall; it was demolished in the late 19th century.

Four windows open to Solomon's Stables. Two of them are Herodian, subsequently partly blocked to reduce the size of the opening. The left-hand (south) blocking (2) is of smoothly-dressed ashlar with chamfered jambs. The lintel is unusual. It projects and is designed as if to shed rainwater from a sloping 'roof' set within a squared frame. The design is sufficiently distinctive to suggest that if stylistically comparable examples could be traced, its date might be determined. Unfortunately, since it is wholly enclosed by Herodian masonry, it is of little value in establishing a relative chronology. The right-hand Herodian opening (3-4) is blocked with smaller stones. It is different from the left-hand one and contains a larger window of characteristically Ottoman construction with a semicircular arch composed of two rows of concentric voussoirs. The third opening (4-5) is a small window with a monolithic lintel undercut as a slightly pointed arch lighting the staircase to the shrine known as Mahd 'Isa (Cradle of Jesus). The fourth is a plain slit lighting Solomon's Stables.

The windows in the Golden Gate (111-14) obviously belong to Sulaiman's restoration. Two plain slits within pointed-arched recesses are surmounted by dumb-bell slits above the crowns of the ornamental archivolt.

Gunports

The gunports appear to be for small arms; they are scarcely big enough for ordnance. Cannons were used in places to defend the wall, however, generally at the city gates according to a late 17th-century account (Ze'evi 1996: 18-19). The gunports in the east wall are reached from walkways, on two levels south of the Golden Gate and on one level north of it. All are in Ottoman masonry. Where

the wall stood in good condition almost to its present height north of the Golden Gate, Sulaiman's builders will have contented themselves simply to add crenellations without dismantling sound masonry to insert gunports. Only five exist (115, 139-44) in this section of wall, of which four are plain rectangular slits coursing with the surrounding masonry. The small number of ports in this section suggests that the defensive trappings of gunports and battlements may be part of an empty military show, for if gunports were needed at regular intervals elsewhere, why were they not needed here? Other gunports have round or flat heads and stirrup bases like those in the city wall. They mostly give the impression, because the coursing is different, that they were built into an existing wall. This is a false impression, however, for the stones in which they are cut, and in many places those of the adjoining masonry, are of the distinctive 'Sulaiman' type. The likely explanation of this anomaly is that the gunport stones were dressed by specialist masons (some preferring flat heads and others round heads) and delivered to the builders for incorporation in the wall. In Ottoman times a distinction was made between different members of the construction team, including stone cutters (*hajjar*) and stone dressers (*nahhat*) who prepared stones for the builders (*banna'*) and labourers (*fa'il*) (see Hanna 1984: 39). Where offsets occur in the pre-Ottoman wall (see below), Sulaiman's builders have taken the opportunity to introduce gunports in the re-entrant to give a measure of flanking cover close to the wall. Within some merlons small rectangular slits, only one course high, offer protected firing positions from the parapet at the level of the upper walkway. These slits occur irregularly except south of the Sirat Bridge (see below) where every third merlon has one, suggesting that once there were more and that many have been lost in post-Sulaiman repairs.

Offsets and other shifts in alignment

Substantial offsets in the alignment of the wall occur at either side of the Golden Gate salient (110-11, 114-15) and at the southern limit (151-52) of the tower at the north end. They are clearly ancient; the former must date from the construction of the gate and the latter is Herodian as the lower masonry of the tower testifies. Another substantial offset (98-99), immediately south of the Ottoman vaulted mausoleum, also seems to be ancient but neither its purpose nor its date has been established. A small offset at 7-8 marks the northern limit of a Herodian tower at the south end of the wall. Other small offsets are not easy to explain. In some (138-39, 145-46) the masonry coursing continues across the offset suggesting that they were introduced by the builders to adjust the alignment, which is different from the adjoining masonry or,

alternatively, to allow new repairs to sit more securely on eroded earlier masonry below. The offset at 15 appears to belong to the latter category, having been introduced in the 1882 repairs. Masonry coursing does not continue across the offset in the lower part of the wall at 86 and here it seems that the offset marks the southern extent of a segment of masonry against which later masonry (incorporating many columns) was built during repairs.

Shifts in alignment, where the direction of the wall changes a little, are also intriguing. It has been suggested that one (44) represents a relic of the south-east corner of Solomon's temple, the east wall of which according to this suggestion followed a different alignment from the Hasmonean and Herodian extensions to the south (Ritmeyer 1992: 26-45, 64-65). Another, which extends between 73 and 80, appears to be the result of a repair made on a (presumably unintentionally) slightly different alignment from the rest of the wall. Aerial photographs reveal that the alignment is different on either side of the Golden Gate which would suggest that these sections of wall were rebuilt during or after the gate's construction, for if the gate was built into a pre-existing wall one would not expect the alignment to change.

Cornice

The high-level cornice at the south end of the wall (extending northwards as far as embrasure 23), which returns on the south wall, can be seen to be continuous in early photographs (for example Van Haaften and Manchip White 1980: no. 60—*Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives*, dating from 1857 or 1858).

Al-Sirat Bridge (27-28)

The present 'bridge' complex comprises two doorways, one above the other, at the level of the two wallwalks, with a column projecting about 2m from the face of the wall between them. The lower, pointed-arched doorway is reached from the Haram through a low vaulted chamber with a pointed-arched *mihrab* in its south wall. The upper, semicircular-arched doorway has a plain window alongside it. All the openings were blocked before the earliest photographs were taken in the middle of the 19th century.

According to Muslim eschatological tradition, the Bridge al-Sirat al-Mustaqim, the Bridge of the Straight

Path (Qur'an I: 5) which divides heaven and hell, will stretch across the Wadi Jahannam (Hell Valley) between the Haram and the Mount of Olives on the Day of Judgment. The souls of all mankind will assemble in Jerusalem to cross the bridge, which is thinner than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword. The souls of the just will cross safely and ascend to paradise, but sinners will fall into the valley below. Evliya Çelebi describes it thus:

... the shrine of the Sirat bridge, protruding from the walls of the fortress [that is, the city wall]. It is a round polished reddish stone, well smoothed, so that a bird could only fly round about it without being able to perch on it ... This column which resembles the Sirat bridge was built into the wall already before the time of (the restoration of the fortifications by) Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent). It was built over the foundation rock protruding from the wall. A culprit would be caused to walk over this column to its end, when he would be set free: if he fell, they would not worry about burying him, as he would anyway go to Hell; they would leave his corpse to decay in that valley. Ever since pre-Islamic times this column remained in its position. In the year [date not given], whilst the fortress was being rebuilt by order of Sultan Suleiman, the foundations of the fortification happened to be laid on the site of this column. It was removed from its position and built into the wall, but in a higher place than before, protruding from its course. It was therefore called the 'Bridge of Sirat' (Stephan 1942: 102-3).

Evliya Çelebi, then, considered the column (also known as 'Muhammad's Pillar') to be ancient and to have been rebuilt by Sulaiman into the wall during his repairs. His interpretation is supported to some extent by earlier descriptions, for though the Sirat Bridge is mentioned by Ibn al-Faqih (c. 903), Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (c. 913) and al-Muqaddasi (c. 985), by the 14th and 15th centuries it was no longer included in the descriptions of writers like al-'Umari (c. 1345) and Mujir al-Din (1496), and the present structure is not shown in Reuwich's drawing of 1483 (pl. 31.2).

Chapter 32

THE CITADEL (*QAL'Ā*) IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD: AN OVERVIEW

Mahmoud Hawari^{*}

I Introduction

The great medieval citadel (*qal'ā*) of Jerusalem has not apparently received any serious attention from archaeologists and art historians. Most research devoted to it is concerned principally with its biblical history, yet the Citadel of Jerusalem is a monument to Islamic military art and architecture. A fortress of such magnitude and in such a remarkable state of preservation requires not merely a limited one-period study, but rather a thorough examination, perhaps equivalent to those undertaken on

the great medieval citadels of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo.

The earliest studies by Robinson (1841), Tobler (1853/54), Wilson (1865), Schick (1878), Smith (1907/08) and Merrill (1908), which consist primarily of brief and sketchy descriptions of the Citadel, and later studies by Amiran and Eitan (1970), Bahat (1981), Geva (1981, 1983), Sivan and Solar (1984, 1994) all emphasise its ancient biblical history. Studies focusing on the medieval and later Islamic periods are very scarce. Van Berchem's monumental and excellent study, published in 1927, records most of the Arabic inscriptions found in the Citadel and puts them into their historical context, with reference to a wide range of Arabic historical texts. A later study undertaken by Johns (1950) is the first, (and perhaps the last) full-scale treatment of the Citadel. Based on his systematic archaeological excavations between 1934 and 1939, and 1947 and 1948, Johns presents a detailed analysis of the fortress and its architectural development from the Hellenistic until the Ottoman period. He also examines the epigraphic material, as well as some selected Arabic historical accounts, most of which have been used for the first time in a study of the Citadel. Unfortunately, the results of the excavations carried out by Geva (1976-80) and those by Solar and Sivan (1980-88), which were part of a large restoration scheme aimed at the transformation of the whole Citadel into the Museum of the History of Jerusalem, were not fully published. More recent studies by Cohen (1989, 1990) make use of the registers (*sijillat*, pl. of *sijill*) of the Shari'a Court of Jerusalem, an extremely important and hitherto inadequately exploited historical source for the

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understanding of the history of the Ottoman walls of Jerusalem, as well as the Citadel.

Despite the great improvement that these studies have made to our knowledge of the Citadel, most of them suffer from the serious disadvantage of limited use of the related historical sources and the absence of a full-scale architectural analysis of the various phases and components of the Citadel.

The objective of this study is to present an overview of the Citadel during the Ottoman period. The historical survey which is an integral part of the study seeks to provide a background to the subsequent architectural analysis of the Ottoman components of the Citadel. Following Cohen's lead, it utilises the *sijill* documents in order to provide a fuller picture of how the Citadel functioned. Indeed, these documents indicate beyond any doubt that the Citadel played a vital role in the political, economic and social life of the city of Jerusalem during the Ottoman period.

The general conclusion reached by Johns—that the Citadel as it stands today is a Mamluk fortress reconstructed in the early 14th century, with Ottoman additions (Johns 1950: 171-72)—should be regarded with caution. A close look at what Johns terms as 'Mamluk uniform construction' reveals numerous phases, possibly Ayyubid or Crusader, which should be separately examined and dated, an objective beyond the scope of this study. Rather this study investigates the components of the Ottoman citadel, built by Sulaiman the Magnificent (Johns 1950: 172, 173, 180, 182; figs. 25, 31a, 31b, 35; van Berchem 1922-3: 129-31, 146-68; Wilson 1865: pl. III), and other later works.

The Site and Present Condition of the Citadel

The Citadel is one of the most significant landmarks in the topography of Jerusalem. It is situated at the western entrance to the city immediately to the south of Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate). It is also strategically located at the saddle joining the south-western and north-western hills. Standing at an elevation of 2,560 ft. (780m), it commands the deep Valley of Hinnom (Wadi 'l-Rababa), to the south-west and a shallower valley, which was filled with debris in antiquity, to the north. The location of the Citadel was determined by the earlier fortifications forming an elbow of the city wall, in an area where a defensive strength was greatly needed.

There has been some form of fortification on the site from pre-Islamic times and the Citadel we see today is essentially the 14th-century Mamluk fortress. Nevertheless it incorporates earlier elements, as well as later Ottoman additions.

The Citadel is of an irregular rectangular plan built south and west of Herod's tower astride the existing city wall (figs. 32.1 and 32.2). Three of the sides are approximately straight, but the fourth, the south side, zigzags, probably following the course of earlier fortifications.

The structure consists of curtain walls connecting five massive towers at each of its four corners and a fifth tower near the middle of the east side, round an inner courtyard. It also comprises two outworks, one on the east side and the other on the west, while the whole is surrounded by a ditch or moat.

The present main eastern entrance of the Citadel is set in an outer gateway (fig. 32.1: 1) reached by a double flight of steps. Above the vaulted portal there is an Arabic inscription marking the restoration of the Citadel by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman (938/1531-32). On crossing the wooden bridge (fig. 32.1: 2), which evidently replaced the older drawbridge that once spanned the outer moat (fig. 32.1: 3), one enters the barbican (fig. 32.1: 4). An open-air mosque (fig. 32.1: 5), with a free-standing prayer niche (*mihrab*) occupies its southern section, while an open space, as well as a narrow wall-walk above the glacis (fig. 32.1: 6) occupies its northern section. The outer barbican is crowned all around by battlements. From the barbican, one passes through to the main entrance over a stone bridge (fig. 32.1: 7) spanning the inner moat (fig. 32.1: 8). The main entrance (fig. 32.1: 9) comprises a deep recess in the curtain, vaulted over and defended by a wide slot machicolation (now blocked). Inside there is a guard room with stone benches along its south and west walls. The inner gate, with a pair of vertical slots for a sliding portcullis, was placed in the north wall, thus creating a right-angle turn. The vestibule beyond is lit by a pair of loopholes. The way then leads through into an extraordinary hexagonal inner hall (fig. 32.1: 10). This finely built chamber is covered by a domical vault and lit by an opening in the centre of the dome. The dome is surmounted by a small aedicule, also domed. Of the two doorways leading out of this hall, one leads south to the inner courtyard of the Citadel and the other north and up by means of a staircase to the roof of the hall. From there, a flight of steps lead to the upper storey of the north-east tower (A) which gives the Citadel its alternative name, the Tower of David, and which, along with two other towers, was built by King Herod (1st century BC). It consists of two storeys; the lower built with typical large Herodian masonry, the upper with smaller masonry. The parapet above, including gun-ports made with smaller masonry, crowns the tower.

From the roof of the hexagonal hall one can pass through the eastern tower (B), also of two storeys, with its top open to the rear. The wall-walk along the eastern curtain wall (fig. 32.1: 11) leads to the south-east tower (C).

This tower has a single floor with a double parapet above.

The south-west tower (D), reached by the wall-walk along the south curtain wall (fig. 32.1: 12), is actually a cluster of three towers. A small tower (fig. 32.1: 13) has only two detached sides and a raised parapet. The minaret tower (fig. 32.1: 14) is also small and narrow and has a double parapet with machicolation on each corner and at each side. The minaret itself, which is of a cylindrical shape, has a dedication inscription in Turkish dated 1065/1655. The mosque tower (fig. 32.1: 15) is of an elongated plan and was built at the level of the curtain walls. The complex between all three towers is filled with various vaulted structures on different levels. The mosque, which occupies the upper floor of the tower, consists of a vaulted elongated hall with an ornamented prayer niche (*mihrab*) and pulpit (*minbar*). According to the inscriptions in it, the mosque was built by the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 710/1310-11, restored by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent in 938/1531-32 (when the *mihrab* and *minbar* were added), and repaired by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II in 1326/1908-9 when the entrance porch was added. The lower floor of the tower is occupied by a large vaulted hall reached by a passageway from the courtyard.

The wall-walk along the western curtain wall (fig. 32.1: 16) leads to the north-west tower (E). This tower has two storeys and a double parapet, and three machicolations on its façade. A postern gate (fig. 32.1: 17) with grooves for a portcullis is located at the basement of the tower. This gate leads out of the Citadel onto a large terrace (fig. 32.1: 18) with battlements above the glacis and western ditch, which no longer exists. Both the north-west tower and the north-east tower are connected with the north curtain wall (fig. 32.1: 19) and north-eastern curtain wall (fig. 32.1: 20), both of which consist of two tiers of loops set in vaulted recesses and surmounted by battlements.

The courtyard (fig. 32.1: 21) consists of archaeological remains and a jumble of masonry belonging to different periods. The east and south-east moat contains various excavated remains attributed to various different periods.

II The Pre-Ottoman Development of the Citadel

Although the Citadel acquired its final shape during the Ottoman period, its structure is the result of a long historical process. In order to identify the Ottoman 'phase' in this complex development, therefore, it is necessary first to identify the earlier elements which were incorporated into it.

Literary sources and, for earlier periods, archaeological excavations have been used to reconstruct

the evolution of the Citadel. The biblical history of the Citadel has received particular attention, while its medieval history is still largely unexplored. The bulk of the historical evidence and the archaeological and architectural exploration is published in an enormous body of literature. The following account is a brief summary of the historical evidence including the architectural remains which were unearthed as a result of archaeological excavations.

The earliest remains found on the site of the Citadel rest on bedrock, and comprise the foundations of buildings and a segment of a broad wall with associated ceramic material, all dating to the 8th century BC (Amiran and Eitan 1970: 9-10, 16; Geva 1983: 56-58; Wightman 1993: 49; Geva 1994: 157-58; Sivan and Solar 1994: 176). Such remains indicate the expansion of the city to the western hill during the Iron Age.

In the centre of the courtyard of the Citadel, a section of a wall with two massive towers, dated to the late 2nd-early 1st century BC, has been unearthed (Johns 1950: 135-40, figs. 15, 23; Sivan and Solar 1984: 169-73; Wightman 1993: 112-19, figs. 27-30; Geva 1994: 158-60). These portions of fortifications, which are attributed to the Hasmonean kings, testify to the first effort on the part of the rulers of Jerusalem to fortify this strategically vulnerable part of the city.

King Herod is said to have reinforced these fortifications shortly afterwards by adding three large towers, named Hippicus, Phasaël and Miriamme, to defend both his royal palace situated immediately to the south and the unprotected western entrance of the city (Josephus V: 176). Only the north-east tower has remained, though it has survived to a considerable height. Although its Herodian date is widely accepted, scholars still disagree over its identification, whether it is the tower of Hippicus or Phasaël (Schick 1878: 226-37; Bahat 1981: 399; Geva 1981: 65). Excavations in the courtyard of the Citadel have shown that Herod also repaired the existing wall, known as 'the First Wall', and its towers (Johns 1950: 140-48, fig. 23; Wightman 1993: 119-27, figs. 31-35; Sivan and Solar 1994: 169-75; Geva 1994: 158-65).

Following Jerusalem's destruction by the Roman army in 70 AD, the site of the Citadel became a camp of the Roman garrison (Josephus 1927 7: 1-3). Remains dated to this period are rather scarce. Numerous round clay pipes and roof tiles bearing the seal of the Roman 10th Legion were found in the courtyard of the Citadel (Johns 1950: 152-53, fig. 23; Geva 1983: 64, 67; Wightman 1993: 195, 200). The same Hellenistic-Roman 'First-Wall' was probably restored and incorporated in the western fortifications of the Byzantine city. Remains of a new wall, underneath the line of the east curtain to the north of the north-west tower, as well as residential structures with mosaic floors dating to the early Byzantine period, were uncovered (Johns 1950: 153-58, fig. 19; Geva 1983: 67, 69;

Wightman 1993: 225; Sivan and Solar 1994: 112). During this period, the Herodian tower is mentioned for the first time by the name 'Tower of David' by the Italian monk Antoninus of Piacenza (c. 570). He states 'Christians climb this tower to spend the night in prayer' (*PPTS* II: 13ff).

The first citadel of the city was erected on this site during the early Islamic period. Remains of a three-quarter round corner tower (with a diameter of 9.80m) and of two walls attached to it were found in the southern part of the courtyard (Johns 1950: 160, fig. 23; Geva 1983: 69-70, figs. 6-7; Sivan 1983: 26, fig. 31, Geva 1994: 165, 168). These are presumably part of a fortress which may have incorporated the Hellenistic-Roman wall line as well as the Herodian tower. According to the archaeological evidence this citadel was founded in the Umayyad period around the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century (Sivan 1983: 25). It probably functioned both as the centre of the provincial administration as well as a military stronghold (Wightman 1993: 234, fig. 74, n. 15). Muqaddasi, the famous Arab geographer, wrote towards the end of the 4th/10th century that the city had 'a fortress, part of which is on a hill and the other surrounded by a ditch' (1906: 167). This citadel was probably being constantly repaired through the early Islamic period. In 492/1099, the Fatimid garrison fought their last battle in the citadel against the Frankish onslaught and from it negotiated their surrender (Ibn al-'Arabi 1958: 1586; Ibn al-Athir 1979 9: 19; al-Dhahabi 1979: 54; Fulcher 1969: 124).

The Citadel of Jerusalem appears in many historical travellers' accounts and illustrative maps. During the first seven decades of Frankish rule the Citadel, though thoroughly fortified, greatly resembled its early Islamic predecessor. A drastic change, however, occurred in the 1170s, when the Citadel, which had been called *Turris David* (Johns 1950: 163-64, fig. 24), seems to have been extensively rebuilt. Theodoric stated in 1171 that the Citadel included a royal palace and was defended by ditches and outworks (no. 9: 6). William of Tyre, writing about the same time, mentions the Citadel as being strongly built with 'towers, walls and forewalls attached to it' (Babcock and Krey 1943 1: 324).

The excavations of Johns showed that the present outline of the Citadel was established during the 12th century (1950: 165, fig. 25). Though it is possible to identify various remains associated with the Crusader structure, it is still not clear how much of it has survived intact. It seems that a system of defensive outworks was constructed to the west and south of the main early Islamic core of the Citadel. According to the archaeological evidence, the Citadel may have also been expanded to the east and south with the addition of a series of towers, curtains and posterns, as well as a strong bastion at the south-western corner (Johns 1950: 166, 171, 177, 179-80,

fig. 25; Geva 1983: 70, fig. 6; Wightman 1993: 271, fig. 84, n. 49).

After the Ayyubid conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187, Salah al-Din began an extensive programme to rebuild the city's fortifications, in conjunction with the effort to transform Jerusalem into an Islamic city. He was reported to have restored the Citadel and vulnerable stretches of the city walls, and to have dug a moat, in the year 587/1187 ('Imad al-Din 1902: 289-90; Mujir 1973 1: 383). However, he did not alter the Crusader Citadel substantially. 'Imad al-Din, the court secretary and chronicler, states that Salah al-Din restored the old mosque on top of the Tower of David and opened the inner courtyard of the Citadel for Muslims to pray (1902: 53). The extent of such restoration is not clear. But the plan and structure of the interior of the upper story of the north-east tower (A) resemble those of contemporary Ayyubid buildings (Johns 1950: 175, fig. 27). Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, Salah al-Din's nephew, who ruled southern Syria and Palestine from Damascus, undertook a large scheme of architectural projects, including the reinforcing of Jerusalem's defences. No less than ten inscriptions from his reign, most of which were unearthed in archaeological digs, refer to the construction of various segments and elements of the fortifications during the years 599/1202 and 610/1213-14. An inscription in the Citadel mosque (fig. 32.1: 16) dated 610/1213-14 refers to the construction of a tower in the Citadel (van Berchem 1922: 131-132). The location of this tower, as well as the other parts of the Citadel which were constructed in the Ayyubid period, is still uncertain. The Citadel and the city walls were subsequently dismantled by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 616/1219 (Ibn Wasil 1972 4: 32; Mujir 1973 1: 402), and later by al-Nasir Da'ud, who specifically 'demolished the Citadel and the Tower of David,' in 637/1239 (Ibn Wasil 1972 5: 246; Mujir 1973 2: 5). Such drastic action was undertaken to prevent the Franks from consolidating their rule in Jerusalem.

The Citadel remained in ruins until the early 9th/14th century when it was completely rebuilt by the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. In fact, the present structure of the Citadel is principally Mamluk. A dedication inscription dated 710/1310-11 and placed over the main entrance (fig. 32.1: 9), was recorded as recently as 1894 by Max van Berchem (1927: 141, no. 44). Another inscription bearing the name of the same sultan is found, though not *in situ*, in the mosque of the south-west tower (fig. 32.1: 15) commemorating its construction in the same year (van Berchem, 1922: 160, no. 51). Al-Qalqashandi (died 821/1418), who also mentions this restoration work, gives the date as 716/1316 (1914 4: 101). As it stands today, the outer wall of the Citadel, which comprises the towers and curtains, predominantly belongs to a consistent style of construction. Johns assigns this style, including

various architectural features, such as internal plans of towers, loopholes, looped arcades and machicolations, to Ayyubid and early Mamluk work, but finds their parallels in the later period (1950: 171). However, further examination needs to be undertaken in the Citadel, particularly in respect to the amount of Ayyubid work in the fabric, which Johns greatly underestimates. Al-Nasir's reconstruction work included erecting new towers at the south-eastern and south-western corners (C and D respectively); reducing the west side of the Citadel by building the west curtain further east (fig. 32.1: 16); blocking off the western postern in the south-west tower; enlarging the north-west tower (E) towards the south-east (fig. 32.1: 17); and fitting an enormous double entry system with an outer gateway and inner complex entrance with a monumental hexagonal hall and a drawbridge in between them, on the eastern side of the Citadel (Johns 1950: 174-81, 184-85, figs. 26, 28, 30, 31, 34; Wightman 1993: 287-88, fig. 89). These modifications resulted in the creation of a semi-rectangular enclosure with four massive towers at each corner and a fifth in the east side, all surrounded by a ditch. The only entrance into the Citadel was through the outer gateway and drawbridge. The German Dominican monk Felix Fabri, who visited the Citadel in 885/1480, in describing this bridge and the awesome walls and towers, concluded, '... yet there is no place so strong and so well fortified as this castle in all Jerusalem' (*PPTS* IX: 211; VIII: 324). By contrast, the city walls and gates were allowed to fall into ruin during the Mamluk period. A traveller's map of Jerusalem, known as 'the München map' and dated 884/1479, shows the walls of the city in ruins, while the Citadel seems to be intact (Röhrich 1895: 181). This reflects the fact that when the Muslim-Frankish wars ceased, Jerusalem lost its military importance. Instead, internal intrigues and struggle for power continued under the Mamluks. Thus the city no longer needed strong fortifications, but a small though formidable Citadel instead.

With the arrival of the Ottomans in the early 16th century, Jerusalem witnessed a revival of building activity. In an attempt to gain glory and fame, Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent set out to build the walls of the city and refurbish the Citadel.

III The Citadel in the Ottoman Period

I Historical Survey

I.1 The Restoration Project of Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent

The Ottoman army of Sultan Selim I entered Jerusalem on 4 Dhu'l-Hijja 922/28 December 1516, without

encountering any resistance. The notables of Jerusalem surrendered the city, including the Citadel, after the departure of its Mamluk garrison.

During the long reign of his son, Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent (927-74/1520-66), Jerusalem enjoyed a great deal of prosperity and architectural development reminiscent of the apogee of the Umayyads and the Mamluks. Extensive restoration of religious, civil and public welfare, as well as of military structures, began.

Sulaiman the Magnificent is well remembered for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem but is less known for repairing the Citadel. The new Ottoman ruler's initiative to restore the city's fortifications had a three-fold purpose: to protect the city from potential European invaders and Bedouin incursions; to assert the presence of the Ottomans and their political prestige in the eyes of the local population; and to undertake a pious act in the 'third holiest city in Islam' (Schur 1987: 19-15; Cohen 1989: 469; 1992, 52-64, al-'Asali 1989: 200). Unlike the city walls which had been in a dilapidated state for nearly three hundred years since they were systematically demolished by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 616/1219, the Citadel was in good condition having been completely rebuilt by al-Nasir Muhammad in 710/1310, and it had continued to serve the Mamluk garrison until the arrival of the Ottomans in 922/1516, as already described above.

The repair and improvement of the Citadel were intended to adapt the structure to the needs of the new conquerors of Jerusalem, and in particular to provide a suitable garrison for the new army units stationed in the City after the Ottoman conquest. The actual repair works began in 938/1531, as noted in the dedication inscriptions over the portal of the outer gateway of the fortress. The rebuilding of the city walls was undertaken a few years later between the years 944/1537 and 947/1540 (van Berchem 1922: 443-44), or 945-48/1538-41 (Cohen 1989: 468; 1990: 33). Although the outer wall of the Citadel is incorporated into the city wall along the west side near Bab al-Khalil, on the whole it remained an independent structure with separate gates and its own defence system.

While the rebuilding of the city walls is recorded in substantial contemporary documentation, no such evidence is preserved in Jerusalem about the financial and practical aspects of a campaign to restore the Citadel, which began as early as the year 938/1531, when the outer gateway was erected.

Nevertheless, the registers (referred to here as *sijills*) of the Shari'a court of Jerusalem, reveal a great deal of information concerning the Citadel, the bulk of which is dated to the late 1530s until mid-1560s. One exceptionally early *sijill* document does mention repairs undertaken in the Citadel at the end of Muharram 938/mid-September 1531. One of its curtain walls, which 'faces the street along the moat' had some stones missing and the quality of

mortar was poor. The city builders, who inspected the site, found that a high percentage of sand had been used and recommended instead a mortar with a higher lime content (Sijill 1: 400).

The name of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash recurs in a number of *sijill* documents dealing with court proceedings concerning tax collection (V: 386; VI: 68) during the course of the year 943/1536. He was apparently a high-ranking Ottoman official who was sent to Jerusalem to collect the *miri* taxes due to the sultan. His name then appeared with the title *al-amin 'ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya* ('the superintendent of the sultan's finances') (Cohen 1989: 470). Later in the same year his name is attached to another title, *al-amin 'ala al-sur* ('the superintendent of the wall'). These titles testify to al-Naqqash's function: to provide funds for the project of reconstructing the city walls. One year later, in 944/1536, a *sijill* document reports that the governor (*mutasallim*) of Jerusalem, Mustafa Beg, accompanied by the chief *qadi* and Muhammad al-Naqqash, arrested the Franciscan monks in the monastery of Zion on instructions from Istanbul after a war had broken out with Venice. Part of a sum of 190 golden pieces extracted from the monastery was spent on the restoration of vital parts of the Citadel (Sijill 6: 671; Cohen 1982: 62-63).

A later *sijill* document mentions a court hearing dealing with the *duzdar* (commandant) of the Citadel, who converted a room for storing oil into a residence for two Janissaries (soldiers). The court, which convened on 22 Sha'ban 948/end of December 1541, in the presence of the same Muhammad al-Naqqash, the chief builder (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*) of Jerusalem, Husain ibn Nammar, and the *duzdar* himself, found that no other structures in the Citadel were damaged (Sijill 14: 98).

Restoration works in the mosque, ammunition stores and 'the Tower of David' were undertaken in 949/1542 under the charge of the same chief builder of Jerusalem, Husain ibn Nammar at a cost of 15,000 *akçe* (Sijill, 14: 561).

The scattered information in the *sijills* helps to shed some light on the various changes and restoration works that were undertaken inside the Citadel. It does not, however, offer any evidence as to restoration work to the outer structure. It is quite possible that the outer gateway, the barbican and the western terrace were added in the first stage of construction around the year 938/1531 to provide protection for the Ottoman garrison in the city, and the inner renovations carried out a few years later when sufficient funds were available.

1.2 The Citadel during the 17th Century

Towards the end of the 16th century the Ottoman empire began a long era of decline. The central government in

Istanbul gradually lost control over remote provinces, which resulted in the rise of rival incompetent and corrupt officials. The Janissaries, who formed the military garrisons in the fortresses, were transformed from a genuine military force into a privileged caste. As a result their interests often conflicted with their loyalty to the sultan and their allegiances shifted between local rival officials. The garrison of the Citadel in Jerusalem was no exception. In 1034/1625, the *mutasallim* (governor) of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem, Muhammad ibn Farrukh, expelled from the Citadel the Janissaries, who were loyal to the sultan, and killed their *duzdar*. He then appointed his brother-in-law 'Uthman as *duzdar* and refortified the Citadel's defences (Manna' 1979: 196-224). During the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV (1058-1099/1648-1687) the minaret (fig. 32.1: 14) of the Citadel was restored by Muhammad Pasha, as noted in a Turkish inscription on its base dated 1065/1655 (van Berchem 1927: 165-167, no. 53).

The famous Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, who visited Jerusalem in 1082/1672, describes the Holy City, the Haram and the Citadel. In his *Siyahatname*, he gives the following detailed description of the Qal'a:

Within the Gate of Jaffa the Citadel is connected on one side with the main fortress. It is another small, inner fortress, four hundred paces in circumference with three exposed iron gates giving to the large fortress. From the first gate one crosses a wooden bridge leading to the Citadel. This building, grey with age, has a *divan-khaneh* (council chamber, or a court of justice), embellished with very many war implements, situated within the Citadel. In the Citadel live the commandant (*duzdar*), the agent of the governor (*kehya*), an *imam*, a preacher, a muezzin and soldiers. There are altogether seventy stone built rooms within, and exceedingly small ones at that ... (Stephan 1938: 154).

In 1101/1689-90, the Arab traveller 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi visited Jerusalem. He described the Citadel as 'a well fortified castle within the city wall', adding: '... We entered the mosque which is situated inside the Citadel, in which there is the *mihrab* of Da'ud ... then we ascended to a high place by a flight of stairs which is known as the place where Da'ud, peace upon him, used to sit ...' (al-Nabulsi: 1990 313-314).

1.3 The Citadel during the 18th Century

The Citadel and its garrison played an important role during the popular rebellion in Jerusalem (1114-18/

1702-06) led by Naqib al-Ashraf Muhammad b. Mustafa al-Husaini against the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, Jurji Muhammad Pasha, who had imposed heavy taxes on townspeople and peasants alike and applied harsh measures in collecting them (Manna' 1989: 50-57; al-'Asali 1989: 215). The rebels captured the city and expelled the *mutasallim*, but the Janissary garrison of the Citadel did not intervene. The *wali* (governor) of Damascus, Muhammad Pasha, sent a force of about 2,000 Janissaries in 1117/1705 which captured the city, impounded the weapons from the city's residents and stored them in the Citadel (Manna' 1989: 69). Al-Husaini escaped but was caught and executed in Istanbul the following year. The arrival of a large number of Janissaries and other soldiers caused havoc in the city. Since the Citadel was too small to absorb all of them, many houses in the vicinity of the Citadel were evacuated in order to accommodate them (Manna' 1989: 70). Soon after that fighting broke out between the city residents and the Janissaries whose cannons in the Citadel shelled the Dome of the Rock (Manna' 1989: 71-72). A truce was finally reached between the two sides after the intervention of the Ottoman authorities.

Learning the lessons of the rebellion, Istanbul decided to appoint Palestinian family notables to various influential posts. Several members of al-Nimr family, who were governors of Nablus in the 18th century, co-operated with the al-'Alamis and 'Asalis of Jerusalem. Members from the al-'Asali family were the *duzdars* of the Citadel (al-Nimr 1974 2: 206).

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud I, the glacis of the ditch on the north-west side of the north-west tower (fig. 32.1: E) was restored in 1144/1731-32 (van Berchem 1927: 156-57, no. 49) and the Summer Mosque (fig 32.1: 5) in the Citadel was constructed by the commandant of the Janissaries, 'Ali Agha, in 1151/1738 (Stephan 1933: 132-34).

In 1153/1740, Elzear Horn, a German Franciscan monk, who lived in Jerusalem from 1137-57/1724-44, described the Citadel (1153/1740), which was then known as 'the castle of the Pisans'.

It [Jerusalem] has an ancient fort, to which to this day the name Pisan is attached, on account of its structure which is strong enough; yet for want of fortifications and ramparts the city can easily be taken from every side without the explosion of the instruments of war ...

A special commander is appointed for it who lived there with his Janissaries, without whose permission or *gratis* no one was given access to it. It contains many convenient habitations ... It has many cannons projecting from the walls, but they are not carefully

guarded, because they know well that the Christians neglect its recovery owing to dissensions among themselves. It is indeed surrounded by ditches, which, however, do not contain water (Horn 1962: 33).

1.4 The Citadel during the French Invasion

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Ottoman empire faced two major military campaigns, those of Napoleon and Muhammad 'Ali, which would have a profound effect on Jerusalem and particularly its Citadel.

In 1213/1798, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt and the following year marched along the coast into Syria. Although the French expedition ended a few months later after failing to take Acre, it was viewed in Jerusalem with great concern. The Ottoman rule and the Muslim community of Jerusalem regarded it as a renewal of the Crusader campaigns and began taking defensive measures. An order (*marsum*), which arrived in the city on 7 Safar 1213/21 July 1798, was sent by the *wali* of Damascus to the 'ulama' of Jerusalem; it warned them that the aim of the advancing French troops was to take Jerusalem and the Holy Places, and urged them to take all necessary precautions (Manna' 1986: 2, citing Sijill 279: 151). On the same day, another letter sent by the 'ulama' of Cairo arrived in Jerusalem. It informed the people of the city that the French had captured Alexandria and alerted them that the 'infidels' objective is Jerusalem' (Manna' 1986: 3, citing Sijill 279: 152).

According to one document, dated 15 Safar 1213/19 July 1798, the *wali* of Damascus sent a military force equipped with cannons to reinforce the garrison in the Citadel of Jerusalem. He also promised he would arrive soon afterwards at the head of an army to defend the city (Manna' 1986: 139, no. 77, citing Sijill 280: 4). The people of Damascus, responding to the call of *jihad* (holy war) donated a large quantity of gunpowder. The people of Jerusalem too donated much gunpowder and several cannon, all of which were stored in the *jabah-khaneh* (ammunition depot) in the Citadel (Manna' 1986: 140, no. 79, citing Sijill 280: 18).

According to another document, dated 16 Jumada II 1213/15 November 1798 the Janissaries of Qal'at al-Burak (fortress near Solomon's Pools), were paid four years in advance as a bonus so they would participate in the defence of the Citadel of Jerusalem (Manna' 1986: 135-136, citing Sijill 280: 48).

1.5 The Citadel during the Uprising of 1242-43/1826-27

Between 1223/1808 and 1247/1831, Jerusalem witnessed a series of disturbances and rebellions. In 1223/1808, the

Janissaries of the Citadel incited the Muslim population of the city to obstruct the repair work in the Holy Sepulchre Church after it was partly destroyed by fire (al-'Asali 1989: 223, n. 173). The insurgents expelled the *mutasallim* and fortified themselves in the Citadel. The *wali* of Saida, Sulaiman Pasha, sent a military force to Jerusalem which laid siege to the Citadel until the insurgents surrendered (al-'Asali 1989: 223, n. 173).

A few years earlier, in 1221/1806, the German pilgrim Seetzen reported that the 'Citadel of Jerusalem was a small fortress ... Several cannons were stationed at the entrance, with a Turkish officer and a few soldiers doing guard-duty inside' (Ben-Arieh 1984: 16). In the early 1820s, the German topographer Tobler wrote that there were 100 Albanian soldiers in Jerusalem (Ben-Arieh 1984: 16).

During 1242-43/1826-27, another major popular uprising broke out in Jerusalem in response to the large increase of taxation imposed by the new *wali* of Damascus, Mustafa Pasha. The Greek monk Neophytos of Cyprus reported that when the *fallahin* (peasants) of the villages around Jerusalem and Bethlehem rebelled, the *wali* sent a detachment of 100 soldiers to the Citadel. He himself followed at the head of a large force (Neophytos 1986: 38-39). Although an agreement was reached under the terms of which the insurgents were forced to pay a heavy fine, the uprising was resumed as soon as the *wali* left for Damascus. The *duzdar* of the citadel, Ahmad Agha al-'Asali, was at the head of the insurgents who took over the city and its citadel and expelled the *mutasallim*. The *wali* of Saida, 'Abdallah Pasha, responded by sending a force of 2,000 soldiers which besieged the city and bombarded it with artillery from the Mount of Olives. After stiff resistance the insurgents agreed to end the uprising and were allowed safe exit from the city (Neophytos 1938: 40-42; Manna' 1986: 33-38; al-'Asali 1989: 224).

1.6 The Citadel during the Egyptian Occupation

In 1247/1831 Egyptian troops led by Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali, marched into Syria. Jerusalem capitulated on 3 Jumada II 1247/23 December 1831 but the garrison of the Citadel continued to resist. The German monk Marie Joseph de G ramb, who visited Jerusalem in the same year, reported, 'The commandant of the Citadel announced that his soldiers would prefer to die and would never surrender unless their salaries were paid by the pasha of Acre ...' (Schur 1987: 615-616). It is not clear how the garrison surrendered.

A few years later, in 1250/1834, the *fallahin* of the villages of the Nablus and Hebron areas began a popular uprising in response to the military conscription declared by Ibrahim Pasha. Neophytos writes that the rebels besieged Jerusalem but were repelled by the Egyptian garrison (Neophytos 1938: 75). Once again the Citadel was

at the centre of events. The city changed hands twice while the Egyptians held the Citadel until the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha with his forces. Further skirmishes persisted in and around Jerusalem for several weeks and resulted in heavy losses on both sides. Only when Muhammad Pasha himself arrived at Jaffa with a force of 15,000 soldiers was a settlement with the leadership of the uprising reached. The peasants dispersed and the Egyptians returned victorious to Jerusalem (Neophytos 1938: 90-95).

During the Egyptian era, Ibrahim Pasha constructed the *qishlaq* (winter barracks) as a military camp near the Citadel and to its south. In 1253/1837 the Jewish scholar Schwartz reported: 'By the order of the Pasha they are now putting up a massive building on an empty plot about 90 *amma* square, next to the Tower of David Citadel. Breaking ground for the foundations began in April of this year' (Sivan 1983: 41). It is quite possible that from this time on, the main part of the Ottoman garrison was posted not in the Citadel but in the newly built Qishla.

1.7 The Citadel from the mid-19th century until 1336/1917

When Ottoman rule was resumed in 1256/1840, a British expedition arrived in Jerusalem and prepared the first detailed maps of the city including a detailed plan of the Citadel. The head of the expedition, Colonel Andersen, reported that the Citadel was equipped with artillery and vulnerable only to the heaviest of artillery attacks (Ben-Arieh 1984: 17). Although the Citadel continued to serve as a military stronghold for the Ottoman authorities, the main garrison was stationed in the adjacent Qishla. Travellers' accounts repeatedly mention cannons in the Citadel and that entry for foreigners into the site was forbidden without special permits.

Wilson, who surveyed and mapped Jerusalem in 1864-1865, prepared a detailed plan of the Citadel and the adjacent Qishla army camp (1865: 46-48, pl. III). He wrote that 'the interior of the Citadel is a confused mass of buildings in a very ruinous state ...' (1865: 48). Based on Wilson's map, Stephan Illes, a Hungarian artist, was commissioned by the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem in 1873 to build a model of the city for an exhibition in Vienna. This model, which is displayed in the museum at the Citadel, gives a unique impression of the appearance of Jerusalem and the Citadel in the second half of the 19th century. In this period, too, Schick visited and explored the site, particularly the Tower of David (1878: 226-27, figs. 1, 2).

In 1316/1898, the ditch north west of the Citadel near Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) was filled and the wall breached to open a new entrance for the state visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II and his escort. Remains of this ditch, which is dated to the 10th/16th century, were unearthed (Maeir 1994, 305). About the same time, a *sabil* (water

fountain) was constructed south west of the north-west tower in the area of the filled ditch. A clock-tower was also built on top of the adjacent Bab al-Khalil (Sivan 1983: 40). Both structures were demolished in the early 1920s by the British Mandate authorities.

2 Function of the Citadel

Symbolically, the Citadel's primary role as a military stronghold came to an end on its outer steps on December 11 1917, when General Allenby proclaimed the British conquest of Jerusalem. It had been modified even during the Ottoman period, however, to serve other secondary functions. The historical sources record the construction of various domestic, religious and economic structures. Unlike the citadels of other cities such as Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, the Citadel in Jerusalem did not have an administrative and residential compound for the city's ruling élite. This function was fulfilled by the *sarai* at al-Jawiliyya compound (now called Madrasa al-'Umariyya), the area at the north-west corner of the Haram al-Sharif. It continued to serve as the seat of provincial Ottoman government until 1287/1870 (Burgoyne 1987: 205, 207).

In rebuilding the Ottoman Citadel, the defensive works, such as the outer gateway and outer defensive works, preceded the additions to the interior. The *sijill* documents of the Shari'a court of Jerusalem once again provide an abundance of information with regard to how the Citadel functioned and the composition of its garrison and military equipment.

2.1 The Garrison

One of the essential functions of the Citadel was the garrisoning of the military forces needed to guard against internal unrest as well as outside threats. Reinforcing and repairing defences was generally undertaken in preparation for, or in response to, attack. Although the historical sources mention such attacks, they provide little information on details of the improvement of the fortifications. As already noted, however, defensive measures in the Citadel were undertaken in anticipation of Napoleon's offensive in 1213/1798.

The earliest available details about the numerical strength of the garrison of the Citadel go back as far as 952/1545. The garrison then consisted of 64 Janissaries, 12 soldiers as *bawwabs* (literally 'gatekeepers', porters) at the city gates, two soldiers at the Citadel gates, 10 soldiers serving in maintenance and administration, 5 soldiers as an artillery unit, one soldier as a prison warden, one carpenter, one baker, one soldier in charge of the ditch and one responsible for the water aqueduct. At the head of the garrison forces stood the *duzdar*, the *kirkhuda* (deputy) the *katib* (secretary), the *imam*, the *mu'adhdhin* and the butler.

The total number of the garrison was 104 soldiers (Sijill 17: 583). In 961/1554, nine years later, Jerusalem's garrison, according to another document, consisted of 92 soldiers (Cohen 1990: 38, no. 21).

In 1082/1672, Evliya Çelebi reported that the garrison of the fortress of Jerusalem consisted of 200 men (Stephan 1938: 150). Towards the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman rule in Bilad al-Sham (Syria and Palestine) faced serious political and military challenge both from within (as a result of Dhahir al-'Umar's expansion and rivalries among local officials) and from outside (Napoleon's campaign). As a result, the number of soldiers stationed in the Citadel was increased and by 1198/1784, the number of soldiers was 440: 200 Janissaries, 61 *jabahajiyan* (arsenal), 48 *taffiiyyan* (artillery), 20 *arabijiyan* (supply), 91 *mustahfizan* (guards) and *yerliyan* (locals) (Manna' 1986: 217, citing *Sijill* 264: 189). In 1241/1825, according to the Greek monk Neophytos, however, there were only 60 soldiers in the Citadel (32, 36). Another 100 soldiers were sent to protect the Citadel and Jerusalem by the *wali* of Damascus, Mustafa Pasha (Manna' 1986: 164).

Probably because of its religious and historical significance, the Jerusalem garrison was the largest in Palestine, almost twice the size of those in Gaza or Hebron (Cohen 1990: 38). The most important figure in the Citadel was the *duzdar*. He was the commandant and was responsible for both the garrison and the military equipment and arsenal housed in the Citadel for the defence of the city. In comparison with the *mutasallim* of the city who was answerable to the *wali* of Damascus, the *duzdar*, appointed in Istanbul (Stephan 1933: 108-114), enjoyed considerable independence and was occasionally used by the Ottomans to subdue rebellious governors (Manna' 1986: 135). In the 18th century and early 19th century there was apparently some confusion between the *duzdar*, the *agha* (chief) of Janissaries and *muhafiz al-qal'a* (the official responsible for the guards); sometime the *agha* was also the *duzdar* and at other times the posts were filled by two different people. The *duzdar* was also responsible for appointing guards for the city walls and the city gates (Manna' 1986: 137, n. 62, citing *Sijill* 292: 95). According to a document dated 2 Jumada I 950/2 August 1543, he actually kept the keys of the city gates and had to hand them over when his term came to an end (Cohen 1990: 39, citing *Sijill* 15: 524). A sort of commission of enquiry was usually set up to compile a detailed inventory of all the contents of the Citadel stores (Cohen 1990: 39, citing *Sijill* 40: 149, 163; *Sijill* 48: 72; *Sijill* 51: 132, 215, 355).

One of the *duzdar*'s responsibilities was to collect the *khass sultani* (monies due to the sultan), which were generally imposed on village land known as *miri sultani* (Manna' 1986: 137, n. 63, citing *Sijill* 296: 95). Holding both military and economic authority substantially enhanced the *duzdar*'s status. The al-'Asali family managed to keep this desirable post during the late 18th and early

19th centuries. A certain Ahmad Beg al-‘Asali occupied both the position of the *duzdar* and that of *alai beg* (the commander of *sipahis*—feudal cavalry) of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem (Manna’ 1986: 137, n. 64). Ahmad Agha al-‘Asali, who was also a *duzdar* and an *alai beg* during the third decade of the 19th century, later became a *wakil* (deputy) of the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem (Manna’ 1986: 138, n. 72-3).

The *ojaq* (Janissaries), led by their *agha* were the main component of the garrison stationed at the Citadel which was manned by *sipahis* and other soldiers. Official complaints about absenteeism were frequent (Sijill 14: 108), and even involved about half of the Janissaries of the garrison in 952/1545 (Sijill 17: 583). Orders were sent from Istanbul to prevent such occurrences (Sijill 14: 108). Janissary soldiers from the Citadel were increasingly involved in collecting taxes from villages around Jerusalem (Cohen 1990: 43, citing Sijill 40: 405) and were also reported to have mistreated the residents of the city (Cohen 1990: 44, Sijill 45: 318). High ranking Janissaries regarded their official positions as a means of increasing their profits which were in turn invested in promoting private businesses, such as the rental and sale of lands, houses, shops and other properties (Cohen 1990: 45). Ordinary soldiers were compelled to work in civilian occupations to supplement their wages. For instance, in the year 963/1555 the daily wage of a soldier was between two and eight *akçes* or ‘*uthmani*’; the *duzdar* meanwhile, received 30 *akçes* and his deputy 15. A daily labourer received four *akçes* and a builder 12 (Cohen 1989: 48-49). The soldiers’ positions were inherited by their children who continued to draw government wages even if they were unfit for military duty.

In time the strict regulations governing the Janissaries were relaxed and new recruits were drawn from the native population. Soldiers were allowed to marry and establish households outside their Citadel barracks (Cohen 1990: 48, n. 61). Eventually they began to integrate with the civilian population and were soon identifying with local interests which often conflicted with their loyalty to the sultan. In time, the Janissaries of the Citadel and their *duzdar* joined the *fallahin* uprising of 1242/1826. In the same year, they were liquidated in Istanbul by Sultan Mahmud II.

2.2 Arms and Ammunition

The Citadel comprised large storage of arms and military equipment, as well as an arsenal for the manufacture of cannons. A detailed inventory of arms, ammunition and other military equipment in the Citadel is listed in several *sijill* documents. These included bows (more than 150), arrows, rifles (around 170), exploding grenades, gunpowder, wicks for cannons and rifles, large quantities of lead, copper and iron, steel, helmets and armour, axes,

picks and lances. The weapons were stored in several places in the Citadel including ‘the store inside the Tower of David’, ‘the store near the tower of the *kikkhuda*’, and ‘the great store with two gates’ (Cohen 1990: 39-40, citing Sijills 40: 149, 163; 48: 72; 51: 132, 215, 355). Towards the end of the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent, an arsenal for the manufacture of, and a store for, cannons (*top-khaneh*) was established.

Cannons were the most important and effective weapon for the defence of the Citadel. The earliest reference to cannons in the Citadel is dated to the 970s/1560s. There were 60 cannons, half of which were out of use. 20 cannons were in good condition, 7 of which were large cannons (Cohen 1990: 40). In year 964/1556, a manufactory for cannon was ordered by the sultan to be constructed in Jerusalem (Sijill 33: 276) and for this purpose, red bricks were prepared to build the casting kilns (Sijill 31: 576). The site designated for this task was opposite the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not clear whether the manufactory began operating since it was destroyed by an earthquake the following year. However, new instructions were soon sent from Istanbul to establish a manufactory for arms in the Citadel (Sijill 33: 287). Perhaps the new ‘store of *top-khaneh*’, which was added to the Citadel in the 970s/1560s, was the above-mentioned manufactory.

From the beginning of the Ottoman period until the end of the 18th century the city’s fortifications, including the Citadel, were not put to a serious test. The Ottoman authorities were aware of the limitations of the garrison in the face of any outside invasion, but took few precautions (Cohen 1981: 229-230) although, as noted above, gunpowder and new cannons were brought in to strengthen the Citadel’s defences in preparation for a French attack.

In 1228/1813, repair work was undertaken in the courtyard of the *jabah-khaneh* by the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem (Manna’ 1986: 141, citing Sijill 295: 207). Another detailed inventory of the ammunition found in the Citadel was carried out in 1223/1817. There were 121 barrels of gunpowder, another 189 half-full barrels, 10 boxes of pellets and about 2,500 small grenades (Manna’ 1986: 141, citing Sijill 301: 21). In 1237/1821, the *wali* of Damascus ordered the undertaking of restoration works in the Citadel, including the battlements on top of the walls. These works lasted for two months (Manna’ 1986: 141, citing Sijill 305: 135).

2.3 Other Functions

Beyond its essential military role, the Citadel served other minor functions, including that of a prison. According to Orelli, who described the Citadel in the 1870s, prisoners were kept in extremely disagreeable cells (Ben-Arieh 1984: 19). Although the historical sources of the period,

including the *sijills*, provide little information regarding the housing and provisioning of troops, it can be assumed that the Citadel was provided with barracks for the stationing of its garrison and other soldiers. More affluent residential and domestic quarters for the *duzdar*, the *imam*, the *mu'adhdhin*, etc., were built in the Citadel. A Friday mosque—the only one in the City apart from al-Aqsa Mosque—was also constructed within the Citadel so the soldiers did not need to leave their posts for Friday prayers.

Architecture

Outer Gateway (fig. 32.1: 1; pls. 32.1-32.4)

The Citadel is entered from the east via a raised stepped platform through a well-built gateway. The main entrance (pl. 32.1), with iron-plated double doors, is set in a recess spanned by a pointed, slightly horse-shoe shaped arch and flanked by stone benches and deep niches of varying size. The portal is surmounted by a sharply pointed arch (pl. 32.3), of which the two lower voussoirs are marked by two carved decorative medallions. The schemes of both medallions are very similar and consist of intricate arabesque motifs creating a pattern of strapwork enclosing small octagons (pl. 32.2). Similar medallions, one of them almost identical, adorn the contemporary city walls; (Ben Dov 1989: 287, top left). Another comparable panel with two medallions is found in the Auhadiyya, dating to the Mamluk period (Burgoyne 1987: 170).

The restoration inscription has been preserved and is situated in a band above the arch of the entrance portal (pl. 32.3). It consists of two lines of *naskh* in Ottoman Arabic:

The order to restore this blessed fortress was given by the Great Sultan and the Magnificent Emperor, the Possessor of the necks of all Nations, the Employer of the People of the Sword and Pen,¹ the Servant of the Two Harams and of the Holy Land, may God sanctify the holy souls of his fathers, the Source of security, faith and hope, the Sultan, son of 'Uthman, Sulaiman the Second, may God prolong his existence as long as the Dome above the Rock! In the year: Goodness Happened [Chronogram = 938/1531-32] (van Berchem 1922: 146-147, no. 45).

On each side of the inscription two slabs of stones with foliate motifs and palmettes are discernible. Traces of

red and blue plaster survive around the whole inscription. Immediately above that, two additional square slabs with inscriptions are found (pl. 32.4). The upper one is the *bismilla* which is written in *naskhi* script. The lower one, written in *kufic*, is hard to decipher. A similar one is to be found at the Turba of Sitt Tunshuq and is regarded as the only square kufic inscription dating to the Mamluk period (Burgoyne 1987: 507, 509, fig. 49.11). The apex of the arched recess is pierced on both sides of the keystone with a double-hole machicolation, a fairly common feature in the gates of the city walls. One course above the outer face of the arched recess, a double-tiered frieze of shallow *muqarnas* runs across the front of the gateway. This decorative element appears in many Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem, as well as on the Ottoman city gates.

The parapet of the gateway has a foliated crenellation which runs around it. The roof, which is now flat, once had a typical shallow Ottoman dome, as can be seen in a photograph taken by Creswell in the 1920s (Ashmolean Museum, Creswell Archive, no. 4920). The entrance leads into a short passage with a pointed vault (pl. 32.5). A niche with a bench is set in the north wall of the passage and vaulted by stonework radiating from a central hub, a feature which can be seen in a Mamluk building in Jerusalem, the Auhadiyya, endowed in 697/1298 (Burgoyne 1987: 170, pls. 9.3, 9.4). On the south side of the passage, a vaulted opening leads into a staircase which ascends to the roof of the gateway.

The gateway is connected with the barbican by a drawbridge (fig. 32.1: 2, pls. 32.6-32.8). The modern bridge rests over the original slots which can still be seen in both the scarp and counterscarp walls of the main ditch. Late 19th- and early 20th-century photographs show a pitched-roof wooden structure with windows on the drawbridge. Although this structure does not seem to be earlier than the 19th century, it is not certain when the drawbridge went out of use. In 1258/1842 the scholar Edwald mentioned that on both sides of the wooden bridge there were benches on which the Pashas of Jerusalem often sat with their officers and smoked (Sivan 1983: 37). This perhaps explains the finding of a large quantity of clay pipes which were apparently thrown into the ditch below.

The accounts of pilgrims from the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, particularly that of Felix Fabri (885/1480), refer to both a gateway and drawbridge. No substantial archaeological evidence remains to suggest a pre-Ottoman combined system of a gateway and drawbridge. The only visible evidence of any earlier construction is a foundation of a wall, in the ditch below, running north to south, parallel to the line of the ditch scarp over which the drawbridge was constructed (pl. 32.6). While the Ottoman gateway and drawbridge are slightly to the north of the line of the Mamluk main entrance, the earlier structures may have been built in a

¹ This is a variant of van Berchem's translation '*celui qui servent*'; the Arabic word *mustakhdim*, from the verb *istakhdama*, to use, to employ, is better translated as 'user', or, more correctly, as 'employer'.

straight line (Wightman 1993: 269, fig. 84; 287-288, fig. 89).

Barbican (fig. 32.1: 5-8; pls. 32.9, 32.10)

This barbican, surrounding the north-east tower (A) and extending south until the corner of the east tower (B), was clearly intended as a principal outwork to defend the main entrance of the Citadel. It is separated from the perimeter ring-wall of the Citadel by an inner arm of the ditch (fig. 32.1: 7) and linked to the main entrance by a stone bridge (fig. 32.1: 8).

The barbican comprises three parts: (1) the northern arm of the barbican; (2) the southern part of the barbican, which can be called 'the Summer Mosque'; and (3) the stone bridge.

(1) The Northern Arm of the Barbican: (pl. 32.11)

The northern arm surrounded the north-east tower from the north and east and includes the part of the barbican to the right of the drawbridge, most of which was excavated in the early 1980s. Here, the parapet of 'the sentry-walk' is loop-holed for firearms (Johns 1950: 173).

Abutting the north-east tower from the south, the remains of a wall, dated to the Byzantine or early Islamic periods, has been uncovered (Solar and Sivan 1994: 112, plan).

(2) The Summer Mosque (fig. 32.1: 5; pls. 32.12-32.14)

This open-air mosque is surrounded by a low wall to the west and north, and barbican battlements to the south and east. The entrance of the mosque is a doorway measuring 1.90 x 0.90 m. An eight-line Turkish inscription above the lintel mentions the repair of 'the Summer Mosque' by the *agha* of the Janissaries, the Khassaki 'Ali Agha, in the year 1151/1738 (Stephan 1933: 132-134).

The main hall of the mosque has an irregular form, which was modelled according to the alignment of the barbican. A concave pointed-arched *mihrab* occupies one of the battlements in the south wall of the barbican (Johns 1950: 173, fig. 15). On the keystone of the *mihrab*, a circular cartouche is set within a circular frame which contains the following Arabic inscription:

Sultan Sulaiman, may God render his victory
glorious (van Berchem 1922: 149, no. 46).

A cavetto moulding is found above the *mihrab*, which is in turn crowned on both sides by two crenellations.

At the west side of the mosque hall, there is a well-head where water could be drawn from a cistern below. At the north-eastern corner is another, smaller cistern. During repairs and renovation work in 1980-86, the remains of a

water fountain in the centre of the mosque hall were removed and replaced with a modern fountain.

(3) The Stone Bridge (fig. 32.1: 7; pls. 32.15-32.16, 32.18)

This bridge, which abuts both the ring-wall of the Citadel and the western wall of the barbican, connects the barbican with the main entrance. It rests on two pointed arches spanning the inner ditch (fig. 32.1: 7). It is constructed of small ashlar stones which are clearly distinguishable from the rusticated masonry of the Citadel wall. Johns (1950: 173) suggested that the bridge replaces a former wooden bridge. Although no lifting-slots are visible in the face of the wall beside or above the entrance, they may well be covered by the bridge itself. On the bridge, between the two arches, there is a *naskhi* Arabic inscription set within a cartouche, similar to, but bigger than the one above the *mihrab* in the Summer Mosque. It reads:

Glory to Our Master, Sultan al-Malik al-
Muzaffar Abu 'l-Nasr Sulaiman Shah,
descendant of 'Uthman (van Berchem 1922:
149-150, no. 47).

The Mosque (figs. 32.1: 15, 32.3-32.7; pls. 32.17, 32.19-32.23)

No less than three different phases of construction are discernible in the present building. Of these, one is Mamluk, datable by inscription to 710/1310-11, and two are Ottoman, datable to 939/1532 (during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman), and 1326/1908-9 (during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid), respectively. The full extent of these constructions is not fully known, for only some structural features can be identified.

First Phase

This comprises a hall with a symmetrical arrangement of six deep recessed loopholes in the west wall facing six openings, which represent alternating doors and windows, in the east wall. Two other deeply recessed loopholes are in each of the south and north walls (figs. 32.3-32.5). An inscription on a limestone slab, on the east wall near the south-east corner of the hall recording the construction of a mosque by the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 710/1310-11, seems not to be in its original location (van Berchem 1922: 141-42, no. 44). No structural features of this Mamluk mosque can be recognised in the hall. Johns regards this structure as an integral part of the south and south-west towers, which are characterised by a single large work, attributed to al-Nasir Muhammad (Johns 1950: 180, fig. 31a).

Second Phase

This phase represents the conversion of the tower hall into

a mosque. The west recess in the south wall was blocked accordingly to house the *mihrab*, next to which a *minbar* was erected. The eastern recess was partially blocked, as was the adjacent doorway, in order to follow the line of the east wall of the mosque. A rectangular structure raised on four columns, a *dikka*, was added next to the pier between the second and third recesses from the south in the west wall (figs. 32.3-32.5).

A dedicatory inscription, which is written in Ottoman *naskh*, records the structural refurbishment of the *minbar* by Sultan Sulaiman in 939/1532. It was carved on the lintel over the door leading up to the *minbar* (van Berchem 1922: 164-65, no. 52). The inscription, which is no longer *in situ*, includes Sultan Sulaiman's usual titles and the date is written as a chronogram. Another inscription, consisting of verses from the Qur'an (Sura IX: 18) written in similar Ottoman *naskh*, runs around the north and east canopy of the *minbar* (van Berchem 1922: 165).

Third Phase

The third phase involved further structural changes and alterations to the building, which continued to serve as a mosque. A dividing wall was erected between the second and third piers, thus reducing the hall of the mosque by one third (van Berchem 1922: 159, fig. 20). The floor level was raised by adding a new plastered floor. A new monumental entrance, with an outer porch resting on columns, was added (figs. 32.3, 32.7; pl. 32.17). A six-line inscription in *naskhi* script and in Ottoman Turkish above the lintel of the entrance records the work of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II in 1326/1908-09 (Stephan 1933: 134-35) (pl. 32.23).

During the 1986 renovation works, which were undertaken to transform the Citadel into a museum, the mosque was once again remodelled and turned into an exhibition hall. The *dikka*, the dividing wall and the later floor were removed, and the *mihrab* and *minbar* were stripped of their thick blue plaster.

The Minaret (fig. 32.1: 14; pls. 32.24-32.26)

The cylindrical stone shaft of the minaret, divided into three 'storeys' by moulded string courses, rests on a masonry base which is square in shape and rounded on its edges. A door in the south side of the square masonry base gives access to a spiral staircase which ascends within the shaft to the gallery for the *mu'adhdhin*.

A four-line Turkish inscription, on the north face of the base, commemorates the restoration of the minaret by Muhammad Pasha, in the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV in 1066/1655 (van Berchem 1922: 165-166, no. 53). The base of the minaret, including the entrance portal, which is built of large masonry, was apparently constructed before the shaft which is built from much smaller masonry. Moreover, the battlement of the wall of the tower abuts the

base from the west, which means the base is either contemporary with the wall or predates it. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the shaft of the minaret may be a restoration of 1065/1655. The base of the minaret, including the entrance portal, which is built of large masonry, was apparently constructed before the shaft which is built from much smaller masonry. However, the battlement of the wall of the tower abuts the base from the west, which means the base is either contemporary with the wall or predates it. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the shaft of the minaret may be a restoration of 1065/1655, while its base may be attributed to Sultan Sulaiman or even to the Mamluk period.

Western Terrace of Battery (fig. 32.1: 18; pls. 32.27-32.28)

A three-line Arabic inscription, which was found in the revetment wall of the western terrace near the north-west tower E, records that the construction of the *rabad* (glacis) was undertaken by Sultan Sulaiman (van Berchem 1922: 150-51, no. 48). It is quite possible that the adjacent ditch and the battlements along the terrace were built at the same time. Judging from Sultan Sulaiman's titles, which appear in the inscription, it should be dated between 940/1533 and 945/1538 (van Berchem 1922: 152-5; Johns 1950: 172). Furthermore, the style of construction and the masonry suggest that the terrace is contemporary with the restoration works of Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent.

Glacis (fig. 32.1: 6)

An Arabic inscription, commemorating the construction of a glacis (*rabad*) by order of Sultan Sulaiman was found on the outer side of the north-west tower (van Berchem 1922: 150-51). Although the date is missing, van Berchem dated it on the basis of the style of the script and the content of the text itself to between 940/1533 and 945/1538 (1922: 152-56). It seems that in the course of Sulaiman's repair work, other portions of glacis were restored at various locations: (1) the north and east sides of north-east tower (A) (pls. 32.5, 32.6), (2) the west and south sides of western terrace (pl. 32.7), and (3) the east side of the minaret tower.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud I, a portion of the glacis at the west side of the north-west tower (E) was restored. An Arabic inscription testifying to this was found on the site. The inscription consists of six lines of *naskhi* script as follows:

The renovation of the wall of this ditch was executed after it collapsed during the caliphate of the Sultan of Islam and Muslims, persecutor of the heretics and polytheists, Sultan Mahmud, son of the late Sultan

Mustafa Khan from the family of 'Uthman—may God support his reign—by request and report from His Highness the Honourable Minister 'Abdallah Pasha, the governor of Syria (Damascus), the *anur* of the sacred pilgrimage, when he visited Jerusalem. And the high order (*faraman*) was received by his deputy the pilgrim Mustafa Agha, son of Parwanah, and he executed it himself and completed its restoration—may God reward him with goodness—in the months of the year 1144 (1731–32) (van Berchem 1922: 156–57, no. 49).

Ditch (fig. 32.1: 3)

The line of the Ottoman ditch of the Citadel probably follows the general line of its predecessor (Wightman 1993: 287, fig. 89). Modifications were introduced by Sulaiman as follows: (1) expanding the ditch eastwards in order to make way for the outer gateway and the barbican; (2) incorporating the ditch with the city's fortifications at the north-west and south corners by building a connecting wall across the ditch; and (3) widening the west and south-west portions of the ditch (Wilson 1865: pl. III).

Many photographs from the 19th century show the ditch north west and west of the Citadel, with its scarp and counterscarp. However, this was subsequently filled up, starting in the year 1316/1898. This may have been due to its state at the time. Various travellers and pilgrims describe the ditch of the Citadel during the 19th century as being full of rubbish or being used as a garden for growing vegetables. It should be noted that the east and south parts of the ditch were excavated down to bedrock during the restoration works in the early 1980s.

Conclusion

As previously noted, the structure and the perimeter of the Citadel as it stands today is essentially the work of the Mamluk sultan, al-Nasir Muhammad. Both textual and epigraphic evidence indicate that the Citadel underwent some physical changes and alterations during the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent which exhibit a well co-ordinated and interdependent system of defence reflecting the advances made in ballistic techniques and strategy, and the introduction of firearms and artillery. The most important new element in warfare was the extensive use of artillery mounted on platforms built on defensive outworks and towers.

Historical accounts throughout the Ottoman period frequently mention the existence of cannons and gunpowder stores as part of the defensive system in the Citadel. Moreover, the structure of the Citadel itself—the considerable height and thickness of the walls inherited from the Mamluks—served to deflect the incoming missiles. Paradoxically, the Ottoman craftsmen used homogenous small ashlar and well dressed limestone in their repair works in the Citadel. This had apparently become a characteristic of both public and vernacular Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem and throughout the region.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Citadel was in a dilapidated condition, as we learn from travellers' accounts and from contemporary photographs. Fortunately, much of what was dismantled has been reconstructed in recent years. This allows the modern visitor to experience firsthand the Citadel of Jerusalem as it has been passed down to us by the Ottomans, a testimony to a major work of Islamic military architecture.

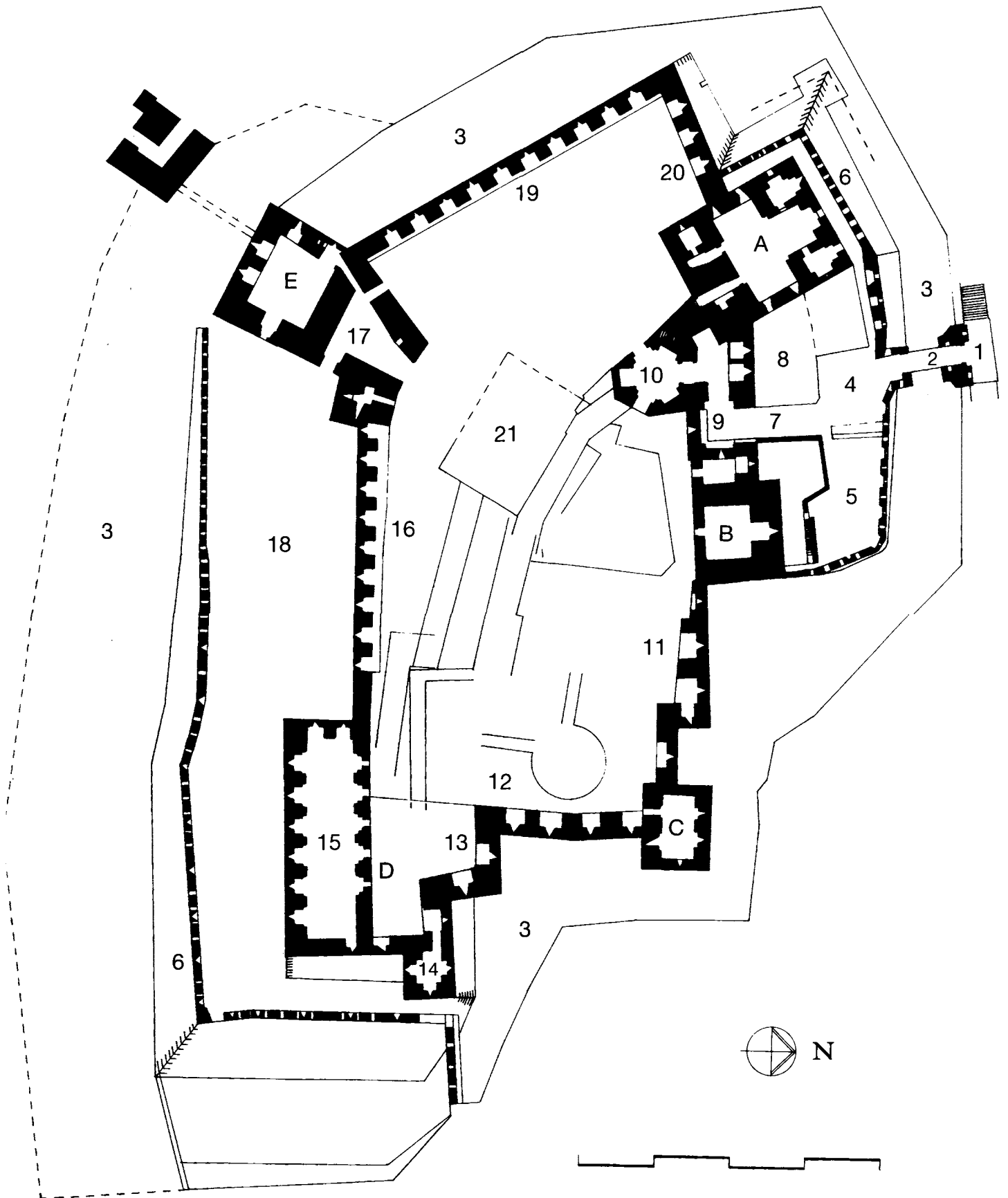


Fig. 32.1 The Citadel of Jerusalem—general plan.

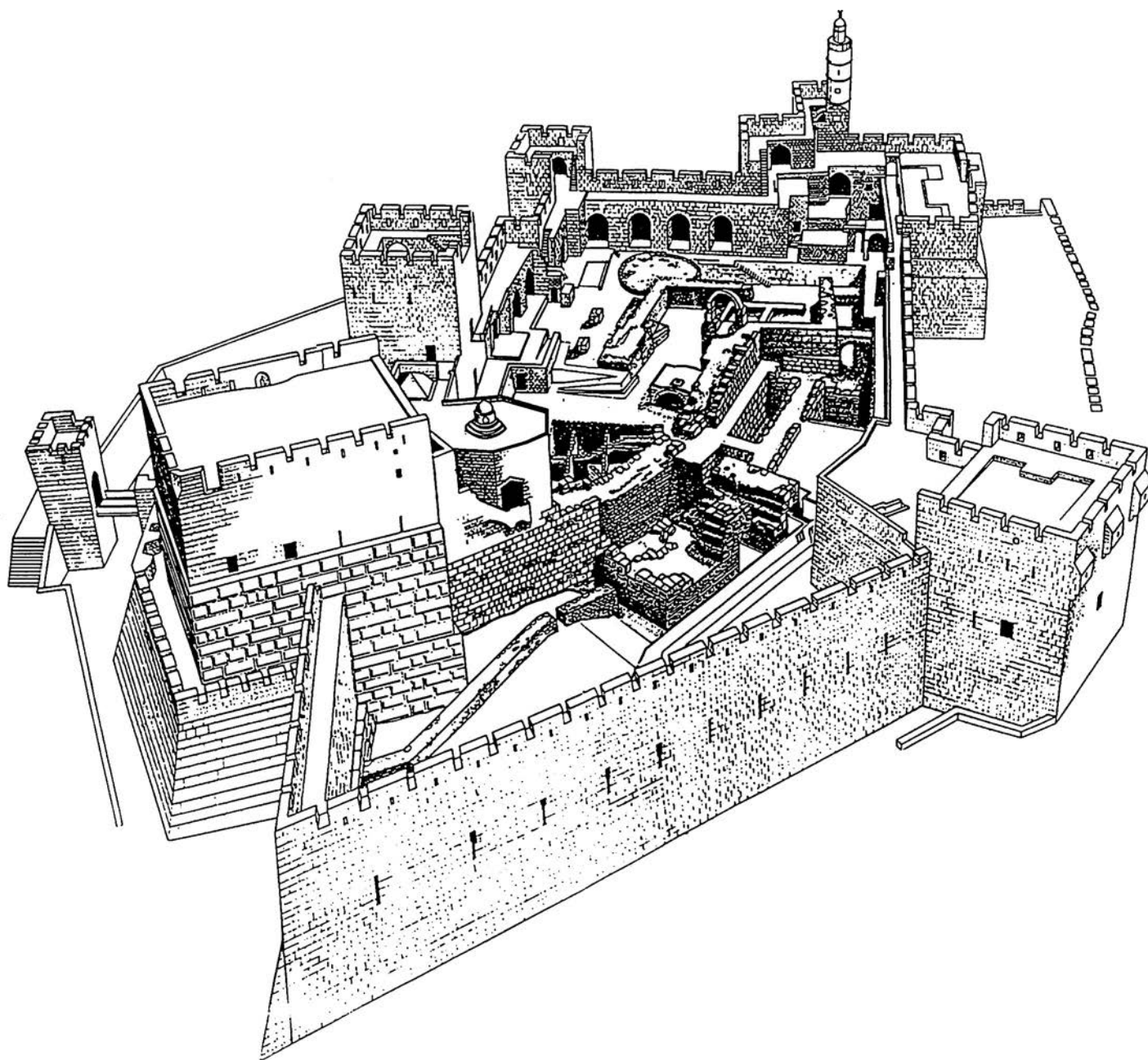


Fig. 32.2 The Citadel of Jerusalem—airial perspective.

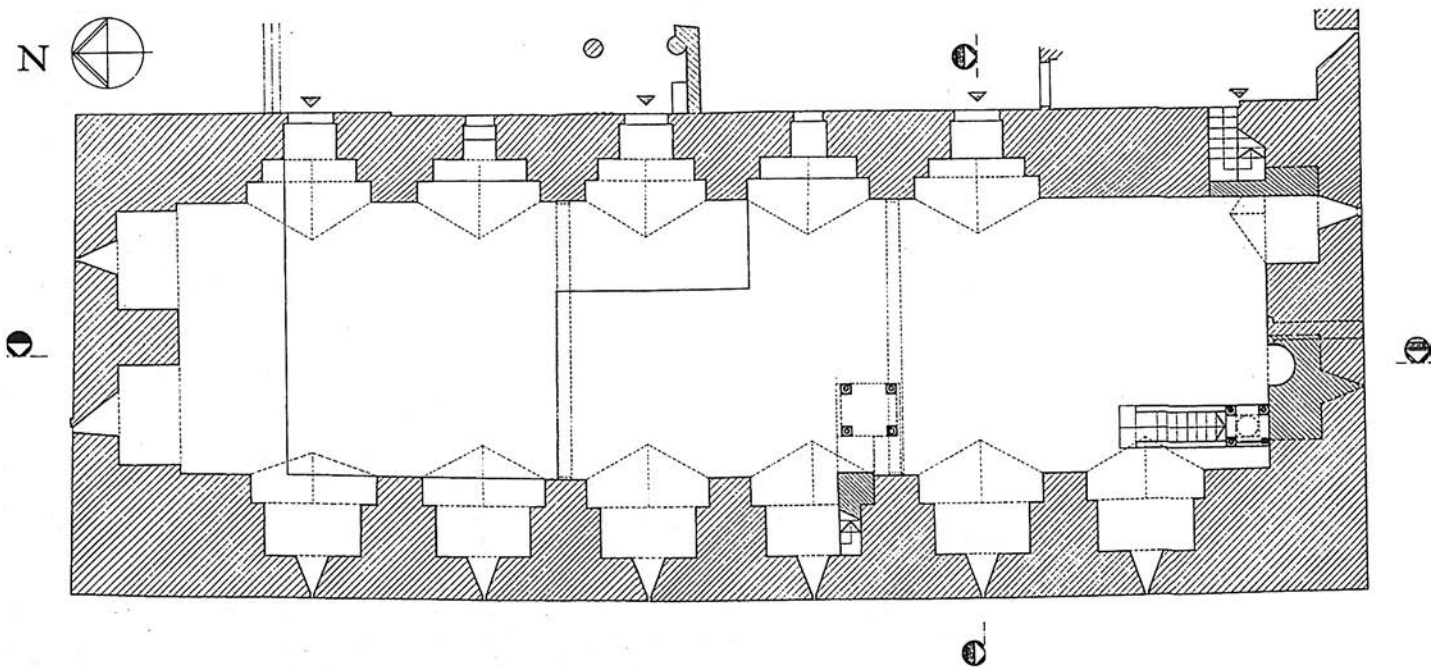


Fig. 32.3 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Mosque—general plan (scale 1:50).

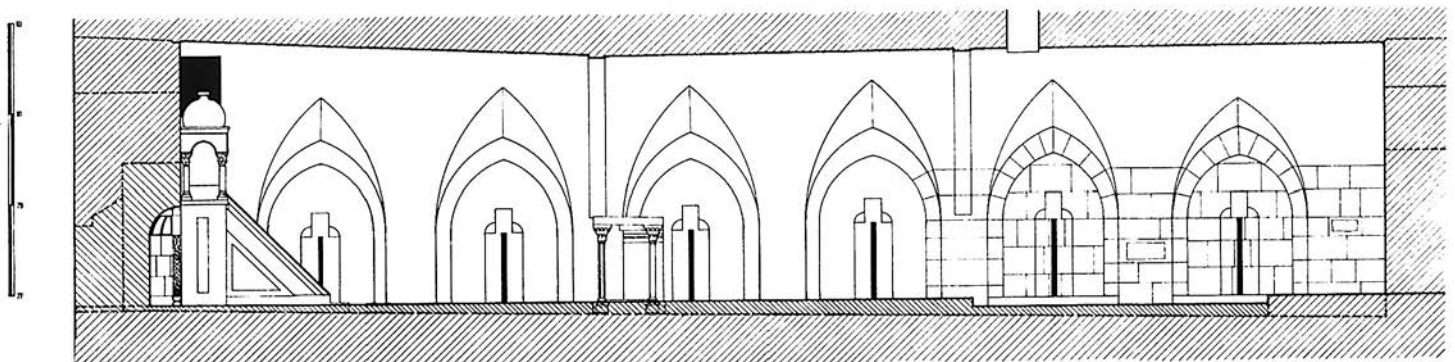


Fig. 32.4 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Mosque—south-north section (1:50).

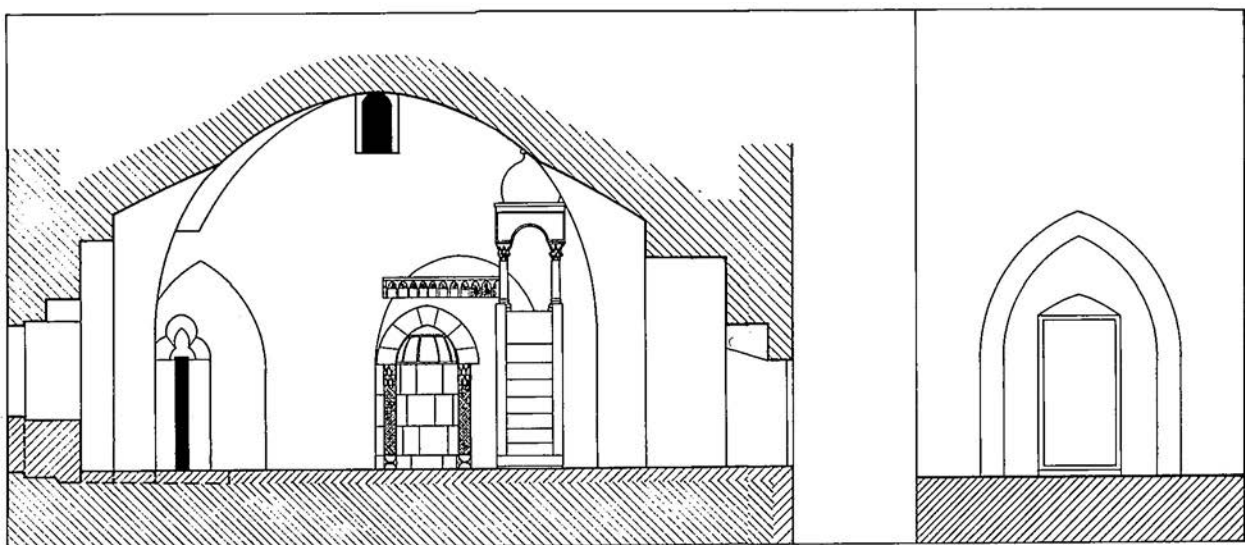


Fig. 32.5 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Mosque—section east-west through south wall and elevation of a doorway (scale 1:50).

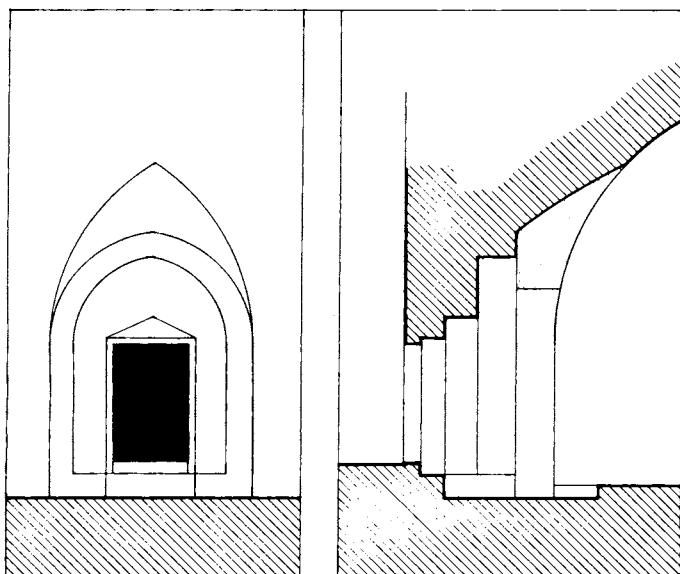


Fig. 32.6 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Mosque—northern doorway: elevation from inside and section (scale 1:50).

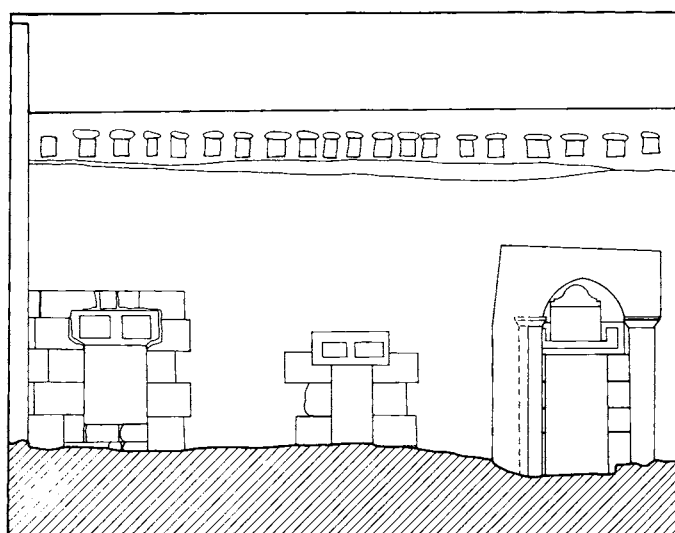


Fig. 32.7 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Mosque—east elevation of exterior showing entrance porch, doors and windows (scale 1:50).

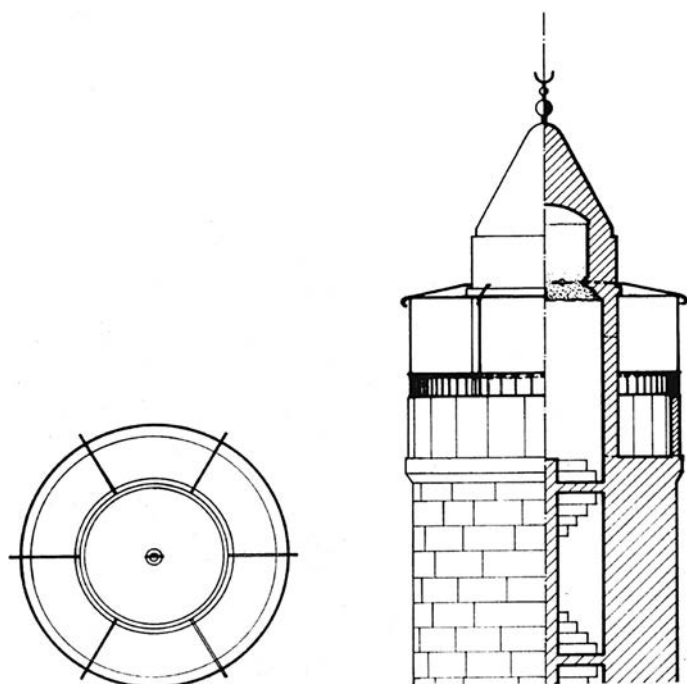


Fig. 32.8 The Citadel of Jerusalem, the Minaret—elevation and section through top of minaret.



Pl. 32.1 The Citadel of Jerusalem, outer Gateway, entrance portal.

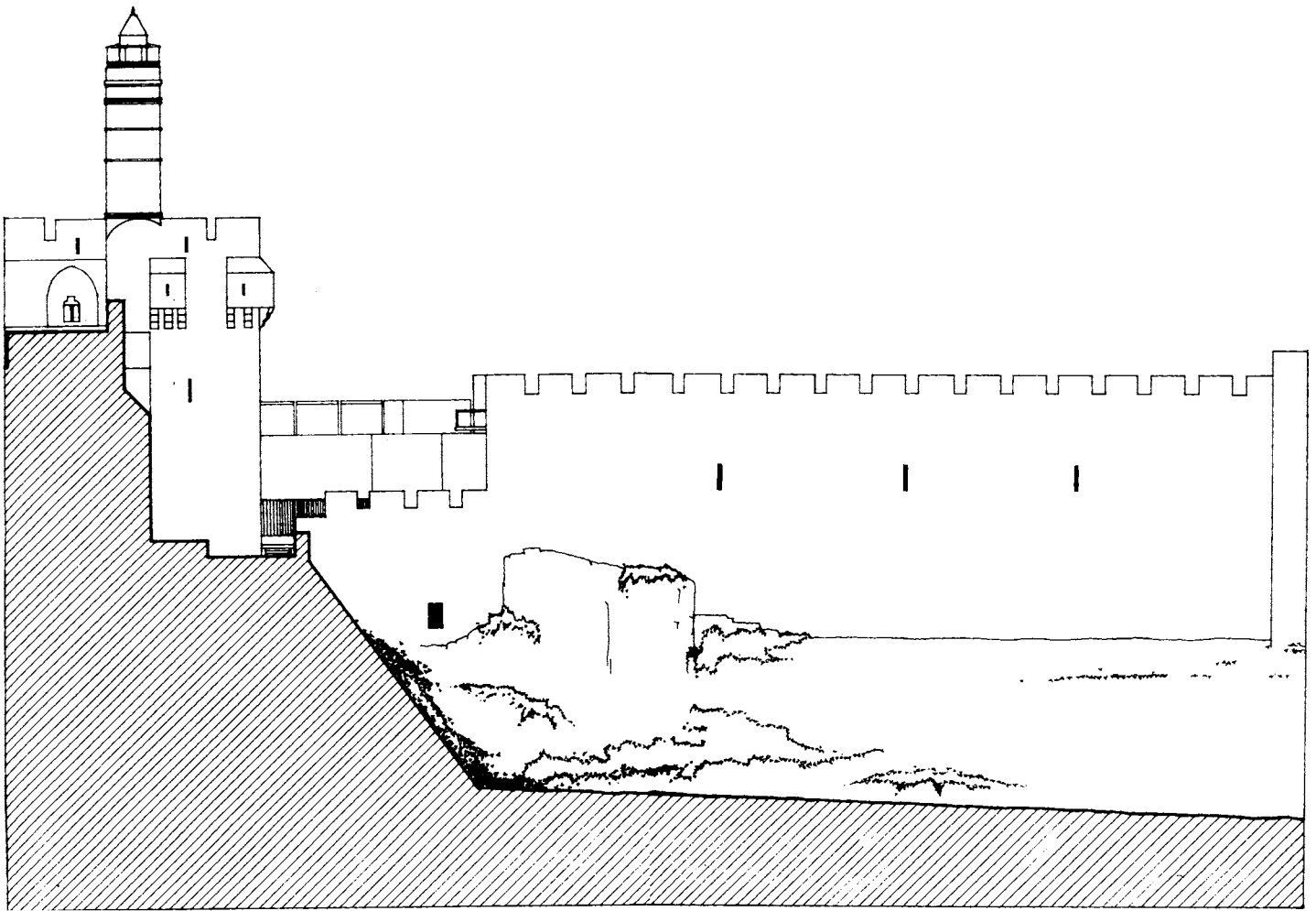


Fig. 32.9 The Citadel of Jerusalem, South-West Tower: north-south section and elevation.



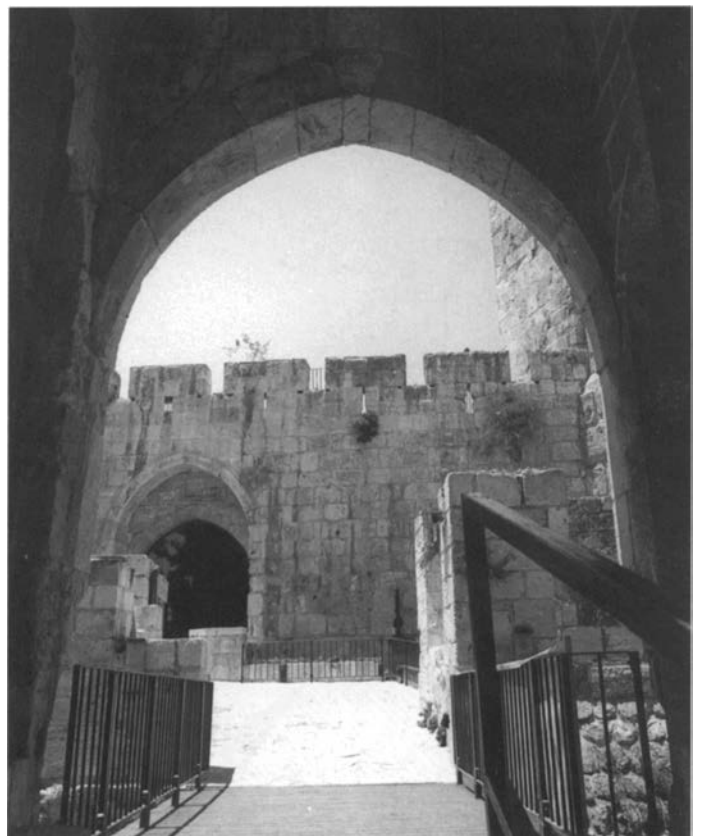
Pl. 32.2 The Citadel of Jerusalem, medallions flanking the entrance portal.



Pl. 32.3 The Citadel of Jerusalem, inscriptions above entrance portal.



Pl. 32.4 The Citadel of Jerusalem, inscriptions above entrance portal.



Pl. 32.5 The Citadel of Jerusalem, gateway, pointed vault.



Pl. 32.6 The Citadel of Jerusalem, drawbridge looking south.



Pl. 32.7 The Citadel of Jerusalem, drawbridge looking north.



Pl. 32.8 The Citadel of Jerusalem, drawbridge, view from the ditch.



Pl. 32.10 The Citadel of Jerusalem, barbican looking west.



Pl. 32.9 The Citadel of Jerusalem, barbican looking north.



Pl. 32.11 The Citadel of Jerusalem, north arm of barbican, looking south west.



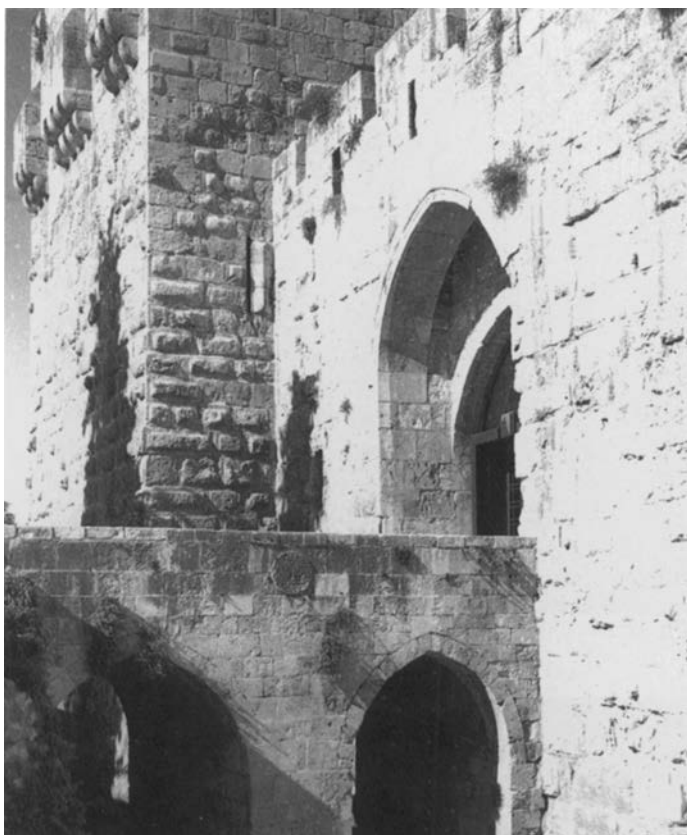
Pl. 32.12 The Citadel of Jerusalem, Summer Mosque, entrance.



Pl. 32.13 The Citadel of Jerusalem, Summer Mosque entrance inscription.



Pl. 32.14 The Citadel of Jerusalem, medallion above *mihrab*.



Pl. 32.15 The Citadel of Jerusalem, stone bridge looking south.



Pl. 32.16 The Citadel of Jerusalem, stone bridge looking north.



Pl. 32.17 The Citadel of Jerusalem, mosque-general view looking south west.



Pl. 32.18 The Citadel of Jerusalem, medallion on stone bridge.



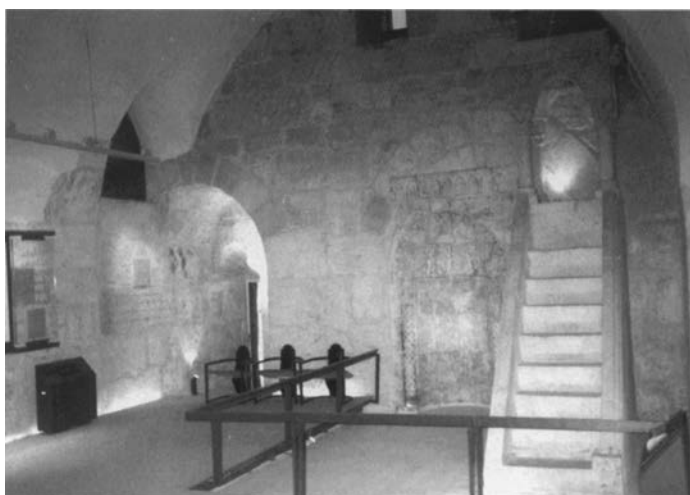
Pl. 32.20 The Citadel of Jerusalem, inscription over entrance.



Pl. 32.19 The Citadel of Jerusalem, mosque-outer porch.



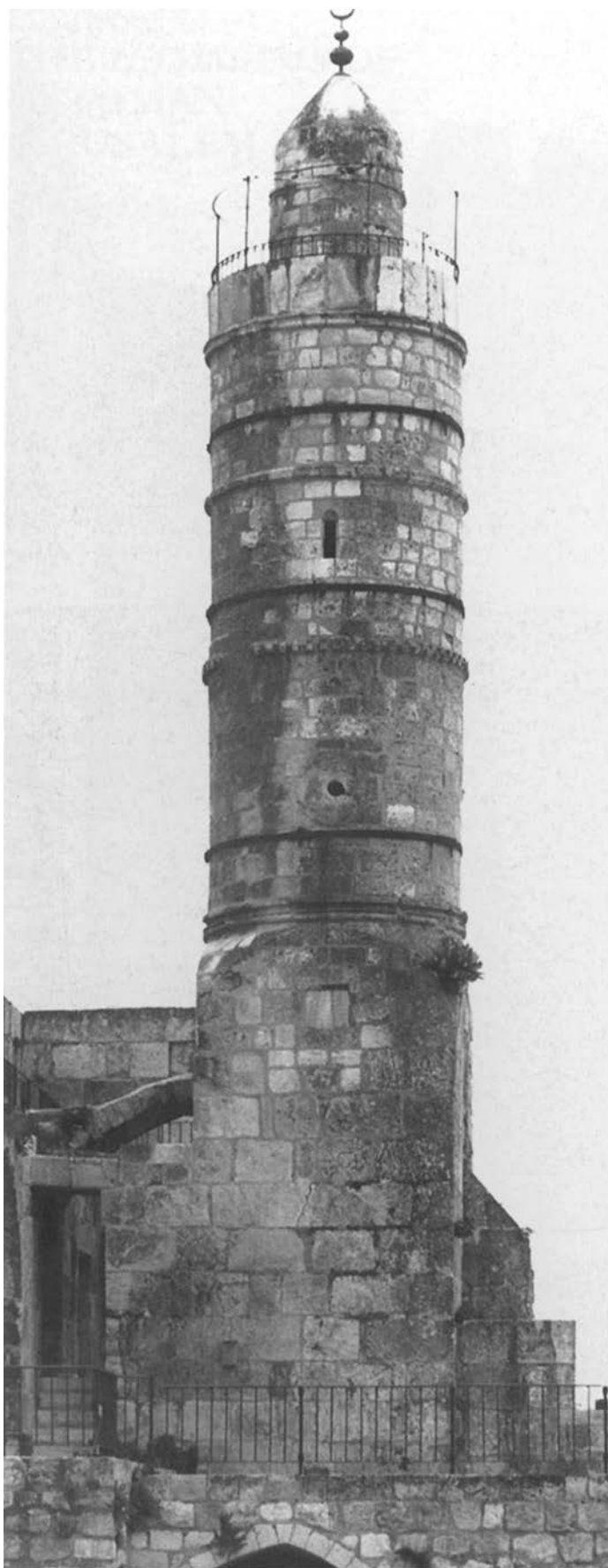
Pl. 32.22 The Citadel of Jerusalem, *mihrab* and *minbar*.



Pl. 32.21 The Citadel of Jerusalem, interior of mosque.



Pl. 32.23 The Citadel of Jerusalem, inscriptions.



Pl. 32.24 The Citadel of Jerusalem, minaret looking south.



Pl. 32.25 The Citadel of Jerusalem, minaret detail.



Pl. 32.26 The Citadel of Jerusalem, minaret inscription.



Pl. 32.27 The Citadel of Jerusalem, western terrace—looking south.



Pl. 32.28 The Citadel of Jerusalem, western terrace—looking east.

Chapter 33

THE *HAMMAMS* OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Martin Dow

For much of the Ottoman period, there were six functioning public baths, *hammams*, in the city: Hammam al-'Ain, Hammam al-Shifa', Hammam al-Batrak, Hammam al-Sultan, Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, and Hammam al-Jamal (Çelebi 1935: 488; Horn 1962: 210). The necessity for a nearby supply of water, whether from an aqueduct or from a pool, and for adequate drainage, meant that the site remained the same even when the buildings themselves were reconstructed, which has happened more than once in some cases. While Hammam al-'Ain and Hammam al-Shifa', in Suq al-Qattanin, are still essentially Mamluk buildings (Burgoyne 1987: 282, 287), at least two of the others were rebuilt at or near an earlier site during the Ottoman period.

Hammam al-Batrak, on the opposite side of Harat al-Nasara from Birkat al-Batrak, was described in 1920 as an 18th-century building (Ashbee 1921: 16). However, there are references to Hammam al-Batrak in the 16th-century Ottoman land registers (İpşirli and Tamımı 1982: Quds 26), and there had been a *hammam* near to Birkat al-Batrak for a long time before this, certainly since the time of the Crusades (Abel 1924: 39). The present building of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam dates from 1878 AD (al-'Asali 1982: 201), but Muqaddasi wrote about how a *hammam* was built in the area in the 10th-century AD (Grotzfeld 1970: 54). Horn's 18th-century description of Jerusalem (Horn 1962: 212) includes an illustration of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam as it was then, with Sulaiman the Magnificent's *sabil* built into the front (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 600). The *sabil* still exists, but the *hammam* is completely new, and its position has been shifted slightly to the north (Williams 1849: 1 City Plan).

Less is known about the early history of the other two *hammams* as the first unambiguous references to them are in the Ottoman period. Hammam al-Sultan, at the corner of Tariq al-Mujahidin and Tariq al-Wad, was built around 1557, along with a second *hammam* on the same site, under the patronage of the wife of Sulaiman the Magnificent (Stephan 1944: 184). It seems to have been a new site for a *hammam* as there was previously a church in the locality. The *hammam* was derelict by 1840 (Williams 1849: 1 City Plan) and by 1874 construction of the Armenian Catholic church had begun on the site (Stephan 1933: 242). The only trace of the *hammam* now is the small building, with three arches on the front wall and three cupolas above, which can be seen in front of the *hammam* in Horn's illustration (Horn 1962: 213), and which now forms the Polish Catholic Chapel.

Hammam al-Jamal used to be in Tariq al-Nabi Da'ud, and was identified at the time of the Ordnance Survey in the mid-19th century, although by that time it was in use as a soap factory (Sandreczki 1882: 54). It has now completely disappeared.

Despite the relatively conservative nature of the locations of the *hammams*, their names changed much more frequently. Hammam al-Jamal, the Bath of the Camel, or Camels, was said by Horn to have been so named because a spirit in the form of a camel once appeared there (Horn 1962: 214). It was known in the earlier Ottoman period as Hammam Sayyidi Da'ud because it was in the neighbourhood of the Tomb of David on Mount Zion (Heyd 1960: 149; Cohen and Lewis 1978: 104). Evliya Çelebi referred to it as Hammam al-Sakhra, the Bath of the Rock (Çelebi 1935: 488), apparently

because it was endowed on the Dome of the Rock.

Hammam al-‘Ain, the Bath of the Spring, seems to have been known as this throughout the Ottoman period, although when built it was called the New Hammam, or the Hammam of Tankiz, after the person who built it (Burgoyne 1987: 287; Cohen and Lewis 1978: 97). Hammam al-Shifa’, the Bath of Healing, also built by Tankiz, was sometimes known in later years as Hammam ‘Ashura, after the popular belief that the waters of Zamzam overflowed and mixed with those of Hammam al-Shifa’ on the 10th day of the month of Muharram (Canaan 1929: 65). It was believed that Job was cured from his skin disease there, hence its reputation for healing (Canaan 1929: 66). The name of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, the Bath of the Virgin Mary, or Sittna Maryam colloquially, comes from the legend that she took a bath there (Horn 1962: 212; Canaan 1927: 66). However, it was often known as Hammam Bab al-Asbat, after the gate near which it was situated, the Gate of the Tribes.

On the other hand, Hammam al-Batrak, the Bath of the Patriarch, was called by that name since at least the 12th-century (Abel 1924: 39). It has been suggested that it was also known as Hammam al-‘Amud, whose name appears in the early Ottoman land registers (Cohen and Lewis 1978: 97), although there is no obvious evidence to connect the two *hammams*. In later years, there are no further records of Hammam al-‘Amud.

In common with much other property, the *hammams* were owned as part of a *waqf*, an endowment. All the Jerusalem *hammams* belonged to a charitable endowment, at least during the early Ottoman period, although there was a tendency for the ownership to pass to a family endowment in the 19th-century (al-‘Asali 1982: 192). Three of the endowments were originally in favour of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, partly in the case of Hammam al-‘Ain and Hammam al-Shifa’, or wholly in the case of Hammam al-Jamal. Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam and Hammam al-Batrak were endowed in favour of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya and Hammam al-Sultan was endowed in favour of the Khassaki Sultan *takiyya*. *Hammams* were one of the revenue-producing parts of the endowment, which created the money for the upkeep of the religious foundation itself. Given the importance of the religious buildings in Jerusalem, it is only to be expected that the *hammams* were part of charitable, rather than family, endowments.

The *hammam* was rented to the *hammam* keeper, the *hammami*, for a fixed rent, in what was often a yearly contract (al-‘Asali 1982: 178). Long-term contracts were a major cause of the liquidation of an endowment (Gerber 1985: 180) and put the endowment at a grave disadvantage during times of high inflation. They were thus discouraged. In addition to the rent stipulated in the contract, the *hammami* was also responsible for hiring servants, buying

fuel and arranging for the water if this had to be carried to the bathhouse.

None of the three *hammams* which still exist in Jerusalem is an early Ottoman building, but we know that the layout of *hammams* throughout Palestine changed very little from the Mamluk age until towards the end of the Ottoman period. This was indeed the case throughout Greater Syria. The only significant development was the simplification of the series of washing rooms into a single main hot room with a number of chambers opening from it (Ecochard and LeCoeur 1943: 2 13). The warm room, which in the Ayyubid and early Mamluk age had been the main washing room, grew smaller and finally disappeared.

Hammam al-Batrak, Hammam al-Sultan, the original Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, and Hammam al-Jamal are likely to have resembled the two Mamluk *hammams*, Hammam al-‘Ain and Hammam al-Shifa’, quite closely. The main room was always the undressing room, *mashlah saifi* or *mashlah barid*. It was here that guests undressed and wrapped a bath cloth around themselves, before entering the *hammam* proper, and where they relaxed with food and drink after the bath. The tradition of drinking coffee after bathing is at least as old as the 18th century (Horn: folio 124a). The undressing room had a stone basin in the centre with a fountain. The one at Hammam al-Batrak had a typical octagonal outer shape and a circular pool in the top (Ashbee 1921: 17). Stone benches, *mastabas*, around the sides of the undressing room were spread with soft furnishings (Golvin 1967: 114).

The *hammams* also included a second undressing room, the *mashlah sukhun* or *mashlah shitawi*, which was heated by the hot smoke of the furnace in the same way as the washing rooms. This room was smaller than the main undressing room, and in the mountainous regions of Palestine was used for changing in winter.

While the earlier *hammams* included both warm and hot rooms, the warm washing room later tended to disappear, and the exact arrangement favoured in the Ottoman period is not certain. The main washing room was undoubtedly the hot room, surrounded by several small chambers, *khilwas*, which opened off it. Hammam al-‘Ain shows some indications of having been modified during its lifetime from a Mamluk layout to a more typical Ottoman pattern. The present hot room seems originally to have been a warm room, with a further hot room beyond it in the position of the present service area (Burgoyne 1987: 291). The two Mamluk *hammams* possessed a tank, *maghtas*, used as a plunge bath. It is not known if the later *hammams* in Jerusalem possessed one, although this is probably the case.

The furnace, *qammim*, of all *hammams* was located behind the hot room, and a duct carrying the smoke passed under the floor of the heated rooms to terminate at a

chimney on the far side of the heated winter undressing room. Brass or copper cauldrons, *qudur nihasiyya*, were built in over the furnace, and allowed the reservoir of water above to be heated.

The late Ottoman building of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, which dates from the latter part of the 19th century, shows several features which are not traditional. While it has been extensively modified recently, following its closure several years ago, enough remains to see that the way in which the building was constructed was very different from the earlier vernacular building methods, although the layout still retains many features in common with earlier *hammams*.

The summer undressing room and the service area are both in the lower part of a two-storey building joined to the Church of St Anne, and are located next to each other. The inclusion of living quarters over part of the *hammam* is a new feature, although the internal arrangement of the *hammam* in a loop, with the furnace entered from the same side as the undressing room, is similar to that of Hammam al-Shifa'. Such an arrangement is not common in other parts of the region, and its presence in the earlier *hammam* in Jerusalem would undoubtedly have influenced the local conception of a suitable layout. The arrangement allowed access to the service area from the street, to bring in fuel and remove ashes. Entrance to the undressing room can be made from above using a spiral staircase in the front corner of the room. There is a large basin in the centre of the room.

The washing rooms are contained in a single storey extension to this main block. While windows from the street overlooked the undressing area, which presumably would have been screened in the same manner as in Hammam al-Shifa' (Golvin 1967: 114), the washing rooms were lit from above with the traditional small apertures in the domes, covered by glass, in a manner which ensured the privacy of the bathers.

Having undressed, the bather would have passed along a corridor which ran the length of the washing rooms, to arrive at what may have been the winter undressing room, up the wall of which rose the chimney. However, the presence in the adjoining room of a large basin, of the type usually found in the middle of both summer and winter undressing rooms, indicates that this room, rather than the end room, might have been the winter undressing room. Neither room has the stone benches which are a feature of the undressing rooms in the other *hammams*, but the summer undressing room of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam does not possess these either. Bathers must have relaxed on movable wooden couches.

The latrines, which normally would have been located between the summer and winter undressing rooms, are here next to the hot room. They are immediately

alongside the reservoir which held the hot water over the furnace, but the exact arrangement of cauldrons can no longer be seen. A passage through which gives direct access to the internal rooms has been built recently, in order to allow the building to function as a shop. The hot duct which would have run to the far end of the building can also no longer be seen, and the chimney is the only visible indication of its former presence.

Two small chambers are positioned on one side of the hot room, and there are a further two small rooms at the other end of the *hammam*. There is no plunge bath.

In assessing the reasons for the importance of the *hammam*, not only in Jerusalem, but in the whole of the Arab and Islamic world, due note must be taken of religion. Washing the body is an important part of the Islamic religion. The head, hands and feet must be washed before prayer, and ablutions places where people can wash are found around the major mosques. In addition, anyone who is in a state of *janaba*, uncleanness, must purify themselves (Qur'an: Surat al-Ma'idah 5: 6).

The *sunnas*, the traditions associated with the life of the Prophet, give guidance on how the purification must be carried out. The whole body, including the head must be washed ('Ali 1978: 59, from Bukhari). More specific explanations and interpretations of what was required arose in the early Islamic period, and by the time of the Ottoman empire the four Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence represented the body of orthodox thought. The Hanafi school enjoyed official recognition throughout the Ottoman empire, and had many followers among the local population of Syria (Schacht 1964: 65). However, in the interpretations relating to washing, all four Sunni schools were in substantial agreement about what was necessary to make washing ritually correct, and, indeed, Shi'ite beliefs were similar. An exception was the Maliki view that an unclean person bathing in a small tank of water did not necessarily make the water impure, always provided that the water's essential qualities of taste, colour and smell were not altered (Grotzfeld 1970: 8; Khallaf 1939: 4). The Maliki school was not numerically important in Ottoman Palestine.

While the usual stricture is that all ritual washing must be done in running water, in fact bathing by immersion is acceptable according to all schools of law, provided that the quantity of water in which the body is immersed is large enough (Khallaf 1939: 1-6, gives details of what defines pure and impure water according to the Sunni schools. See Maghniyya 1965: 17, 19, for Shi'ite beliefs). A small bathtub is not sufficient, as the water would be made impure by any uncleanness coming into contact with it. Even the size of tank found in the two Jerusalem *hammams* which possess one is not large enough for the tank to be used for ritual bathing as opposed to relaxation. The way in which washing was carried out was

by taking hot and cold water run into a stone basin, *jurn*, and pouring it over the body. Two of the stone basins can still be seen in the courtyard of the Armenian Catholic church, and are the only remains of Hammam al-Sultan which can still be positively identified as part of a *hammam*.

Everyone needed to wash themselves after sexual activity, and women were required to wash after childbirth, and once a month after menstruation (Khallaf 1939: 78). It was judged desirable, while not absolutely necessary, to wash once a week (Khallaf 1939: 85), several religious traditions indicating that people should wash before going to the mosque ('Ali 1978: 58-9, from Bukhari). The *hammam*, then, was of the utmost importance in fulfilling the religious requirements. However, it was obviously possible to wash without the *hammam*, which merely made the experience more convenient and more enjoyable. Although the religious sanction for its use preserved the importance of the *hammam*, it was a major social institution as well, and all religious groups in the city, even the Western visitors, used it.

They would mix in the *hammam*, although there was a tendency for people to use the one in their own quarter. Hammam al-Batrak was patronised mainly by Christians (Çelebi 1935: 488). In one of the cases of the religious court, *mahkama shar'yya*, the *qadi* ruled that the excuse of the *hammami* at Hammam al-Batrak for using worn-out bath cloths, that he only gave them to peasants, to Christians and to Jews, was unacceptable. He was told to provide new bath cloths and to distinguish clearly between them (Cohen 1984: 138). Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam was visited by both Muslims and Christians, both religions venerating Christ, who was popularly supposed to have been brought to the *hammam* by his mother (Horn 1962: 212).

The *hammam* was a meeting place and the social centre where important stages in the life of a member of the community were celebrated. It was particularly important for women, for whom it was one of the few public places where they could meet outside the family circle. In order to maintain strict segregation of the sexes, the *hammams* were reserved for men at certain times, and for women at other times, although Hammam al-Shifa' was used by men only. In the 18th century, the men's time ran from two o'clock in the morning until midday, and the women's time ran from midday until night (Horn: folio 123b).

Not only washing took place during visits to the *hammam*. Men used to have a massage (Horn: folio 124a). Women were not massaged, but they would dye their hair with henna while at the bath. They also used special ointments, known as *zarnikh* according to Horn (Horn: folio 124a), a pitch-like mixture of syrup and other substances according to Klein (Klein 1883: 95), to remove their body hair. This took place in a special room in Hammam al-Shifa', *bait al-dawa'*, and one of the small

chambers in Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam would have served the same purpose.

One of the most important events in which the *hammam* played a part was marriage. It was customary for the bride to have a bath the day before her wedding, for which the bathhouse would be hired all day. She was led there by women and girls with singing, clapping and drumming, and a large bundle of washing things and linen was brought along. The bride was washed in the *hammam*, and her body hair removed. At the end of the day she was then led back to her home with shouting and cheering (Klein 1883: 95).

Thus in Jerusalem, as elsewhere in the Middle East, the *hammam* was an important feature of civilised living in the city, and it would have been inconceivable for the city not to have possessed a number of functioning *hammams*. It was only the increasing Western influence which finally reduced their number, and even by the end of the Ottoman period, at the beginning of this century, four were still working.

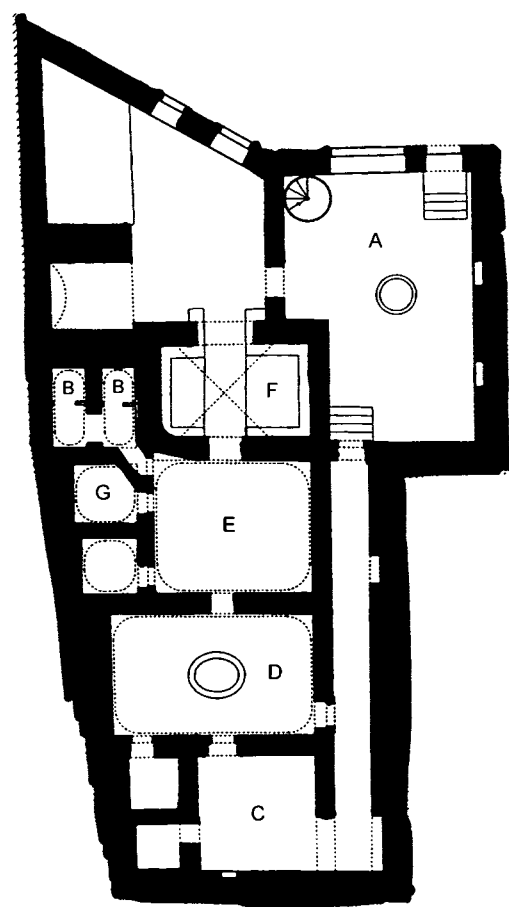
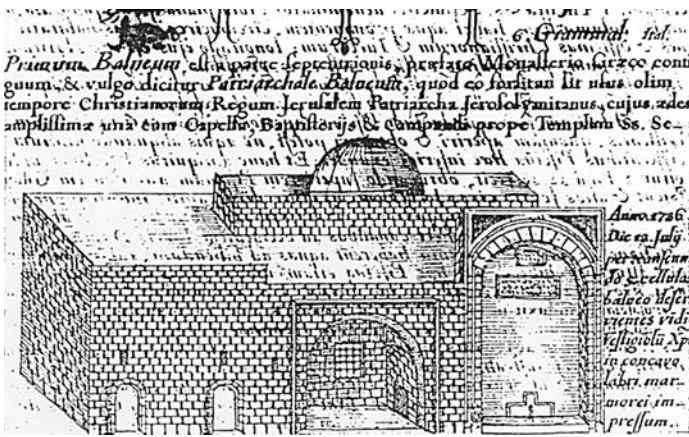
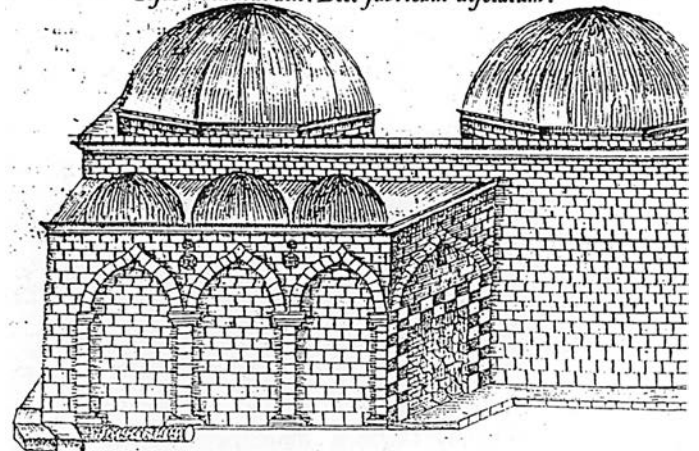


Fig. 33.1 Plan of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam. A marks the summer undressing room, B the latrines, C or D the winter undressing room, E the hot oom, G one of the *khakwas*, and F the furnace.



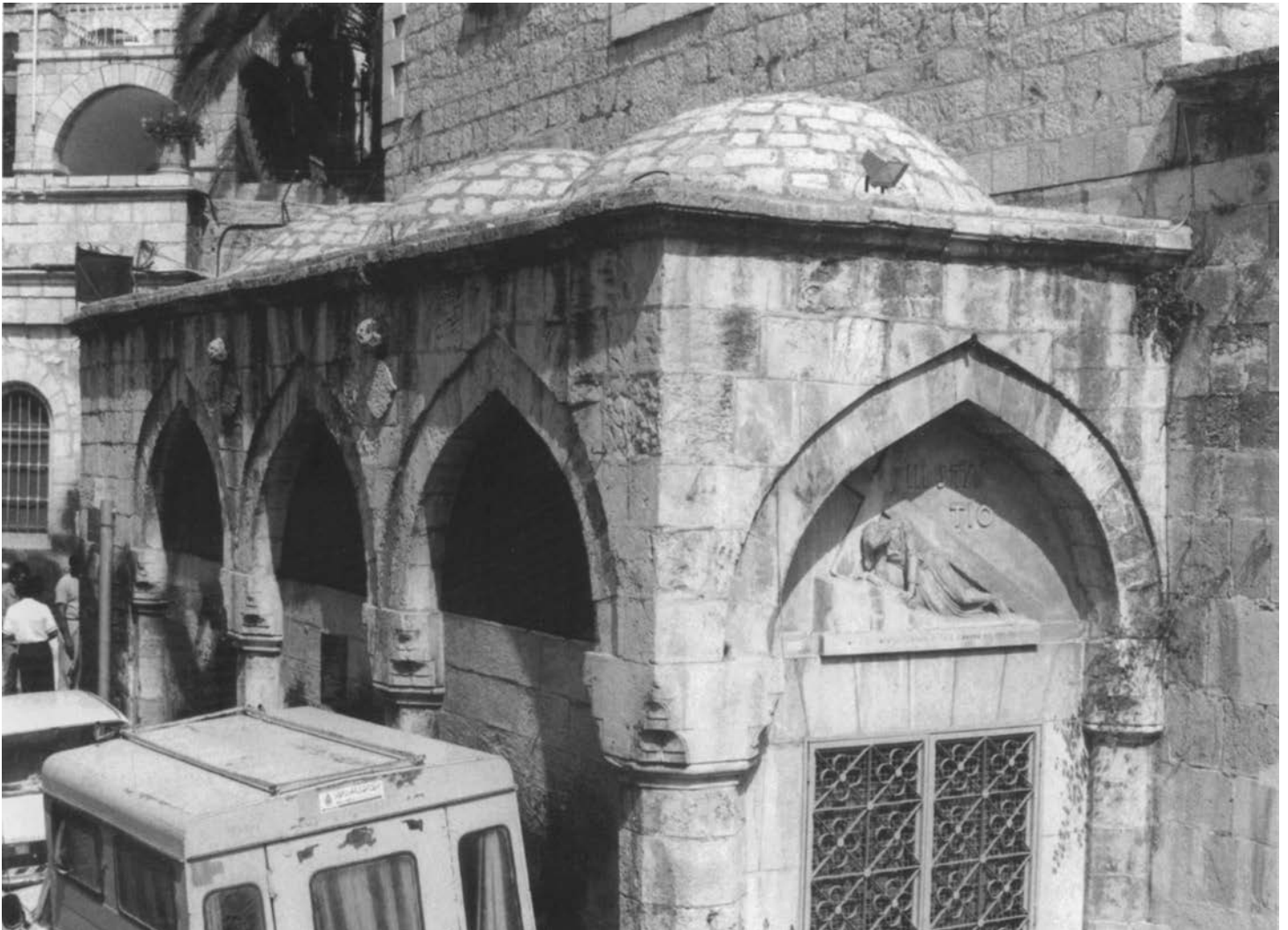
Pl. 33.1 Horn's illustration of Hammam al-Saiyida Maryam in the 18th century. The *sabil* on the right still exists. (Photograph from the Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, Ms. Lat. 9233, Fr Elzear Horn OFM, *Ichnographiae Locorum et Monumentorum Veterum Terrae Sanctae*).

alia quoque causa solis illis infidelibus ex- & comperta, Anno 1782. portas ejus obmurarunt. Ecce fabricam desolatam!



S. Amb. supra c. 4. Lucæ dicit: Christum instituisse Sacramentum Altaris, ut sacra Virginitas Mariae rursus denuo visitaret. Quando vel ubi, Christus communi-

Pl. 33.2 Horn's illustration of Hammam al-Sultan (Photograph from the Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, Ms. Lat. 9233, Fr Elzear Horn OFM, *Ichnographiae Locorum et Monumentorum Veterum Terrae Sanctae*).



Pl. 33.3 The Polish Catholic Chapel, which was originally attached to Hammam al-Sultan.



Pl. 33.4 Entrance of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam in Tariq Burj al-Laqlaq.



Pl. 33.5 Summer undressing room of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam. The central basin, and spiral staircase leading from above on the right, can both be seen.



Pl. 33.6 Internal room of Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam with stone basin in centre. The decoration is modern.

Chapter 34

RESTORATIONS TO MASJID MAHD 'ISA (THE CRADLE OF JESUS) DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

David Myres

Masjid Mahd 'Isa (the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus) and the small painted domed structure enclosed within it (Qubbat Mahd 'Isa, pl. 34.2), with which this chapter is principally concerned, are located below the south-eastern corner of the lower esplanade of the Haram al-Sharif adjacent to the great substructures called 'Solomon's Stables'. Today unused, the mosque is under the care and protection of the General Administration of Islamic Waqfs in Jerusalem. The drawings here were amended and redrawn for publication by the author in 1994 for the Ottoman Jerusalem Project, from survey drawings carried out by the Department of Islamic Archaeology (DIA) in 1987.¹

Introduction

Since at least the early 4th/10th century, Masjid Mahd 'Isa² has been venerated by Muslims, and later by Christians, for its associations with the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus. Biblical and Qur'anic traditions also link it with other periods in the life of Jesus and it remains probably the sole pilgrimage site to be associated in chroniclers' accounts with the birth, early childhood, ministry, temptation and ascension of Christ. Only his death is not connected to it.

In spite of these important associations—and,

indeed, the considerable interest paid by 19th-century Western investigators into Solomon's Stables (access to which was probably only through the mosque)—almost nothing of substance has been written about the mosque, the 'Cradle' (which is, in reality, a large marble niche laid on its back on the ground (pl. 34.3) or the Qubbat Mahd 'Isa which surmounts it. This account sets out to document the *qubba* and the restorations carried out to the mosque during the Ottoman period.

The foundation date of Qubbat Mahd 'Isa is unknown. However, as will be seen, the documentary evidence leaves little room for doubt that it was indeed founded during the period of Ottoman sovereignty over the city. The combined documentary and architectural evidence suggests that it may have been the last in a long line of such structures built by Muslims in the city—and in particular in the Haram—both before and during the Ottoman period. In addition, documentary evidence suggests that it may have been a replacement for a similar construction that existed on the same site during the 5th/11th century.

If the foundation date of the *qubba* is unknown, the decorative painting that covers much of it can be very precisely dated. A previously unpublished inscription dates this to August 1898, which is particularly significant because it is only a few months before the historic visit to the city by the German Kaiser Wilhelm. Contemporary accounts leave little room for doubt that the work was carried out for the occasion and it remains as one of the few examples of its type on the Haram. For this alone, it deserves its own niche within the context of the present study.

¹ Acknowledgements are to be found at the beginning of Chapter 23, 'An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem'.

² Otherwise called *Sarir Sayyidna 'Aisa* (Wilson 1865: 37) or *Marghareet 'Aisa* (Fetellus 1892: 3).

In an effort to rectify in part the paucity of documentation on the site, and to place Qubbat Mahd 'Isa in context, a brief description of the mosque is included. First, however, it is necessary to look briefly at the historical traditions associated with the mosque.

History

*Pre-Ottoman History*³

The site is principally associated in biblical and Qur'anic traditions as the place where Mary hid, with the infant Jesus, from the purge of Herod before fleeing to Egypt (Prag 1989: 142; see also Stephan 1941: 153, n. 6 and 1942: 101). In fact, the earliest accounts of the place by Ibn al-Faqih (291/903) and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (c. 301/913) speak only of the 'mihrab Maryam' (Le Strange 1890: 161ff; see also van Berchem 2: 447, n. 4; al-Muqaddasi 1886: 47). Al-Muqaddasi, writing in 375/985, mentions 'the mihrab Maryam and Zakariyyah' (Le Strange 1890: 165). The earliest account of the mosque in which the 'Cradle of Jesus' is specifically mentioned by name comes in 438/1047, significantly only a few years after a major restoration to the south-east corner of the Haram al-Sharif was carried out by the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir in 425/1034 (van Berchem 1925: 7-19; see also Le Strange 1888: 279 and 1890: 99-101; Besant and Palmer 1899: 118-9). In a relatively detailed account, the Persian traveller Nasir-i Khusrau described it as '... an underground mosque to which one had to descend by many steps ... and the chamber has a roof of stone supported on marble columns.' He goes on to note that 'they say that Jesus ... was born in the place where this mosque stands' and that it was the place where Jesus was laid 'during his childhood', and where 'he later held converse with the people' (Le Strange 1890: 160).⁴ This latter tradition appears to have given rise to the naming of one of the five *mihrabs* in the mosque 'al-Makam al-Hawariyyun' ('The Place of the Disciples'). By Qur'anic association the place is also linked with the Prophet Zachariah, John (the Baptist), and (the Angel) Gabriel (Le Strange 1890: 166; Qur'an Sura XIX; al-Muqaddasi 1886: 47).

The Crusader occupation of the city after 492/1099, and the accompanying Christian impact on the city, predictably saw the chamber converted into a chapel

under the guardianship of the Templars (Vincent and Abel 1926: 844) when the Zachariah-related traditions attached to the place appear to have been forgotten or discarded.⁵ However, if one tradition was lost, other associations were reinforced by the Christian chroniclers. Saewulf (495/1102) describes the 'Cradle of Jesus' and his 'bath', and the 'bed' of Mary (1892: 16) as does Fetellus in 524/1130 (1892: 3).

During the Crusader period the site was also remembered as the biblical location of the house of Simon, to whom Jesus is said to have been presented by Mary when still a baby (Luke 2: 25-34; Saewulf 1892: 16). In 572/1180, it also became linked to the so-called 'Pinnacle' of the Herodian Temple where Christ is said to have been tempted by the Devil (Luke 4: 9-13; Jacques de Vitry 1896: 44; see also John of Würzburg 1890: 13).

After the re-occupation of the city by the Ayyubid Salah al-Din in 583/1187, the chapel reverted to a mosque and once again Muslim pilgrims were being entreated to recite the Sura of Mary there.⁶ However, by the end of the 9th/15th century, during the Mamluk period, Mujir al-Din referred to it as the place that is 're-named', and where pilgrims also read the account of the Ascension of Jesus from the Qur'an (Mujir al-Din 1876: 103).⁷

Ottoman Period

Nothing is known about the site during much of the first two centuries of the Ottoman period in Jerusalem. However, a few years before Sultan Selim I conquered Jerusalem in 923/1517, Francesco Suriano, a Franciscan monk based on Mount Zion, notes with sanctimonious enthusiasm that Muslims continued to venerate those sites in the city traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary. It can perhaps be presumed from this that the 'Cradle of Jesus' and the mosque continued to be one of the holy sites visited by Muslim pilgrims at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. This is confirmed by the later accounts of al-'Ayyashi (1074/1663), al-Madani (1081/1670), al-Siddiqi (1122/1710), and al-Luqaimi (1143/1731), all of whom are known to have visited the place (for these chroniclers, see al-'Asali 1992: 210, 292, 304). Al-Madani is the only writer, however, to provide a brief description which notes the 'Cradle' and, to its left, a 'fine *mihrab* ...

³ For full accounts of the documented history of the south-eastern corner of the Haram al-Sharif see Vincent and Abel 1926: 841-5, 924; van Berchem *CIA* 2 (Haram), vol 1: 2, 7, 15-16, 51, 112 and *CIA* 2 vol 2: 447-9.

⁴ See also Nasir-i Khusrau, (trans.) Le Strange 1888: 33-4; Khusrau is the only early chronicler to have associated the place with the birth of Christ. However, Evliya Çelebi during the latter half of the 11th/17th century also seems to allude to the tradition (Stephan 1941: 146).

⁵ It emerged again during the Ayyubid period in the form of an exquisitely designed *mihrab* in al-Aqsa Mosque. For a full discussion of the migration of sites in the Haram associated with the Prophet Zachariah see van Berchem 1925-7: 447-8.

⁶ Sura XIX. See also Ibn al-Faqih, *Ba'ith al-Nafus ila Ziyarat al-Quds al-Mahrus*, (trans.) Matthews 1949: 80; Besant and Palmer 1899: 471. See also Ibn Battuta (trans.) Gibb 1971: 80.

⁷ Sura XXXVIII. See also Khalid ibn 'Isa Balwi (737/1387) in al-'Asali 1992: 195.

which is said to have been the place where Mary prayed' (al-'Asali 1992: 210).

More specific references to the site during the early Ottoman period are few. However those that do exist provide fuller accounts of what the place looked like. Evliya Çelebi, writing after 1083/1672, provides the first useful description. It is worth quoting in full:

A stone staircase of twenty steps leads down to the shrine of Mary where she lived. Here she took refuge from the comments of people that offended her. This cave has a small prayer niche facing east [*sic*]. In it is the Cradle of Jesus, a nest-like, polished, shining stone. Within the cave is another shrine to commemorate the followers of Jesus, called his Disciples (*Hawariyyun*), and further off that of Gabriel. These five shrines are in these caves yet the amazing thing about them is that one has to descend twenty steps on a stone stairway, where not even the slightest gleam could penetrate. It is a dark room (Stephan 1942: 101).

Seventeen years later the place was still being frequented by many pilgrims according to al-Nabulsi, who goes on to note the 'place' of Gabriel and that of Jesus' disciples. He adds that, to the left of the 'cradle' as one looks towards the *qibla* (south), there was a 'pulpit' (al-Nabulsi 1111/1689: 73b).

Later references to the site are limited to the 13th/19th century when, with the gradual rise in Jerusalem's importance, particularly after the short Egyptian rule under Ibrahim Pasha (1247-55/1831-9) and the subsequent influx of European influence in the city, western visitors and scholars were given some, albeit limited, access to the Haram. As a result, many of the holy sites were examined and published in detail for the first time (for a full summary of the activities of western travellers in the city and the Haram, see Ben-Arieh 1984: 141ff.). Throughout the 19th century, Solomon's Stables were a high priority for these 'explorers' and yet, despite the fact that the stables could only be reached by way of the mosque, little attention appears to have been paid to it. Catherwood (Bartlett 1842: 158), Wilson (1865: 37) and Schick (1887: 87-9) are the notable exceptions but even they do not dwell on it at length.

Prior to the 19th century there is no documentary evidence of any kind that indicates the existence of Qubbat Mahd 'Isa. The earliest account of it comes in 1249/1833 by Catherwood, one of the first western travellers to be allowed into the Haram to document the sites within it. His description is brief but is evidence enough for the existence of the *qubba*:

At the southern end of the chapel are four columns supporting a small dome, under which is a sarcophagus, in the Roman style of workmanship, called ... 'the tomb of our Lord Isaa' or Jesus, an object of great veneration to them (Bartlett 1842: 158).⁸

Wilson simply (and rather unhelpfully) describes it as 'a sort of shrine' (1865: 37) while Schick copies Catherwood's description almost word for word (1887: 87-9).

Small domed structures (*qibab*) are known to have been built in the Haram at least since the beginning of the 10th century.⁹ The Ottomans continued the tradition by building a number of them on the upper esplanade of the Haram including Qubbat al-Nabi, Qubbat al-Khadr, Qubbat al-Arwah and Qubbat Yusuf (cat. nos. 10, 30, 38). The general form of the structures consisted of a dome supported on a series of columns with an intermediary zone of arcading; Qubbat al-Nabi and Qubbat al-Arwah are octagonal in plan while Qubbat al-Khadr is six-sided. Prior to the Ottoman period the standard form of such foundations appears to have been four-sided (see note 9). During the Ottoman period a number of four-sided structures were built. Qubbat Yusuf is supported on its south side by a solid wall and two columns to the north. A further—unnamed—example of a four-sided structure of the same genre is located in the south-west corner of the Crusader hall of the Coenaculum. Evliya Çelebi, writing at the end of the 11th/17th century, records another example evidently dismantled or destroyed at a later date, located on the site of the present day Qubbat al-Nabi. He describes it as 'a small dome ris(ing) over four slender columns' (Stephan 1942: 96).

While Qubbat Yusuf appears to have been built as a monument to the piety of its founder, others generally seem to function as the visual markers of small holy sites. Qubbat al-Nabi, for example, is located on the site traditionally regarded as the place at which the Prophet Muhammad prayed before ascending to heaven during his

⁸ The structure is clearly indicated on Catherwood's plan of the Haram al-Sharif of 1833 in the Palestine Exploration Fund Archives.

⁹ See Le Strange 1890: 153-5; al-Muqaddasi (trans.) Le Strange 1886: 42-3; Nasir-i Khusrau describes Qubbat Jibra'il (the Dome of Gabriel)—the present day Qubbat al-Nabi—as a 'dome that surmounts four marble columns' and Qubbat al-Rasul—the present day Qubbat al-Mi'raj—as being 'likewise set upon four marble piers' (Nasir-i Khusrau (trans.), Le Strange 1888: 49. For a discussion of the naming and re-naming of Qubbat al-Mi'raj and Qubbat al-Nabi, see van Berchem *CI4* II (Haram I) 1925: 37-49 and Suyuti in Le Strange 1890: 155-6.

Night Journey. The *qubba* located in the Coenaculum stands over the staircase leading down to the chambers of the Tomb of David (Nabi Da'ud, cat. no. 1) and Qubbat al-Khadr is sited over a chamber known as Maqam al-Khadr. The structures in the Haram would have also served the practical function of partially protecting pilgrims from the elements during their prayers.

Although restoration work on one of the structures, Qubbat al-Nabi, can be dated to 1261/1845 (van Berchem 1925: 173), the only *qubba* where the date of its foundation can be identified with any degree of certainty is Qubbat Yusuf (1092/1681).

Although no dates are known for the restoration to the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus during the latter half of the 19th century, the painting of the *qubba* can be precisely dated, as already stated, to August 1898. The date is known from three inscriptions, written in Greek and Arabic, hidden away on the south side of the dome, painted in yellow by the artist and in white, perhaps by his dragoman or assistant. The inscriptions read:

1. 'August 1898, ... , ... , Callipolites' [in Greek]
2. 'Theofanis, Zographidis,
3. 'Faraj ibn Ibrahim, 1898, Faraj ibn Ibra ... [in Arabic].

The information contained in the first two inscriptions, as well as the fact that Theophanes was writing in a mixture of Greek and Latin script, suggests that in all likelihood he was a Christian. This might appear to be curious, for it is known that Christians were barred from entering the Haram during much of the 13th/19th century. However, as the following account suggests, contemporary political events in the city perhaps provide an answer as to why an exception was made.

The commission for the restorations was carried out at the moment when the rapidly declining Ottoman empire, ruled by Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) was actively courting the political influence of Germany against what were perceived as the imperialist motives of Russia, France and Britain (Mansfield 1991: 83-4). The historic visit of the German Kaiser Wilhelm to Jerusalem in October 1898, following a previous visit by the Archduke of Mecklenburg in 1871 (Schick 1887: 87-9), was highly important to the Ottoman authorities and they went to extraordinary lengths during the autumn of that year to make the city presentable for the occasion. It is interesting to note that, among the works carried out, a number of buildings on the Haram were plastered and painted in oils, including the arcades on the upper esplanade and the façade of al-Aqsa Mosque, which, according to Schick, was 'painted fantastically ... and now looks yellow as if gilded and has a very strange appearance.' Unfortunately, Schick

is not more specific; however, he also notes, with a certain cynicism, that 'other buildings were done with better taste' (1899: 118).

A project such as this would have required skilled artisans perhaps not immediately available in the local workforce. It is known that there were Christians trained primarily in the painting of religious icons (perhaps in Europe) who were operating in the region during the latter half of the 19th century. They were being commissioned by wealthy people throughout the region to paint the ceilings of their new houses. The work is typified by the use of extravagant architectural elements and floral decoration, and was often accompanied by a keen sense of how these elements could be shown in three dimensions, with the use of painted shadows and/or perspective; all of these features are found in the decoration covering Qubbat Mahd 'Isa. Typical examples can be seen just outside the Old City of Jerusalem in the houses now known as the American Colony Hotel and the Orient House, and within the walls the Dar al-Mamluk in the old Consular quarter.¹⁰

All of the painted decoration applied to the buildings in the Haram was apparently removed some time after the German Kaiser's visit; however, contemporary photographs as well as the following description of the painting of the *qubba* show that there is little doubt that the work to the *qubba* and restorations to the chamber of the mosque were done specifically for that visit.¹¹ If this is indeed the case, it remains one of the only surviving examples in the Haram of work carried out for the occasion.

Architecture

Mosque

The mosque chamber is located in the south-eastern corner of the Haram al-Sharif adjoining the vast subterranean vaults known as Solomon's Stables. The mosque, which occupies a broadly rectangular area measuring 10.3m from north to south and 5.5m from east to west, is built on a platform constructed of large boulders raised approximately 3m above the ground level of Solomon's Stables to the north and west (fig. 34.1). It is enclosed to the south and east by the massive supporting walls of the Haram, and to the north and west by later walls

¹⁰ I am grateful to Mr Sharif al-Sharif of Nazareth, who is currently carrying out research into this subject, for providing me with this information.

¹¹ For a sense of what these paintings were like see van Berchem and Ory 1978: 72-3 for contemporary photographs of the painted arcades.

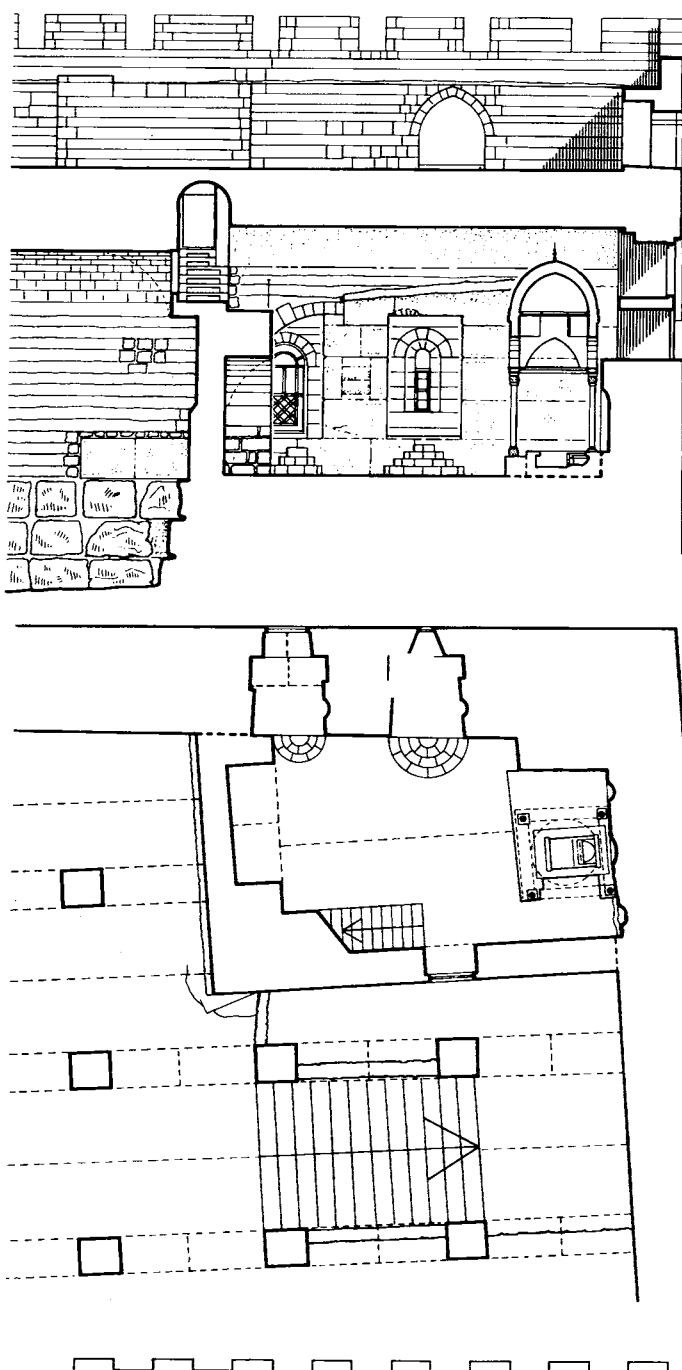


Fig. 34.1 Mahd 'Isa, mosque section and plan.

built along the edge of the platform.¹² The whole space is covered by a barrel vault with a slightly pointed profile.

Entry to the mosque chamber is from the lower

esplanade of the Haram (pl. 34.1). A low doorway is set in the north wall of a small lean-to structure located against the east wall of the Haram and a few metres to the north of the south-eastern corner. Inside, a dog-leg staircase descends to the south and turns, through a low-arched doorway, to the west and continues south down to a balcony supported on a recessed archway situated against the north wall of the chamber (pl. 34.5). A further twenty steps lead down the north and west walls, by way of a landing in the north-west corner of the chamber, to a point 4.9m north of the south wall. On the right at the bottom of the steps there is a doorway, 1.22m wide, which leads through to Solomon's Stables. While a large, plain, monolithic lintel covers the opening in the east (mosque) face of the wall, a massive sculpted lintel, perhaps of Byzantine origin, faces onto Solomon's Stables (Schick 1887: 87-9).

Two large, raised recesses dominate the east wall of the chamber. Each is reached by a flight of semicircular steps built against the east wall. While the south recess is covered by a flat ceiling of monolithic stones (see below), the front face of the north recess is covered by a half arch springing from the north side of the recess. Within each recess, and providing much of the lighting for the space, there is a single window overlooking the Kidron Valley to the east. The southern opening is narrow (0.37m wide) and set back into a secondary recess covered by a splayed arch constructed of specially shaped stones that widen to the inside face of the wall. The opening in the north recess is a larger, flat-faced, semicircular arched window.

Two further recessed windows are located, one above the other, in the south wall. The lower, smaller, one is all but blocked up; the opening above is rectangular. In the west wall above the landing on the stairs, a single small slit window looks out into Solomon's Stables.

Until very recently the walls of the mosque were covered by a thick layer of whitewashed plaster which prevented any real investigation of their construction. The recent removal of the plaster, during the 1980s, reveals that, for the most part, they are constructed of large smooth-faced ashlar blocks measuring between 0.7m and 2.45m long, and 0.9 to 1.23m high. A study of the external face of the south-eastern angle of the Haram shows that these are the inside faces of the 'Pinnacle' of seven courses of Herodian masonry probably left *in situ* after the destruction of the Herodian Temple in 70 AD (Wilson 1865: 26). The two recesses in the east wall appear to have been part of the original Herodian structure since the masonry between them, and to the south of the southern recess, is shaped to accommodate them (Schick 1887: 88).

The north and west walls, and the northern end of the east wall, are all constructed of dressed ashlar blocks averaging 0.34m deep. The west wall appears to have been remodelled at a later date, since there are two vertical slots

¹² Wilson suggests that these formed the base of a Herodian tower that once stood in the south-eastern corner of the Haram (1865: 37-8); Schick, on the other hand, thinks that it is of Constantinian origin (1887: 87-9). A tower is shown in this position in *Visits to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384*, Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli (trans.) Bellorini and Hoade 1948: 72, fig. 6. The reference is taken from Terra Sancta Vercelli, Martorelli 1865.

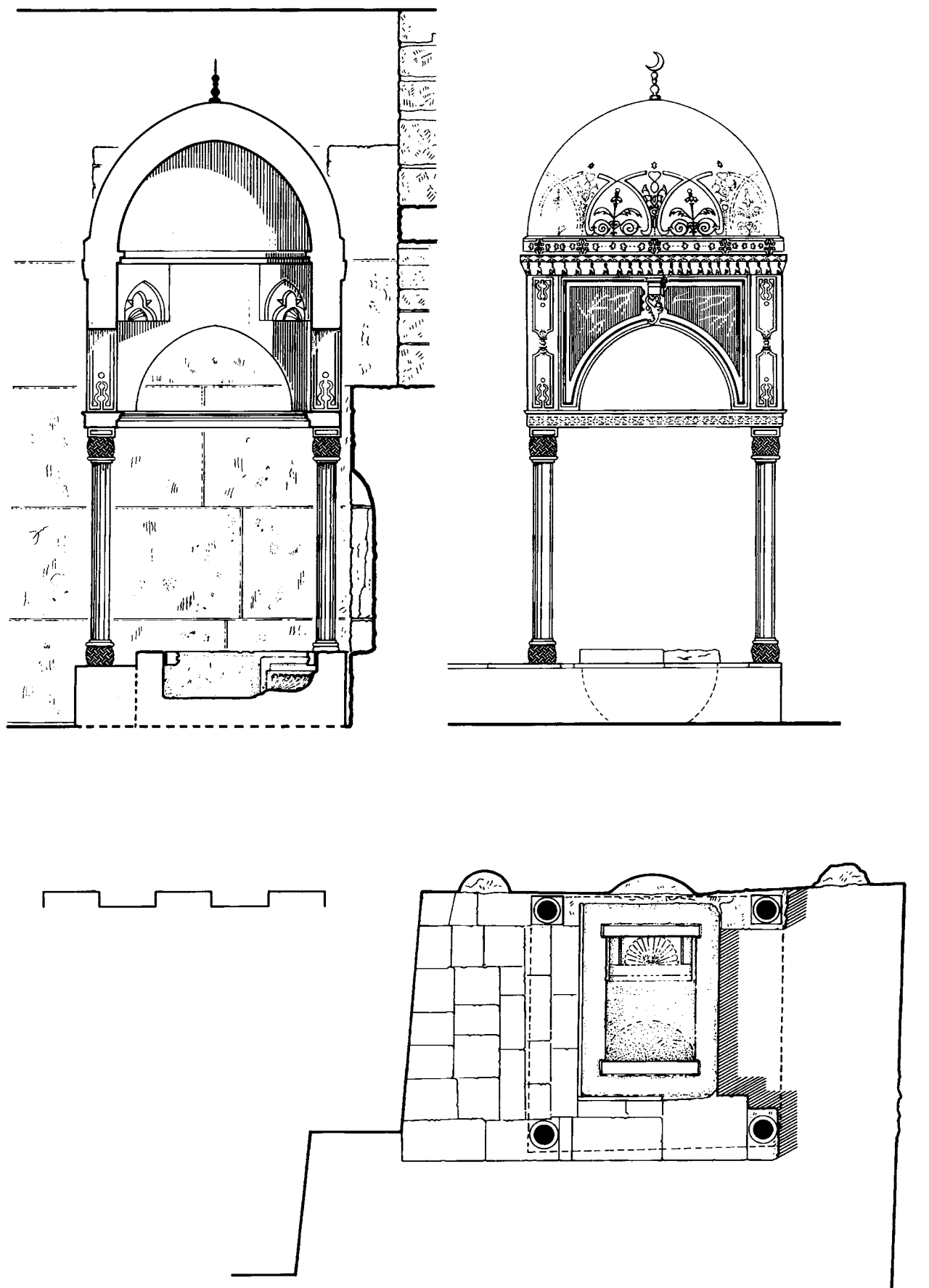


Fig. 34.2 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: section, elevation and ground plan.

filled with roughly dressed masonry on either side of the door. The north wall abuts the east wall in front of the northern window niche, indicating that the opening was of an earlier date.

At its southern end, the east wall thickens 0.9m at a distance of 2.2m from the south-eastern corner of the chamber up to a height of 5m from ground level. The return is carved into at least one of the monumental ashlar, which reinforces the suggestion that they are all *in situ* and that they, and the thickening of the wall, formed the upper levels of the massive support built into the corner of the Herodian platform (Burgoyne 1992: 105). High up on the north face of the same return, a curved groove some 200mm wide and 30mm deep slopes up to the west.

A huge, apparently monolithic, arch springer extends 4.25m from the north end of the same return, along the top of the fourth course of ashlar stones over the south window recess. Its size and location suggest that it may once have been the springer of a vault which supported the Herodian temple platform above (Wilson 1865: 26; Schick 1887: 87-9).

The 'cradle', a large semicircular niche with a fluted, 'cockleshell' hood laid on its back on the ground, is positioned against the south wall (pl. 34.4).¹³ It has been cut from a single block of white marble and measures 1.75m long (high), 1.2m wide and 0.67m deep. Because its underside (back) is semicircular, it is supported to the east and north by a platform which has been paved with grey marble stones and raised 0.57m above ground level. The platform does not continue to the west of the 'cradle'; the floor on that side is covered with a concrete screed and not with the same tiling as the rest of the mosque, suggesting that the platform may once have continued around to the west side of the niche. Standing over the 'cradle' and positioned against the south wall of the mosque is the Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa itself (pl. 34.2; fig. 34.2).

The mosque accommodates a total of five *mihrahs*—or six if one includes the 'cradle'. A large semicircular *mihrab* is located centrally in the south wall at the head of the 'cradle' and is flanked by two smaller ones to the east and west. Although the *mihrab* to the west end of the south wall is badly damaged, it can be seen that it is raised above the ground to the level of the platform on the

east side of the 'cradle', which reinforces the suggestion that the platform once extended further to the west. Another smaller niche is located in the south wall of each of the window recesses in the east wall.¹⁴

The windows in the east wall and the upper recess in the south wall are filled with 13th/19th-century wooden lattice frames. The design of the frame in the north window is particularly fine and incorporates a series of circular and cigar-shaped sub-frames around its perimeter (pl. 34.6). The main frames of the windows are fixed in position; ventilation to the chamber is, however, possible through two smaller, hinged frames set within that of the larger north window. While the frame in the south wall now has clear glass, those in the east wall are filled with a colourful variety of green, blue, red, orange and purple stained glass.

An exquisitely designed and crafted wrought-iron balustrade runs along the edge of the balcony and down the stairs (pl. 34.5). The design, which is typical of work found in many late 19th-century buildings in the city, incorporates a repeated scroll pattern within a main frame that terminates with a free-floating leaf- and-stem design at the bottom of the steps (fig. 34.3). Unusually, green glass beads (approximately 20mm in diameter) are incorporated into the ironwork; they are slipped over dowelling rods just below the handrail. Two wrought-iron gates, probably made at the same time as the balustrade, close off the mosque area from Solomon's Stables. Crescent and star-shaped plates on them attest to their Ottoman origin.¹⁵

Qubbat Mahd 'Isa

In contrast to other *qubba* structures situated on the exposed platforms of the Haram, where stone work has suffered the effects of time and weather, and where mouldings and other stone decoration articulate the surfaces, here the smooth surfaces and uncluttered detailing present an air of refined simplicity. This aspect, together with the location of the dome chamber inside another building, combine to give an impression of a large piece of furniture pushed against the wall rather than an architectural monument.

Structure

The form of the structure appears to have been governed by its location, surrounded as it is on three sides by the walls of the mosque chamber. In essence, the *qubba* consists

¹³ Various theories have been put forward about the origins of the niche and its function; Stephan considers that it is Byzantine (1942: 101) while Wilson suggests that it was taken from a Roman gateway (1865: 37). Clermont-Ganneau thinks that it probably originated from the time of Aelia Capitolina and perhaps housed a small deity statue (1926: 139). Ritter suggests that it came from the temple dedicated to Jupiter built by Hadrian in the Haram (1866: 112). Close inspection, however, reveals no visible signs of anything having been fixed to the base of the niche.

¹⁴ Wilson identifies these last two *mihrahs* as Maqam al-Hawariyyun ('Place of the Disciples') and Makam Yahya wa Zakariyya ('Place of John and Zachariah'; 1865: 37).

¹⁵ The crescents on the gates and on the finial of the *qubba* are no longer extant, but were still there when the Department of Islamic Archaeology surveyed the site in the late 1980s.

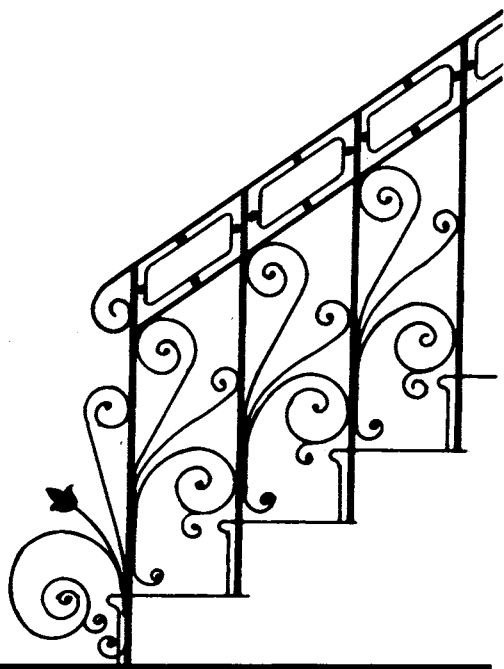


Fig. 34.3 Mahd 'Isa: baluster detail.

of four columns which are positioned at the four corners of the 'cradle' (pl. 34.2, and fig. 34.2), and which support a four-sided box, with a slightly pointed arch to each side. The dome surmounts the whole structure. The *qubba* measures 5.15m from base of column to apex of dome and is 2.2m square in plan. Although it is otherwise constructed of stone, there is a wooden tie beam spanning the space between the tops of the columns, which braces, and supports, the dome above. The reasons for the use of wood to carry the full load of the structure are not entirely clear. However, mindful of the effects of earthquakes on this part of the Haram, the builders may have decided that providing a 'soft' support would cushion it from the worst effects of such tremors.

Each of the column shafts is of grey marble, averaging 170mm in diameter. While the two eastern columns stand firmly on the dais platform to the east of the *qubba*, the western columns are positioned at the end of extensions to the dais running in front of and behind the 'cradle'. Of the eight capitals and bases, all of the capitals and the two northern bases are of a similar basket-weave design with deeply carved gaps between the warp and the weft (pl. 34.7). The design of these two bases suggests that all six of the capitals and bases are re-used from an earlier structure. Running around the bottom of the capitals and immediately above the bases there is a simple, incised cable moulding. Although these bases are now covered in a layer of paint, it is possible to make out that they were carved from blocks of the local limestone. The two remaining bases to the south are made from the same material and are today quite worn. It is possible to distinguish, however, a petal-and-leaf design carved around their circumference.

Above each of the capitals, there is a square box plinth, measuring 250mm by 250mm by 75mm, with recessed panels in each side, that serve as flat pads to support the structure above.

The wooden bracing beams that span the distance between the tops of the columns measure 300mm by 150mm in section. A detailed inspection of the exposed west end of the south beam reveals that a wooden carcass encloses a laminated beam composed of four planks of wood laid on top of each other.¹⁶ While the core planking has suffered from insect attack, the outer cladding is free from damage. Further examination shows that the cladding is cut to fit around the corbels of the stone structure above and the plinths of the columns below, suggesting that it was fitted after the building of the structure—perhaps for the restorations of 1898. A simple convex moulding, which has been shaped into the edge of the top plank, runs along the outside face of each beam, while on the inside edge there is a more complex *cyma reversa* moulding which projects 40mm from the face of the planking.

Above the tie beams, the sides and arches of the masonry structure are completely plain except for the painted decoration. Running around the top of the walls and projecting some 40mm from their face, there runs a steeply raked cornice. The construction is only apparent in the south wall. Given its proximity to the south wall of the mosque, Theophanes must have decided that it was neither practical nor useful to paint that side of the structure. It is fortunate that it remains unpainted, for it is possible to identify five courses of dressed masonry, with chisel marks running diagonally in both directions; there are ten voussoirs around the arch. The arches spring from corbels resting on the tie beams below. Closer inspection suggests that the two arches adjacent to each individual column are supported on a single right-angled corbel stone that projects in two directions along the line of the sides of the main structure. The upper part of the west end of the south wall and the cornice of the *qubba* have been broken to fit around a large stone that projects from the south wall of the mosque—although one does wonder why they did not simply remove the offending stone.

The dome springs from a base course (or very low drum) with a bevelled edge, 130mm high, which projects 30mm out from the surface of the dome (pl. 34.8). A similar arrangement can be seen on the drum of the early Mamluk Kubakiyya dated 688/1289 (Burgoyne 1987: 141). Perched rather precariously on top of the dome is a very loose-fitting wooden finial. It is not possible to deduce how the dome itself was constructed, for it is painted both inside and out.

¹⁶ How the four separate beams meet over the column capitals is not clear since it is only one side of the south-west corner of the structure that is exposed.

The transitional zone between the main structure and the dome above is handled internally in the form of stepped squinches of a rather unusual design (pl. 34.9). In the front face is an outer pointed arch which is stepped back into a trefoil arch with small triangular intrusions at the junction between the lower and upper arcs of radius. Within the trefoil arch there is a small shell-like conch with seven convex flutes radiating out from its base. Similar designs of squinches are found in the earlier Mamluk and Ayyubid foundations, as for example in the Ayyubid Bab al-Silsila and the Mamluk foundation of al-Kubakiyya (688/1289). This, however, is unique among the Ottoman buildings on the Haram.

The rest of the interior of the structure is plain except for a simple, raked string course at the springing line of the dome. At the apex of the dome there is a metal hoop from which a lamp would once have been suspended.

Decorative painting

The most striking aspect of Qubbat Mahd 'Isa is the decorative painting which covers the entire surface of the main structure except the south side which, as has already been noted, was probably too close to the south wall of the mosque for it to be worked on by Theophanes. Although the effects of time—and pigeons—have taken their toll, it can clearly be seen that, when newly painted, the *qubba* must have presented something of a spectacle, particularly in the context of the freshly whitewashed mosque and brightly lit with lamps. The stone facing of the structure would not have provided a suitable surface for the painting. Theophanes consequently first rendered the surfaces with a smooth layer of fine, white plaster 2-3mm thick.¹⁷ Without proper analysis, it is difficult to know what type of paint was used but an oil-based medium is suspected (see comments made by Schick 1899: 118). The colours used on the vertical sides of the structure, although still fresh, are muted shades of grey-green and yellow-green. Those used on the dome are, however, brighter blues, white, reds, oranges and yellows.¹⁸ A close examination of the exterior of the planking on the tie beams shows that it was first painted in a rust-red colour. It is not clear whether this was an undercoat or whether it represents an earlier colour scheme.

The three sides of the structure are all painted with the same design, which combines classical Baroque

architectural motifs and elegant designs typical of the period (pl. 34.10). There are two panels at the end of each side, placed one above the other, which continue the visual line of support of the columns up to the dome. The two panels are joined by a simple floriated spindle motif and are terminated at their top and bottom by a split figure-of-eight design. Similar motifs are also found on the underside of the wooden tie beams and on the soffits of the arches. The remaining space on the walls is taken up with framed spandrel 'panels' on either side of the arches, within which a secondary panel has been painted to imitate marble.

A particularly interesting feature of the decoration, which again is typical of the period, is the attempt to give it a three-dimensional effect in a simple form of *trompe l'oeil*. This can be seen most clearly in a 'corbel' set above the apex of each arch, which is painted to appear to the viewer at ground level as it projects forward in front of the main face of the structure (pl. 34.10). A free-ranging floral design that perhaps imitates stone sculpture is positioned immediately below the corbel and extends down to hang 'in front of' the hood mould surrounding the arch. Shadows are also painted around the mouldings which surround the spandrel panels and the panels at the end of the elevation. The three-dimensional theme is carried through to the cornice above, where a series of twenty-three red and orange tassels apparently 'hang' down from the raked surface of the moulding.

Simple geometry is introduced along the outside face of the tie beam in the form of what can only be described as a series of dots and horizontal and diagonal dashes, arranged in a repeated diamond-shaped pattern. Similar repetitions of these motifs are ranged along the front face of the cornice moulding above the painted tassels.

The painting on the drum and the dome is both brighter and more organic in design. It is best viewed from the window ledge in the south wall where the natural light is brightest. From this position it is possible to see that the dome is divided into a number of white and sky-blue segments.¹⁹ Superimposed over these, at the base of the dome, there are a series of overlapping 'arches' painted in pale yellow and peach. The spaces between the arches are filled with exquisitely painted flower- and leaf-designs that appear to be flanked by scrolls. Above each of the junctions between the arches 'floats' a single, unattached six-pointed star. The painted arches do not extend around the full circumference of the dome but terminate close to its south side, where they would not anyway be seen. This allowed

¹⁷ The plaster is for the most part in quite good condition.

However there are large areas, particularly on the under-sides of the arches and on the dome, which are in desperate need of specialist attention.

¹⁸ This seems to reflect Goodwin's notion that square forms are symbolic of 'earthliness' while domes are symbolic of the 'heavens' (1971: 178).

¹⁹ The dome is currently covered in a thick layer of cement that resulted from a recent 'restoration' of the vault over the mosque chamber and which makes an accurate assessment of the number of segments difficult. However, I think that there are probably sixteen.

enough space for the painter Theophanes and his assistant to add their signatures.

The decoration does not continue inside dome, where the surface is covered throughout in a rust-red tone.

Discussion

Apart from the building of the *qubba*, and its decoration in 1898, the recorded restorations to the fabric of the mosque seem to have occurred in the main in the latter half of the 19th century. Their prime concern seems to have been to allow access to Solomon's Stables and to light the interior of the mosque. Evliya Çelebi alludes to the doorway through to the Stables as a 'small hole' through which some people 'dared' to enter (Stephan 1942: 101). Al-Nabulsi states that the same opening was destroyed (1111/1689: 73b). However, by 1871, when the Archduke of Mecklenburg visited the site, the opening had been blocked up and the illustrious visitor specifically requested that it should be opened so that he could enter the Stables (Schick 1887: 88).

Al-'Ayyashi (1663) notes that the windows in the east wall were open to the (Kidron) valley (al-'Asali 1992: 201). But by 1865—and probably until 1870—they appear to have been blocked up again.²⁰ Schick (1891: 222), on an amended copy of the earlier Ordnance Survey plans published in 1891, notes the existence of a 'new window' at the north end of the east wall, and this probably refers to the arched window currently in use. Although the upper window in the south wall is clearly visible in drawings from 1865, Schick, again writing in 1887, states that it was 'modern'. He explained that it had been opened because the lower window (which had not, in any case, been providing any light to the chamber) was blocked up (1887: 87-9).

Further work to the mosque was done apparently in an effort to make the place presentable for pilgrims. Given that so much time must have been spent on the decoration of the *qubba*, it seems likely that the rest of the mosque would have been refurbished at the same time. The iron-work of the balustrades and gateway, as has already been noted, is typical of the middle to late 13th/19th century. However, it contains a number of flourishes such as the glass beads, crescents and stars that suggests that the work was done for a special occasion. It is likely that it was either for the visit by the Archduke of Mecklenburg in 1871 or, perhaps more likely, the German Kaiser seventeen years

later. As there are no photographic records of the place, without further evidence it is impossible to know when exactly these works were completed. This is equally true of the frames in the east windows.

The Qubba itself

The question remains as to when the *qubba* was built. It has already been noted that documentary evidence suggests that it was built between the visits of Evliya Çelebi and/or al-Nabulsi at the end of the 11th/17th century and that of Catherwood in 1249/1833. If al-Luqaimi's account is reliable, the period in which it was built can be narrowed down to the hundred years between 1144/1731 and 1249/1833. Al-Luqaimi, however, only mentions the *qubba* in passing and perhaps his word should not be taken as definitive.

Comparative studies of similar structures built during the Ottoman occupation of the city, which are almost all undated, do not offer much help in providing even a tentative foundation date for the Qubbat Mahd 'Isa, although they do provide information about the type of small domed edifice being built at the end of the 17th century and perhaps the beginning of the 18th century.

The architectural evidence provided by the structure itself is not conclusive. The column capitals all appear to have been re-used from earlier structures. Squinches, although used in a number of other Ottoman Islamic structures dating from the 10th/16th century, do not occur in buildings dating from the later centuries of the Ottoman occupation of the city. Indeed, in general, as has already been noted, the design of these particular squinches can only be compared to those of buildings dating from periods before the Ottomans, notable the Mamluk and Ayyubid periods.

The use of a heavy wooden tie beam to support the upper structure is perhaps the only piece of useful evidence, for it is unique. It was probably only possible because the structure is located inside another building away from the effects of the weather. It was probably for this reason too that a wooden finial was used. Where tie beams are used in other structures in the open-air environment of the Haram, they invariably consist of simple metal tie rods.

It is perhaps worth noting the intriguing similarity between Evliya Çelebi's late 11th/17th-century description of Qubbat al-Nabi as it existed before the present-day *qubba* was built and his comments on the Qubbat Mahd 'Isa. The parallels are increased by the shared similarities between the type of *mihrab* under Qubbat al-Nabi (built in 945/1538-9) and likely to have been in existence beneath the *qubba* described by Evliya Çelebi, and the 'cradle'. The *mihrab*, as described by Evliya Çelebi, consisted of a low wall which enclosed a conventional *mihrab*-shaped area on the ground, which was described by van Berchem as a

²⁰ Warren 1884: pl. 19, an elevation of the south-east angle from the east, shows that the edges of the two recesses in the east wall of the mosque, although they were completely blocked, were then visible on the outer face. Photographs from the same year confirm this (Schiller 1978: 20-1). Later photographs suggest that the recesses had still not been opened in the 1870s (Schiller 1978: 23).

'baignoir' (1925: 169—see cat. no. 10). Apart from a simple version of the same idea situated close to the north of the Aqsa Mosque, the *mihrab* is unique in the city.

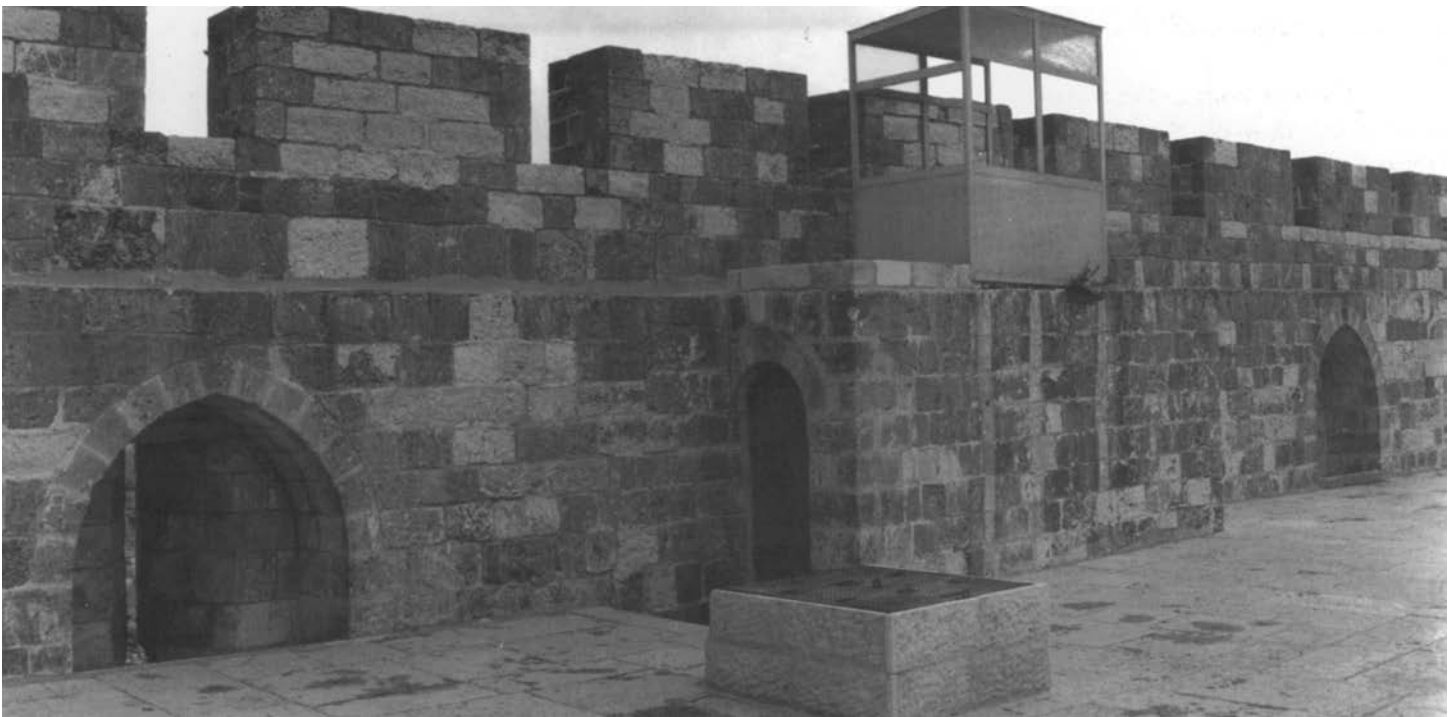
It has already been noted that the four-sided form of the structure was not unique to *qubbas* of the period. In this particular case, the form was probably governed as much as anything else by the fact that the site was surrounded on three sides by the walls of the chamber. However, there may be another reason for its location and form. As has already been explained, the structure is curiously close to the south wall, so much so that the south side of the structure had to be broken out to fit around an already existing stone which projected from the wall of the mosque. This is very strange. One possible explanation may be that the builders of the *qubba* mistakenly positioned the bases of the columns too close to the wall, and only discovered their error after having begun to build the upper arches and walls. A second, and arguably more likely, explanation is that the positions of the bases of the columns were already in existence and that the builders simply re-used them in setting out the position of the new *qubba*. This would explain the necessity of breaking out the south wall of the structure and its subsequent form. Sufficient evidence exists to suggest that there may indeed have been an earlier structure in existence towards the middle of the 5th/11th century.

The documentary clues for such a hypothesis lie in Nasir-i Khusrau's description in which, to repeat, he states there was a 'roof ... supported by marble columns.' Since there is no evidence to suggest that the roof of the mosque was ever supported by anything other than the surrounding

solid masonry walls, there is every reason to believe that those to which he was referring supported another 'roof'—perhaps a dome—within the mosque. Later on in his description, Nasir-i Khusrau observed 'on the shaft of one of the columns there is impressed a mark as though a person had gripped the stone with two fingers.' The mark was evidence to him of the story that Mary had endured the labours of birth in this location (Le Strange 1890: 166). If Nasir-i Khusrau is to be believed, one could suggest from this evidence that the diameter of the column must have been quite small to have been 'gripped' and, although the idea is speculative, it could suggest that this provides evidence of a small structure supported on four columns of narrow diameter.

As has already been mentioned, *qubba* structures of the type built during the Ottoman period are known to have existed during the 5th/11th century; Nasir-i Khusrau again describes the Qubbat Jibra'il (the Dome of Gabriel), on the site of the present day Qubbat al-Nabi, as 'a dome that surmounts four marble columns,' and the Qubbat al-Rasul, located on the site of the present day Qubbat al-Mi'raj, as being 'likewise set upon four marble piers' (Le Strange 1888: 49).

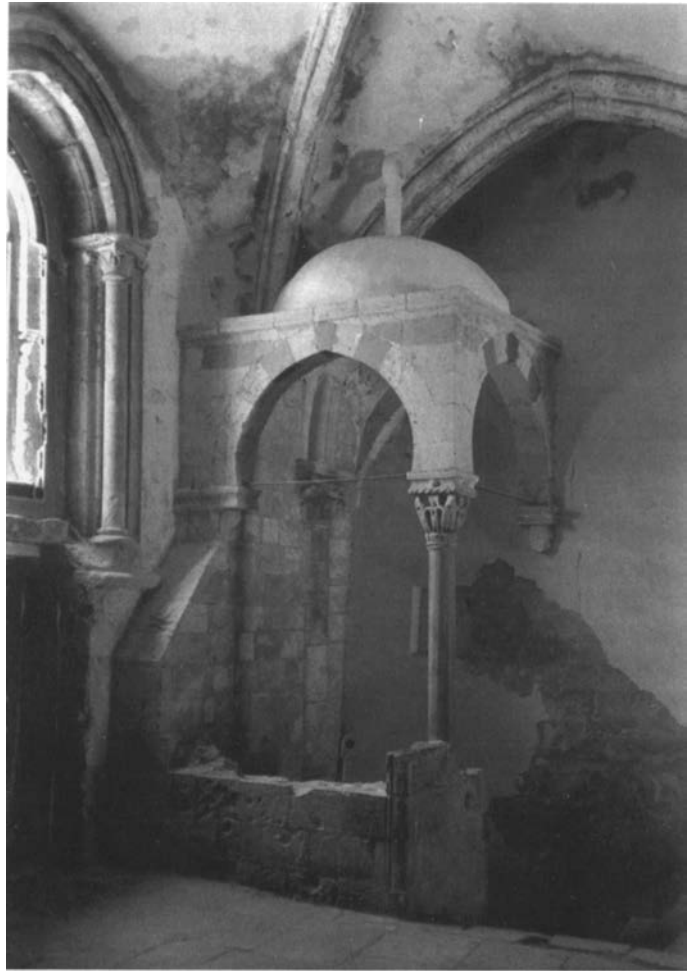
Apart from these general comments, it is very difficult without further documentary evidence to suggest a definitive answer to the question of when this *qubba* was built. A more conclusive answer will only be possible once a complete search of the *sijills* in the Shari'a court records has been completed, for it is likely that the answer to the riddle will lie buried within those pages.



Pl. 34.1 Masjid Mahd 'Isa: entry from Haram al-Sharif.



Pl. 34.2 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa.



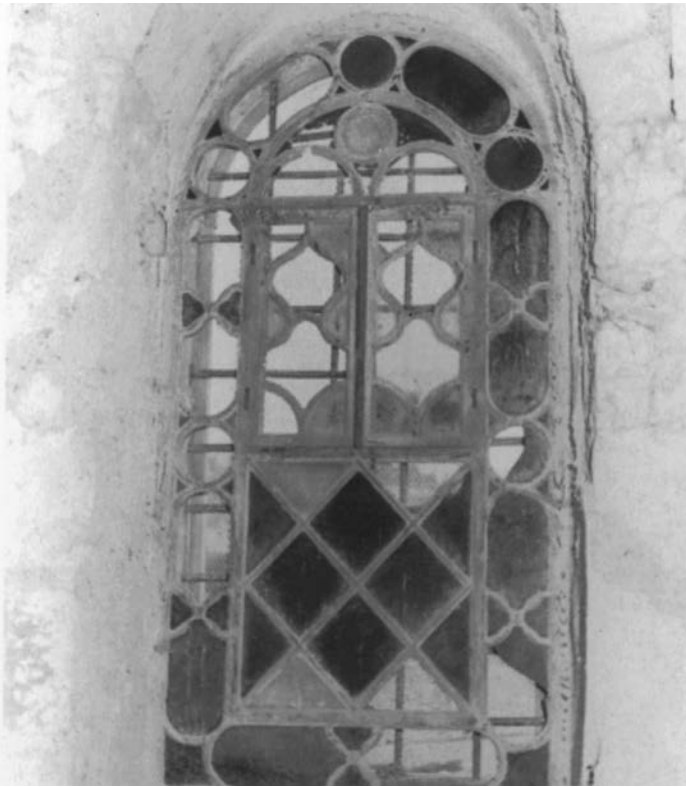
Pl. 34.3 Coenaculum: *qubba* over stairs leading down to Tomb of Nabi Da'ud.



Pl. 34.4 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: detail of 'cradle'.



Pl. 34.5 Masjid Mahd 'Isa: stairway leading down from entry, showing wrought-iron balustrade.



Pl. 34.6 Masjid Mahd 'Isa: N window in E wall of mosque.



Pl. 34.7 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: view of basket-weave column capital and section of Qubba broken out to accommodate stone projecting from south wall.



Pl. 34.8. Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: detail of dome.



Pl. 34.9 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: detail of stepped squinch.



Pl. 34.10 Qubbat Mahd 'Isa: detail of painted decoration.

Chapter 35

AL-‘IMARA AL-‘AMIRA THE CHARITABLE FOUNDATION OF KHASSAKI SULTAN (959/1552)

David Myres

Introduction*

The Khassaki Sultan complex—al-‘Imara al-‘Amira—is the largest of the 10th/16th-century Ottoman foundations in the Old City of Jerusalem. An imperial undertaking, it was built around 959/1552 under the patronage of Khassaki Sultan-i Khurrem, the favourite wife of Sultan Sulaiman.

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The complex is located in the heart of the Old City on the eastern slope of al-Wad between the streets of ‘Aqabat al-Takkiyya and ‘Aqabat al-Saraya. The term *al-‘imara al-‘amira* is the correct one for the foundation and is found both in the *sijills* and in a 12th/18th-century repair inscription found in the upper courtyard of the Mamluk Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. The expression literally means ‘the flourishing edifice’ or, more appropriately, ‘the Imperial Charitable Foundation’ (Burgoyne 1987: 487 and n. 13, 14). The word *‘imara*, as used in the context of the largest charitable complexes, was later replaced by the Turkish word *küllîye*, meaning the educational or charitable dependencies of a mosque. *‘Imara* thereafter usually only referred to the kitchens themselves (Goodwin 1973: 459). Today the complex is simply referred to as ‘al-Takiyya’. The etymology of this term, in the context of the complex, is not absolutely clear. The term, perhaps better known in its Turkish form *‘tekke*’, denotes a convent or monastery where Sufis would be accommodated, and would also study and worship (Stephan 1944: 172 and n. 5). It did not however normally apply at the time the foundation was being built—or in the early Ottoman period as a whole—to

and August 1993 surveyed and drew to a remarkable degree of accuracy what is possibly the most complex site in Palestine; to Dr Michael Burgoyne who aided and supported the team at the beginning of the survey; and to Mr Martin Dow for providing valuable information at the twelfth hour. Above all my very great gratitude goes to Professor Robert Hillenbrand and Dr Sylvia Auld for their support and patience in waiting for this chapter. This was a team effort—however, for his friendship and unstinting willingness to help (at almost any time) I reserve my final thanks for Abu Kifah.

an entire *küllîye* complex, either in Ottoman Turkey or in the provinces. Another complex, the Süleymaniyye, which was built in Damascus by Sinan at almost the same time (962-3/1554-5) is also usually referred to as 'al-Takiyye'. It too had facilities other than those devoted to the Sufi community, including a soup kitchen and caravanserai. To confuse matters further, in Cairo another almost contemporaneous foundation built in 950/1543, and exclusively intended for the Sufi community as a place in which to live, worship and study, is called Takiyya al-Sulaiman Pasha (Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 158). The confusion is compounded by the discovery that other foundations in Jerusalem, which were devoted exclusively to the use of the Sufi community—for example Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) and Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33)—were, according to Natsheh, also referred to in documents as 'takiyya'.

Within the constraints of the surrounding urban environment the foundation is a rationally planned socio-religious complex of the Ottoman *küllîye* type. Its function was, and to a limited extent still is, to provide sustenance and shelter for the poor, the Muslim religious community, and pilgrims to the Holy City. The main components of the complex consist of a *khan*, a small mosque, a soup kitchen, a bakery, a water fountain, rooms for the Sufi community and associated storerooms. In addition there were the many splendid rooms and halls of the Mamluk palace Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (790/1388) which were incorporated into the new complex at the time of its foundation. Today the site functions primarily as a school and as the Industrial Islamic Orphanage (Dar al-Aitam al-Islamiyya al-Sina'iyya) with its associated training workshops, a school, and a small house. In addition, after nearly four and a half centuries, the kitchen still provides the poor of the city with food.

The site was surveyed *in toto*, for the first time, during the summer of 1993 by the Ottoman Jerusalem Project, for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and in association with the Department of Islamic Archaeology (DIA) of the Administration of Islamic Waqfs in Jerusalem (The Auqaf). Additional work was done by the author during 1994. These new surveys complemented those already undertaken on the adjoining foundation of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which had been completed for the Mamluk Jerusalem Project (Burgoyne 1987: 485-504). It should be noted that some corrections to peripheral areas in the earlier survey have been made—for example, the ground plan of the south gatehouse.

The main purpose of this account is to provide a detailed description of the organisation of the complex and to identify, on the basis of the survey, the principal architectural components included in its *waqfiyya*. Detailed accounts of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (c. 790/1388), which was incorporated into the complex at the time of the complex's

foundation, and Ribat/Maktab Bairam Jawish (947/1540) which was incorporated at a later date, have already been presented, either elsewhere in this book (cat. nos. 11 and 12) or in *Mamluk Jerusalem* by Michael Burgoyne which was published in 1987. The following account will therefore limit itself to providing an account of the 10th/16th-century complex.

Founder

The foundation was established by—and is still today named after—the favourite wife of Sultan Sulaiman (902-74/1495-1566), Khassaki Khurram al-Sultan (Turkish—Hasaki Hürrem-i Sultan) or, as she is more commonly referred to in the West, Roxelana. The name *khurram* has several meanings—'joyous', 'cheerful', 'blossoming', 'happy' and 'the fortunate one' (Stephan 1944: 171). The sultan's admiration for her is stated in no uncertain terms in an imperial document dated 967/1560: 'the quintessence of the queens amongst women, the Zobeida of her time and age . . . who is unique and to whom there is no second queen in prosperity and good luck . . . the light of the eye of the resplendent caliphate . . .' (Stephan 1944: 171 n. 2). Roxelana was born in 938/1500 and died in 996/1558 (Alderson in Goodwin 1973: 204 n. 40; Faruqi 1994: 203 n. 85). It is generally accepted that she was from the area covered by the term 'Russia'. There is, however, no clear consensus as to her country of origin other than she was probably of Slavic or Ukrainian extraction. Stephan implies that the name meant 'Red Haired Russian' but he goes on to suggest that the name Roxelana actually derives from 'Roxolani', the name given to a people inhabiting the country between the Don and the Dnieper (Stephan 1944: 171-2). Other sources refer to her as a 'blonde' who was kidnapped by Tartars in Rinjartino and sold in the markets of Istanbul to agents of the sultan (al-'Asali 1981: 14; see also Lybyer 1966: 57 n. 3). She was, in any case, noticed and brought to Istanbul where she was enslaved into Sulaiman's imperial harem. She rapidly became the sultan's favourite and subsequently gave Sulaiman five of his ten children—four sons and a daughter. Sulaiman is said to have been faithful to Roxelana after he made her his wife (Lybyer 1966: 56). According to Stephan (1944: 172) the four sons were Mehmet, Jahangir the Crooked, Selim II and Bayazid. The daughter was the princess Mihrimah. After giving birth to the future Selim II, Roxelana was declared free and was married to Sulaiman in 927/1520, and thus, according to Lybyer (1966: 58) became the last woman to be formally married to an Ottoman sultan. Published accounts give the impression of a remarkable, ambitious and, some might say, ruthless character who used her position and influence to further her own power and that of her offspring. It is widely accepted that she

actively sought the succession of her sons ahead of Sulaiman's other children; Mustafa, for example, was executed in 949/1543 after she had 'poisoned the mind' of Sulaiman (Stephan 1944: 171; Cook 1976: 96-7).

With the permission of her husband, her position enabled her to be patron and benefactress of a number of important imperial foundations (Peri 1984: 47). Indeed, she was a prodigious sponsor of charitable foundations, particularly in Istanbul; amongst others she built mosques (Jami' Hasseki Hürrem) in Istanbul and Adrianople, two *madrasas* (known as Hasseki Hürrem and Qahriyye), a hospital (Tab-hane Hasseki Hürrem) and two public baths (Hammam Hasseki Hürrem in 1556; for details of Roxelana's foundations see Goodwin 1971: 204; Stephan 1944: 172). While the building of such foundations was certainly a demonstration of power and influence, it also appears to reflect a side to her character which showed a genuine concern for the welfare and well-being of the lower, or socially disadvantaged, sections of the populace; the Hasseki Hürrem Külliye (1539)—at least in part designed by the great Ottoman architect Sinan—included kitchens for the distribution of food to the poor, a health clinic endowed for sick women who were, according to Goodwin, of 'any colour or creed', and a medical school (Goodwin 1971: 204). The devotion felt by Sulaiman for his wife is made clear in his endowment of foundations in her name after her death. These included the two soup kitchens ('Imarat Khassaki Khurram) founded in Medina and Mecca (Farouqi 1994: 80). The 'imara in Mecca was subsequently destroyed and nothing is known about it other than it was close to the Ka'ba (Farouqi 1994:106).

Architectural Context

Large foundations which incorporated a number of different functional components had been built in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period. One notable example is the Tashtamuriyya of 784/1382-3 located on 'Aqabat al-Silsila (Burgoyne 1987: 460). This followed the long-established Islamic tradition of grouping mosques and *madrasas* together (Vogt-Göknıl 1966: 47). However, the complex founded by Khassaki Sultan in Jerusalem must be seen within the wider context of the Ottoman architectural tradition. Large ensembles of buildings, or charitable foundations ('imara—or, in Turkish, *külliye*), were being founded from the end of the 8th/14th century not only by sultans, but also by other patrons of power and wealth close to the centre of the Ottoman empire. Perhaps the earliest example of a *külliye* was built by Bayezit II in Bursa (801-6/1398-1403) and the genre reached its zenith with the building of the Süleymaniyye complex in Istanbul (1550-7) by Sultan Sulaiman. (For an informative explanation of the *waqfiyya* [*vakfiye* in Turkish] and the

'imara system, see Goodwin 1971: 455-7; see also Stephan 1944: 173-4).

As in earlier Islamic foundations, the 'imara complexes invariably centred on a mosque with associated *madrasas* (in Turkish, *medrese*) where, among other rites, religious observants and/or students of Islamic law would read suitable verses (*sura*) from the Qur'an in the name of their benefactor. The *vaqfiye* of Kara Ahmet Pasha, for example, included a *zawiya* of sixteen cells; the document stipulated that each cell was to have a man praying for the soul of the pasha (Goodwin 1971: 457 and n. 15). There was often a *maktab* (in Turkish, *mekteb*) in which children learned the Qur'an by heart. They were also seen as fitting memorials to the power and social standing of those who built them, and as a consequence usually incorporated the mausolea or tombs of their founders. The most famous examples are the two mausolea in the Süleymaniyye complex, which house the tombs of Sulaiman and his wife Roxelana.

The innovation, however, that firmly sets these complexes within the Ottoman architectural tradition was the change in function. Originally they were built solely for the benefit of religious communities, but under the Ottomans they were also founded for the benefit of the civil population of an urban centre. Travellers (often pilgrims) were permitted to stay in the complexes for three nights free of charge and were provided with food and accommodation. The complexes frequently incorporated a guesthouse (in Turkish, *tabhane*), kitchens ('imara), caravanserai (or *khan*) and stables (*istablat*). The poor of the city were catered for from the kitchens which gave out free meals, while their health and welfare needs were also met with the inclusion of asylums (in Turkish, *timarhane*) and hospitals (in Turkish, *darüssifa*), as in the Hasseki Hürrem Külliye. The endowment documents were invariably very detailed in their provision of these facilities, listing the staff to be employed, their duties and their salaries, even to the extent of giving detailed lists of the exact weights and ingredients for the food, as well as the different meals to be served by the cooks (Goodwin 1971: 456). In the *waqfiyya* for the Khassaki Sultan, for example, it is recorded that '... On the nights preceding Fridays, a *zerde* rice dish should be cooked and on all other nights a rice soup for the (following) morning should be cooked with ... butter and for the evening (meals) a *burghul* soup . . .' and so on (Stephan 1944: 191).

During the first half of the 10th/16th century, Ottoman imperial charitable works of this kind were widespread, particularly in the main provincial capitals of the Levant. In Damascus, at about the same time that the Jerusalem complex was being erected, Sulaiman in 962/1554 built a mosque, a *tekkiye* and a law school, and also provided food for the poor and the Sufis (Bakhit 1982: 116; Blair and Bloom 1994: 220). Later, he also founded

similar complexes in Mecca and Medina in the name of Khassaki Sultan. Lala Mustafa Pasha, the powerful governor of Damascus (971-5/1563-7), built an *'imara* in Qunaitra which included a caravanserai, a school and lodges for the poor and travellers. In addition the ensemble provided stables, a bath and a kitchen (Bakhit 1982: 117 and n.158).

Cohen has argued (1984: 8) that in Jerusalem the political and economic context in the mid-10th/16th century enabled the Ottoman authorities to demonstrate similar social consciousness for the benefit of the lower strata of civic society. It can be seen as a time of great revitalisation and confidence after the neglect of the latter years of the Mamluk period, and before the general decline of the city (and the empire) during the next two centuries (Peri 1984: 49). Such a positive underlying confidence was the result, in large part, of the imperial benevolence of Sulaiman who had ordered the 'rebuilding' of the Holy City after its conquest in 1517 (Evliya Çelebi in Stephan 1939: 86). The security of the city was restored as a result of the work undertaken on the city walls (944-7/1537-40) (van Berchem 1923 2: 431-43) and the repair of the aqueducts (from 938/1532) that led from Solomon's Pools, which had ensured a regular water supply to a city notoriously lacking in its own natural resources (van Berchem 1923 2: 412-30). These works had an immediate effect on what had become a declining economy and population. There was a large increase in building activity throughout the city and commercial confidence was, for example, reflected in the restoration of various markets within the city (Cohen 1989: 2,6-8). Such a vibrant social and economic context allowed the government to provide facilities not just for the benefit of the general population but also for the poor.

Even if the Ottoman central government in Istanbul, by building such foundations, aimed to show their subject peoples that they did care for their bodily and spiritual welfare—particularly in the outer reaches of the empire—such foundations cannot be seen simply as marks of charity. The 8th/14th-century historian Ibn Khaldun wrote that 'the monuments of a given dynasty are proportionate to its original power' (Necipoğlu 1993: 170). It can be argued that the foundations were important as symbols of wealth and, more pertinently, as a means of demonstrating and consolidating the power of central governments and thus sovereignty over subject peoples (Peri 1984: 47). The size of such multi-purpose complexes and the funds required for the building of them, as well as the additional necessity for large tracts of land, villages and even towns made *waqf* in foundation deeds to provide for their upkeep, were of such a scale that, almost invariably, they were imperial undertakings sponsored either by the sultans themselves or by their mothers or wives, or by grand viziers. Thus when a complex of the size of the

Süleymaniyye in Istanbul, or those of Bayazid I/II in Bursa and Edirne, or in the smaller outlying provincial capitals, were built, they were potent and tangible reminders to the local populations of not just the generosity of the central ruling authority (at least in the eyes of Islam) but also of their power and rank. The building of such a large and important foundation in Jerusalem, which was far removed from the centre of power, was a clear demonstration of that potent combination of altruism and power.

As a consequence, often some relatively small provincial towns and cities with a symbolic or strategic importance—like Jerusalem—benefited from imperial sponsorship on a scale that was disproportionate to their size or that of the local population. Some scholars have concluded that the donor's prestige and ambition manifested in these foundations outweighed the more practical implications of servicing them (Farouqi 1994: 94). This seems to be confirmed, in the case of Roxelana's beneficence in Jerusalem, by documents which indicate that soon after the complex was built the local administration realised that the *'imara* was consuming half of the city's entire water-supply. To correct this dire (and one assumes, embarrassing) situation, a further section of the existing water conduit from Solomon's Pools was restored, again with the sponsorship of Roxelana: 'As half of the said water is now taken for the imperial *'imaret* built at Jerusalem. It does not suffice. It has (therefore) been ordered to join the water (from a place) named Wadi Abyar to the water (of the aqueduct) mentioned above, and 2,000 *floris* have been given to cover its expenses,' document 94 dated 2 Receb 959/24 June 1552, order to the Beglerbeg and the Qadi of Damascus (Heyd 1960: 146-7 and n.8).

Historical Documentary Sources

The Waqfiyya

As far as the *foundation* of Roxelana's complex is concerned, there is a lamentable lack of any original building inscriptions—neither of the two foundation inscriptions that were (probably) located in the niches above the two gatehouses into the complex have survived. Van Berchem too makes no mention of any from the Ottoman complex. All other inscriptions now found within the complex, that relate to building activities, date from later centuries (see below).

For an understanding of the original extent of the Ottoman foundation we are therefore left to rely on primary written sources, specifically the foundation document or *waqfiyya*. Three copies of the document survive. Two are to be found in Jerusalem; the first, written in Turkish and in all probability a draft copy, is dated 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552. The final endowment deed is

dated 15 Sha‘ban 964/13 June 1557, but this has a further imperial *firman* attached to it dated 29 Shawwal 967/23 July 1560 in which Sulaiman endowed a further four villages and farms in the neighbourhood of Sidon (Stephan 1944: 171ff). Peri also notes that there is a further copy of the draft which is dated 20 Sha‘ban 1203/15 May 1789 (Peri 1984: 48, n. 3).

In the published accounts it has generally been claimed that the foundation of the complex itself dates to 959/1552. It can, however, be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that the project was not completed until some time later. The fact that the final endowment document is dated to 964/1557 (with the later addition dated 967/1560) suggests that the completion of the complex may have been closer to that date. Al-‘Asali, referring to the *sijill* records, has by his own research confirmed this suggestion by stating that ‘the pilgrim hostel’ was completed shortly before the document was drafted in 959/1552 but did not begin to be used until 964/1557 (al-‘Asali 1983: 125-44). Further evidence is found by examining the census documents relating to Jerusalem from the middle of the 10th/16th century which have been published by Cohen. The census of ‘Aqabat al-Sitt (today called ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya) for 945/1538 records that thirty-four households and one bachelor lived in the area; fifteen years later, in 961/1553-4, there were thirty-nine households, four *imams*, two attendants and a doorkeeper (*bawwab*). However, it is not until the census of 970/1562-3, a decade after the foundation date, that one finds real evidence for the operation of the complex. The census then records that there were now fifty households, which included one *shaikh ‘imara*, one *na‘ib ‘imara*, one *bawwab ‘imara* and one *katib ‘imara* (Cohen 1984: 83-9).

For the purposes of this investigation, it is worth quoting fully the sections of the document which refer to the provisions of the *waqfiyya*:

The aforementioned illustrious Mandator (Roxelana) has built in ... Jerusalem ... a well-founded edifice with strongly built pillars, a lofty vaulted mosque, and a high praying place with firm domes ... Seeking the pleasure of Allah she has gratuitously built and embellished (a building) with fifty-five doors (opening) to high domed rooms and pleasant dwelling places of firm structure and strong construction. She has set them aside for the use of those devotees who dwell in the holy precincts and for those pious (ones of the) faithful who follow the orthodox practice of traditional law ... Near this noble mosque, connected with the said rooms, she has caused a public building of good structure to be erected, an enclosure and several roof(ed

building)s, of high construction with a spacious courtyard ... and beside it an exquisite model of a (public) kitchen, a bakery, a cellar, a woodshed, privies, a room for provisions (or refectory), and a storeroom ... she set them aside (for the use of) the poor and the needy (dervishes) and the weak and the distressed ... In the vicinity she has also caused a clean and fine caravanserai to be built as well as a spacious hall and stable for the use of travellers and those who alight and arrive ... (from a journey) for the wayfarers and in general for those who travel and journey (Stephan 1944: 183).

It was not possible at the time of writing to obtain a translation of the document in Istanbul and this account therefore relies on the translation by Stephan. According to both Stephan and al-‘Asali some details of the documents vary between the Turkish and Arabic versions.

As will be evident from the following description of the complex as it stands today, the *khan*, mosque, public kitchen, bakery and courtyard can be identified with reasonable certainty. In addition, other listed rooms (storerooms), although not typologically identifiable from an architectural perspective, can be associated with a number of chambers located around the bakery and the kitchen, evidence for which can be gleaned from the detailed inventory of staff and their wages included in the document. There are provisions for a keeper of the storeroom and for the ‘pantry’, two master cooks and bakers (both with apprentices), two dish-washers, transporters of water and flour to the kitchen and mill respectively, doorkeepers for the kitchen and refectory, three millers, a master repairer and an innkeeper (Stephan 1944: 190-2).

The reference to ‘a spacious hall and stable’ appears to be a direct reference to the huge ‘main hall’ located at ground level in the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. As already mentioned above, the Mamluk palace was incorporated into the foundation at the time of the building of the complex.

Listed in the document are stores and ‘a larder’, ‘a pantry’, ‘a refectory’ and ‘mill’. According to Stephan’s translation there were also ‘three windmills’ (1944: 190). Whether or not the mill included three wind-driven mills is not made clear. However, Nabulsi—writing towards the end of the 11th/17th century—describes quite clearly a mill operated by a horse (or camel). Nabulsi actually stayed in the complex. With regard to the operation of the mill he describes it as being worked by a horse to which a man was tied—presumably this was a reference to the operation of a millstone and the grinding of wheat grain by a horse which was guided by a miller (Nabulsi 1699 from copy made in

1150/1737, 98B-99A; al-'Asali 1981: 86).¹ Today there is no evidence of a mill anywhere in the complex, but Nabulsi's description suggests that it may have been located in the 'south courtyard'—perhaps on the site now occupied by the 13th/19th-century Ottoman courthouse (*al-da'irat al-'adliyya*).

Two major questions arise from the inventory in connection with the 'high praying place with firm domes' and the 'fifty-five doors'. Until the present survey, the 'high praying place' remained unidentified. However, the following description suggests that it was probably located on the upper level of the south gatehouse, and that it is today hidden among later additions and adaptations (see below: South Gatehouse—upper floor). The second question, the matter of the fifty-five rooms, could be interpreted as being a general statement referring to all the buildings and structures. Alternatively it could refer to the amount of space to be allocated for the accommodation of Sufis (the cells are after all referred to as 'dwelling places'). As will be shown, the south side of the complex—the area around the south courtyard—appears to have been the hub of the Sufi community, for it was here that the main communal hall and a substantial mausoleum, perhaps of the founding *shaikh*, were located. The organisation of the hall and mausoleum and the *khan*, finds parallels—perhaps coincidentally—with the 8th/14th-century Mamluk Khan al-Askar in Tripoli where, as here, a large Sufi community was accommodated (Salam-Liebich 1983: 181-6). In Tripoli there are a large number of cells grouped around a courtyard and it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that around the south courtyard of the Khassaki Sultan, on the site of the existing 13th/19th century courthouse (*al-da'irat al-'adliyya*), a number of cells were originally sited, though whether there were fifty-five or not is open to question. This is perhaps in part confirmed by the curious layout of a small house in the south-east corner of the courtyard, which has a series of rooms arranged along a corridor. Although the house is today entered from the street to the south, there is some evidence to suggest that there was a door leading from the north room into the courtyard. In addition, a medium-sized hall space at the north end of the house, with a raised area at one end, could perhaps legitimately be seen as a reception room, although it could also have been a place for study or meditation. A detailed description of the house would provide little further evidence to support the hypothesis that this may have been an element of the 10th/16th-century foundation. However, it is perhaps worth bearing in mind.

¹ My thanks to Mr Khadr Salameh and Mr Khalid Murar for kindly translating the relevant sections of these references.

Later Accounts of the Complex

Little seems to be known of the history of the complex until the middle of the 18th century, and even then the evidence is sketchy. An inscription in the south wall of the upper courtyard of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq dated 1167/1753 records repairs to *al-'imara al-'amira*, which of course included the Mamluk palace. A number of structures in the palace, particularly around the courtyard, are thought to be from this period. It appears, however, that the plaque has been re-used, or at least re-positioned, making the attribution of it to the building difficult (Burgoyne 1987: 487, 504 n. 19).

For the next century no adaptations or major repairs to the complex appear to have been carried out. A brief overview of the historical context at the time goes some way to explaining the reason for this. According to travellers visiting Jerusalem during the latter half of the 12th/18th century, the city was in a poor condition, uncared for and, in areas, in a ruinous state; François Chasseboeuf, later the Comte de Volney, writing in 1784, described its 'destroyed walls, debris-filled moat ... its ... circuit choked with ruins' (Peters 1993: 203). The condition of the city was symptomatic of the general decline of the empire as a whole. A characteristic of that decline was the conspicuous corruption of the Ottoman administration in the region, and particularly in Jerusalem; important *waqf* foundations, which under Islamic law are inviolate from any interference by the state, began to be administered by Ottoman officials—including the governors—which allowed them to control the *waqf* revenues. The Khassaki Sultan *waqf* was the largest endowment in the region and thus an obvious prey for a corrupt administration (Peri 1984: 47; see al-'Asali 1989: 202 and n. 14, 15, 16). Further insight into the political context during the latter half of the 12th/18th century is given in Cohen (1973: 1-29 and 169-72) and Peters (1993: 217-18).

Maladministration and corruption were part and parcel of an unstable and changing political context. Bitter power struggles were taking place, notably between the governors of Palestine and those in Egypt, in which the control of the lands around Gaza and Ramla were crucial. At the same time (1789) Napoleon was invading Egypt and making his way up the eastern Mediterranean via Gaza. The significance of these events, in the context of the present discussion, lies in the fact that the territory around Gaza and Ramla contained a significant proportion of the land and towns endowed to the Khassaki Sultan complex (Peri 1984: 54-5). The properties endowed for the complex which were located in this region were not included in the draft document of the *waqfiyya* but were added to the later Arabic version (for a full list see Stephan 1944: 184, n. 1; see also Peters 1993: 217; Heyd 1960: 143-4). Peri's study of the subject suggests that the revenues from the lands and

urban areas endowed for the foundation (taxes, tithes and other dues), revenues that should have been used for the maintenance and upkeep of the complex, were in fact increasingly siphoned off by successive Ottoman governors for the enhancement of their own power and influence. The greatly reduced revenues available to the administrators of the complex during much of the century could well explain the lack of any building activity during this period.

During the early 12th/19th century similar historical events, within the context of an already troubled city, continued to prevent the revenues from the endowed lands reaching the complex (see al-‘Asali 1989: 222-4). After the Egyptian occupation of Jerusalem under Ibrahim Pasha and Muhammad ‘Ali, in 1830-1, all the revenues from the *waqf* were confiscated. When the Ottomans repossessed the city in 1839, however, the revenues did not revert back to the foundation. After 1839, according to Stephan, the Ottoman administration and government of Palestine had to subsidise the resultant shortfall in revenue (Stephan 1944: 175). A review of Egyptian rule in the city during this period is given by Ben-Arieh (1984: 107-11). Despite the lack of funds, a number of alterations may have in fact taken place. Turner, writing in 1815, states that ‘the Turks divided the structure into several rooms; some served as stables, others contained ovens. They built a mosque and bath-house over it’ (in Ben-Arieh 1984: 161).

By the middle of the 13th/19th century, the foundation seems to have been in a serious state of neglect. Williams writing in the mid-1840s states that the foundation was ‘a conglomeration of ruined buildings’ and Schultz in 1851 notes that it was in a state of ‘neglect ... and that everything was covered in dirt, rocks and ashes’ (Ben-Arieh 1984: 161). Bartlett, writing in 1867, provides a view of the complex immediately prior to its last major restoration a decade later, stating that the place had ‘fallen greatly into decay in almost every respect; the magnificent edifice is crumbling in heaps and the vaulted chambers are mostly tenanted by horses of the irregular cavalry service’ (1867: 88).

Around 1288/1872, Nasif Pasha decided to move the official residence of the Ottoman governor from its location close to the Mamluk monument of al-Jawiliyya (dating to 715-20/1315-20 and now the ‘Umariyya School in the north-west corner of the Haram al-Sharif) to the complex (Burgoyne 1987: 201-10). Further details about this seat of the Turkish governor during the 13th/19th century have been published by Ben-Arieh (1984: 158-60). The Khassaki Sultan complex was subsequently to become the centre of Turkish district rule with the incorporation of a courthouse (*al-da‘irat al-‘adliyya*) (Ben-Arieh 1984: 160). The ‘ruined Queen Helena building’ (the old Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq) was also renovated to become the governor’s residence. The reference to ‘Queen Helena’, the mother of the Byzantine emperor Constantine, is an allusion to the

tradition that she had a pilgrim hospice built on the site. Further details of this identification are outlined below. On the south side of the complex, amongst other repairs, at least three new buildings were constructed for use as the municipal civil courthouse and administrative offices (Ben-Arieh 1984: 161-2). They are easily distinguished from the neighbouring buildings by the strong influence of the ordered European classical tradition which had, by the late 13th/19th century, percolated into most secular Ottoman architecture in the city. Inscriptions found in the south gatehouse record that building work was carried out in 1286/1869-70. It is not however clear whether the new structures were built at the same time as the renovations to the gatehouse. Either way, Nasif Pasha must have given the orders two or three years prior to 1288/1872. There is a second inscription located in the gatehouse which records work carried out in 1342/1923. The extent of the work is unknown and is in any case outside the scope of this chapter.

Despite these changes, the soup kitchen appears to have functioned as it was originally intended right into the 13th/19th century. Bartlett writing in 1867 states that ‘food ... is still distributed there daily to the poor. A gruel made of flour, wheat, oil and salt was distributed twice a day from huge cauldrons in the kitchen to the employees of the Haram al-Sharif, the Tartar and Indian houses for Muslim pilgrims, besides any poor who may ask for it’ (1867: 88). The copper cauldrons clearly became something of a curiosity which ‘strangers ... would go to see ...’ Turner (1815) talks of the cauldrons that ‘may be seen’; Schultz (1851) notes that there were five cauldrons ‘some of which were still usable’, while Reicher (1867), who visited the place several times, notes that there were only three (Ben-Arieh 1984: 160). Today only two of these splendid cauldrons remain, unused, in the kitchen. Two others, however, have been rescued and can be seen in the Aqsa Islamic Museum in the Haram al-Sharif. The place and origins of their manufacture are unknown; however Mr George Hintlian says that a considerable portion of copperware was brought to the city from the main copper-producing manufacturers in Erzerum, Van and, specifically, Tokat, particularly during the 11th/17th century.²

Who built the Complex?

To date the identity of the architect responsible for the foundation remains a mystery. There is nothing in the

² I am grateful to Mr George Hintlian for drawing my attention to other copper cauldrons on display in the Armenian Museum, some of which bear close resemblance to those in the Khassaki Sultan complex. Further information concerning the origins of the copper coming to Jerusalem during this period can also be found in the museum.

published documentation to suggest who he might have been and the absence of any contemporary foundation inscription on the buildings themselves does not make the undertaking any easier. Nonetheless the foundation, under the patronage of the favourite wife of the sultan, was an imperial enterprise and as such was undertaken within the highly centralised organisation of the Empire. It would have been the responsibility of the office of the imperial chief architect (*ser mi'maran-i hassa*) at the court in Istanbul and the organisation of the imperial architects (*cema'at-i mi'maran-i hassa*) (Bates 1985: 122). The planning of imperial projects in the provinces of the empire would also have come under the control of the office and its chief architect (*bash mi'mar*), who was, for much of the 10th/16th, the greatest of the Ottoman architects—Sinan (897-8/1491-2-997/1588) (Bates 1985: 124).

It has been suggested that Sinan drew or supervised the plans of every important building not only in Istanbul itself but all over the empire (Goodwin 1971: 108). It is known that, amongst the many projects with which he was directly involved, there were a total of seventeen kitchens (*'imara*) (Kuban 1982: 64). However, despite the fact that the Jerusalem complex is listed in the catalogue of works attributed to him, there is no evidence to suggest that he was ever directly involved with its construction.³ Cerasi points out that such was the prestige of Sinan that all projects throughout the Ottoman empire have been directly attributed to him, but he could not have been in all the places that these projects were being undertaken (Cerasi 1988: 87-8). Jerusalem was (and remains) the third holiest city in Islam and, therefore, of prime symbolic and religious importance to the sultan. It was however a small provincial city in the outreaches of the empire, an administrative centre in the province (*sanjak*) of the *eyalat* of Damascus (Peters 1994: 207). Thus any major works that were to receive the direct attention and 'mark of Sinan' (Kuban 1982: 64) were more likely to be found in the larger, more prominent cities where the status and rank of the architect, and by inference of the patronage of the sultan—or of his wife—were of more than token importance. Be that as it may, Evliya Çelebi, writing a century later, says that Sinan was sent by Sulaiman 'together with the required material' to 'embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem'. Evliya Çelebi also claims that, on his way to Mecca, Sinan stopped in Jerusalem to organise the architects and artisans for the restorations to the Dome of the Rock (quoted Stephan 1939: 86; Peters 1993: 204). Evliya Çelebi was in Jerusalem on two separate occasions in 1059/1649 and 1071/1660-1 (see Evliya

Çelebi in *QDAP* 1942 ix: 81-104; Peters 1985: 479). The date of his reported visit to the city is not known. In any case Sinan would have been hard pressed to have had time to supervise the building of the complex. Between 957/1550 and 965/1558 he was at the height of his career and directly engaged in a large number of projects spread over the area of modern-day Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean, the most important of which was the Süleymaniyye complex (957-64/1550-7) which occupied much of his time (Necipoğlu 1985: 94-5 n. 4).

The architectural evidence also suggests that even if Sinan was ultimately responsible for the complex, the job must have been passed over to a lesser architect who was familiar with the region. Husrev Pasha, for example, in 1545-6, commissioned Sinan to build a mosque and *madrassa* in Aleppo but it was probably built by one of his students. The chief architect is known to have kept registers of provincial architects and craftsmen (Bates 1985: 122-3, 125). Cerasi notes the later (11th/17th century) existence of 'town architects'; these were men professionally midway between the imperial architect and the master mason, and their responsibility was to oversee imperial building sites in provincial towns. Prior to that time, according to Evliya Çelebi, local architects and master builders had rarely taken part in important projects (Cerasi 1988: 88, n. 9, 10). As with much early Ottoman architecture in the city, the buildings in the Khassaki Sultan complex display nothing of the virtuosity of the Ottoman monuments found closer to the centre of power. Rather, in direct contrast to the elegance and lightness of the 'imperial style' adopted by the central imperial office during the period, the buildings in the complex are generally of a solid, functional type in keeping with the local and regional tradition, confirming perhaps Cerasi's statement (1988: 89) that local/regional techniques in the building trades were incorporated into the wider Ottoman 'urban culture'. That it was a provincial architect who undertook the work is perhaps best intimated by a slightly later document dating from 987/1579. In it the chief architect (*mi'mar bashi*) of Damascus, a man called Da'ud, agreed to undertake the restorations of the Dome of the Rock, which had been delayed since the time of Sulaiman's reign (Heyd 1960: 157). The fact that the restorations to the Dome of the Rock—an undertaking of great symbolic and religious importance—were passed over to a provincial architect seems to suggest a degree of confidence in their work by the central authorities. Further proof that Sinan is unlikely to have been involved is provided by the Süleymaniyye complex in Damascus, built at the same time as the complex in Jerusalem. Here Sinan is known to have been the mind behind its planning, which explains why the architecture is considerably more accomplished than in Jerusalem, although he is thought to have left the construction to a local architect (Blair and Bloom 1994: 200).

³ *Tuhfat al-mi'marin*, in: Rifki Melul Meriç, *Mimar Sinan. Hayati eseri I: Minar Sinan'ın hayatani, eserline dair metinler* 1965: 25, n. 130 *jami' sharif, madrasa, 'imaret in al-Quds*. My thanks to Mr Mahmud Hawari for this reference.

If the known documentary evidence does not indicate the identity of the designer of the complex, it is possible to find a clue in the complex itself. As will be seen, a close study of the *khan* and kitchen reveals a similarity between the details of construction and decoration and those of the gates (and walls) surrounding the city, and the six *sabils*, which had been rebuilt during the preceding decade. Indeed, the style and proportions of the coursed stonework—and the decorative details in particular—occur only in these three projects in Jerusalem. Hood-moulds on the south gatehouse leading into the *khan* are elaborately *muqarnas* in design and are almost identical to those found around the outer gateway of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-‘Amud). They are the only ones of their type in the city dating from the middle of the 10th/16th century and should not be confused with the simpler, more geometric designs found in other monuments such as those on the cornice of Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31, perhaps 10th/16th century). In addition, the *khan* and the kitchen both have a number of projecting circular bosses, carved with geometric designs, on their most visible elevations. There are no other examples to be found in Jerusalem of the same scale or fineness which have been used in the same manner, except on the gates and walls of the city. There are similar medallions on the north elevation of Ribat Bairam Jawish, a few yards to the east of the complex, which at first sight seem similar. However, on closer inspection these do not bear a sufficiently close likeness to the medallions found on the walls and gates of the city. Similarities can also be discerned between the construction and stonework of the north elevation of the kitchen and the main north elevation facing onto ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, and similar work recurs on the other important imperial project carried out by Sulaiman, the six monumental water fountains (*sabils*) (see cat. nos. 5-10). The best way to appreciate the congruencies between the masonry of the buildings and the subtleties of both medallions and *sabils* is, of course, to stand in front of them. (For more on Sulaiman’s fountains see Rosen-Ayalon 1989 and van Berchem 1923 2: 412-3). Was the architect responsible for the rebuilding of the city walls and gates, or at least someone close to that work, the same person who had been commissioned to build the Khassaki Sultan complex? Tantalising as this hypothesis is, it is difficult to take it much further, for little is known from the documentary evidence about the identity of the architect (or architects) for the city walls. Tradition has it that there were two men and that both were executed on completion of the work, after the sultan discovered that they had failed to include Mount Zion within the walls. Tradition also says that two tombs located inside Jaffa Gate are the graves of these unfortunate people (Stephan 1938: 151 n. 3), who were also believed to be responsible for repairs to the aqueducts and six *sabils*. Some credence for the linking of the projects is given by the architectural

similarities between the two principal imperial projects undertaken in the city during the third and fourth decades of the 16th century and the next imperial project (leaving aside the restorations to the Dome of the Rock), as well as by the results of Cohen’s research into the city walls. Cohen has concluded that a senior Ottoman official, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, whose task was to collect taxes to fund the building of the walls (*al-amin ‘ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya*), and who latterly seems to have become involved in the building works themselves, was the same official who superintended the restoration of the water supply to the city (Cohen 1989: 470-1). Unfortunately, no indisputable connection has so far emerged from the documents to enable links to be forged between the builders of the sultan’s projects and those of his wife’s foundation. Until such a discovery is made, any further conclusions will continue to be speculative.

One can only make a guess at the identity of the architect(s) for the complex. However, more information can be found about the craftsmen and builders. A document dating from 959/1552 records that the Beglerbeg of Damascus was asked to send ‘builders, carpenters and others for the construction of the *‘imaret*’ (Heyd 1960: 143). It is also likely that there were further craftsmen involved from other areas of the Levant. Evliya Çelebi writes that Sulaiman ordered Mustafa Lala Pasha, the governor of Damascus, to Jerusalem to carry out the restoration of the city, and that the latter ‘gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo and sent them to the city’ (Stephan 1939: 87; 1938: 151). Stephan in fact does not think that Mustafa Lala Pasha had any part in the work (1938: 151, n. 3). By 959/1552, when the new imperial project was started, there would presumably have been a large number of craftsmen and builders in the city from within and around the Levant, if the postponement to the restorations to the Dome of the Rock, and the completion of the rebuilding of the city walls and restoration of the water supply are taken into account. All in all, these works represent a gigantic undertaking. The presence of craftsmen from various regions is perhaps confirmed by the curious dissimilarity between the design of the two entrances to the complex. The north gatehouse, a portal covered with a trefoil arch, seems to have its origins in the Mamluk tradition, and is comparable, for example, to the entrance portal of the Madrasa of Sulaiman Pasha (950/1543-4) in Cairo. By contrast, the solidity of the south gatehouse is more akin stylistically to Syrian architecture. The combined effect of the arch and the hood-mould bears close parallels to, for example, the Mamluk Khan al-Askar in Tripoli (Salam-Liebich 1983: 184, fig. 170), Qaisariyyat Miru in Aleppo (1983: 212 fig. 18), or Jami’a Taubah, also in Aleppo (1983: 209 fig. 187) (for more on the organisation of itinerant craftsmen and their companies see

Cerasi 1988: 88-91; Bates 1985: 124-5).

Even if the dissimilarity between the two gatehouses is suggestive of the involvement of masons and builders from 'Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo'; the comparisons with Cairene architecture should not be taken too far. This was a project initiated from Istanbul and Damascus. The overall impression given by the design of the complex is that it was primarily influenced by the architectural traditions found to the north of the city, say in Tripoli, Damascus and Aleppo, rather than to the south in Cairo. Further evidence for this is found above the *mihrab* in the mosque adjacent to the *khan*, where there is a moulded frieze with decorative *muqarnas*-like arches running along it which is unfortunately very difficult to photograph. The only other example that the author has found in the city is above the *mihrab* inside the small monument of Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42) situated against the east wall of the Haram, but its closest parallels are in the north, for example in Aleppo above a side entrance in the Qaisariyyat Miru (Salam-Liebich 1983: 212, fig. 188).

Overview of the Site

Site Boundaries and Topography

A question that has not been satisfactorily answered concerns the real extent of the buildings founded by Roxelana. After its completion the boundaries of the 10th/16th-century complex were diffused by the annexation, or incorporation, of other neighbouring foundations, which were built both before and after 959/1552. Indeed, in all four—or perhaps five—important monuments are now known to have been brought within the remit of the complex's administration (fig. 35.2).

The largest of these, located on the west side of the complex, was the palace known as Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. As will be seen, the building played a significant role in planning the 10th/16th-century work. The Ribat and Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. nos. 11 and 12), built in 947/1540 and located a few metres to the east of the foundation, were incorporated sometime after Roxelana's complex had been built (see van Berchem 1923 2: 429-30). Al-'Asali, paraphrasing an Ottoman document, states that the foundation was 'entrusted to the neighbouring people in 'Aqabat es-Sitt where the Tekkiye is' fairly soon after the foundation of the complex (1981: 20). At the time of writing the author was unable to obtain further information concerning the date of the incorporation of the Bairam Jawish foundation into the complex, which is a pity since such a date would provide the last significant piece of information needed to establish the full extent of the imperial complex at the time of the final *waqfiyya* (1557). With the Bairam Jawish complex came an undated

foundation located between it and the eastern boundary of the north courtyard of the 'imara. Until the present publication, this building was known as 'Madrasa al-Rasasiya', a reference to the use of lead sheeting between the lower seven courses of masonry on its northern elevation—probably used as a sign of prestige as an expensive substitute for the more common mortar (see Natsheh cat. no. 28; Burgoyne 1971: 23-4 where the wrong date is given; Bourgoin *Les Arts Arabes*: fig. XIV). The architectural evidence suggests that the building had probably been built into the *ribat* at the time of its foundation. This has recently been confirmed with the discovery of documentary evidence which positively identifies it as the (as yet undated) Mamluk Madrasa al-Mawardiyya.⁴ Al-'Asali states also that legal documents refer to the 'Madrasa Khassakiyya' (1981: 25).

From a study of the boundaries of the above foundations, the known routes of the roads to the north and south, and the evidence of the latest survey, it becomes possible with a degree of certainty to give the extent of the works built to stand alongside Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. The core of the 10th/16th-century foundation can be broadly described as occupying a rectangular plot of land measuring 65-67m from north to south and 50-55m from east to west. The north and south boundaries are clearly defined by the street of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya to the north and 'Aqabat al-Saraya to the south. Al-'Aqabat al-Takiyya is the usual name current today. In the past it has also been known as al-'Aqabat al-Sitt—that is, the street of Sitt Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya who built Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. Mujir al-Din records that prior to this it was also called al-'Aqabat al-Suq (Market Street) (Burgoyne 1987: 485; Bartlett 1867: 89) or al-'Aqabat al-Sudan (Stephan 1944: 173). As recently as the last century it was also known as al-'Aqabat al-Malika Hilana, after Queen Helena, the mother of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, who was thought to have built a pilgrim hospice on the site (Stephan 1944: 173). Indeed, during the 13th/19th century, the complex, as well as being called al-Takiyya (Seetzen 1806 in Ben-Arieh 1984: 160) was often referred to, by western travellers at least, as 'Queen Helena's Palace' (see Reicher [1867], Williams [mid-1840s], and Turner [1815], all in Ben-Arieh 1984: 160-1). Documents dating from the Mandate period, now lodged in the Rockefeller Museum, call the present day 'Aqabat al-Takiyya the "Aqabat et-Tekiyye I", and the present 'Aqabat al-Saraya is called the "Aqabat et-Tekiyye II". The southern end of the western boundary is bordered by a large residential complex (*haush*) while Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq is located to its north end. The southern end of the eastern boundary can be defined by neighbouring residential buildings, while to the

⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Yusuf Natsheh for making this information available to me so soon after he had discovered it.

northern end it is defined by the western side of Ribat Bairam Jawish.

The site rises quite steeply to the west, with a further rise to the south west giving those buildings in the upper reaches of the site some opportune views of the Haram al-Sharif and more particularly the Dome of the Rock—which was the focus of the lives of pious travellers and pilgrims who came to stay in the city. This observation was first made by Burgoyne with reference to the positioning of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (1987: 485 and 501, fig. 48.13). If the foundation is fortuitously located for that reason, it is more likely that a more conventional factor played a role. Not least were the practical considerations of attempting to accommodate the substantial provisions of the *waqfiyya* close to the Haram in an already densely built-up city. Most of the immediate vicinity of the Haram had been heavily built up during the Mamluk occupation and it seems as though Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (whose founder had died more than 150 years earlier), and the area immediately to the east of it, provided an easily accessible and appropriate setting for the imperial foundation.

General Arrangement

Broadly speaking, the complex is divided into two distinct groups of buildings ranged around courtyards. The areas are situated to the north and south of each other with their own entrances from ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya and ‘Aqabat al-Saraya respectively. The southern area functioned primarily as accommodation for travellers and for the pious community living in or passing through the complex. It contains the *khan*, plus living and congregational areas for the Sufis. The main function of the northern area was to produce food for the poor of the city and the pious community. It thus contains the kitchen, the bakery, a water fountain and associated storerooms. The complex was required to provide food for all the residents including its staff and that of the Haram, the poor, and the religious community. As a result it was located centrally between the two areas.

The buildings in both north and south areas are ranged around a courtyard (hereafter known as the north courtyard and south courtyard). On the southern side of the complex, situated to the west of the south courtyard and divided from it by a high stone wall, there is also the courtyard of the *khan*.

South Courtyard and Khan al-Khassakiyya (fig. 35.1)

The southern side of the complex is entered through a gatehouse located on ‘Aqabat al-Saraya. To the north west

at ground level there is a small mosque reached from the *khan*. The gateway emerges immediately to the north into the courtyard of the *khan*. Ranged around it, to the north, west and east, are a series of vaulted bays which are today used as print shops. The east end of the courtyard is bounded by the dividing wall separating it from the south courtyard, access to which is through a low arched opening at the south end of the wall. To the north, immediately opposite the gateway, a wide arched opening leads through to the ‘main hall’ of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. Since the late 1960s, half of the courtyard has been walled in and roofed over to provide extra work space. A stone staircase rises up the east and south walls to an expansive open-air terrace over the vaults of the *khan* below. The façade of the Ottoman extension to the upper level of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq forms the boundary to the terrace to the north, while to the south there is a small cluster of eight rooms which forms the upper level of the gatehouse. These rooms of mixed age are currently used as accountants’ offices, a music room and stores. The upper level of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, meanwhile, is mainly used as dormitories for orphans living in the complex.

The south courtyard (pl. 35.2) is broadly speaking a rectangular space. The north façade of the late 13th/19th-century al-Da’irat al-‘Adliyya (the ‘house of justice’ or courthouse) occupies much of the south side of the courtyard and is situated against the east side of the gatehouse. It extends to the south to ‘Aqabat al-Saraya and is today used as a print shop.

The east end of the courtyard is terminated by a cross-vaulted chamber located at lower ground level. Above it is another late 13th/19th-century room now used as an office by the director of the schools. The mausoleum, which is today employed to store cane used in the furniture-making workshops, fills the north east corner of the courtyard. To the west and on the opposite side of the courtyard from the courthouse there is the single-storey building. Its interior was once a large hall, which, as will be seen, probably functioned as the main communal space for the Sufi community. In modern times it has been divided by a modern concrete wall into a now abandoned classroom and refectory. A narrow vaulted space immediately to the west has been converted into a kitchen.

North Courtyard and Kitchens (fig. 35.3)

The north courtyard (pl. 35.3) is reached from ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya through a gatehouse located immediately to the east of the exquisite façade of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. The courtyard is roughly rectangular and bounded to the west by the three-storey high east elevation of the Mamluk palace. Directly ahead—to the south—at the top of two semicircular steps, there is a high arched doorway leading

through to an as yet unidentified hall (see below—kitchen) which has been rebuilt in modern times. A barrel-vaulted chamber, adjacent to the gateway to the east, houses latrines.

The courtyard extends east to a lower, narrow area via a steep flight of steps stretching across its full width between the kitchen on the south side, and the bakery building on the north side. The bakery building also fronts onto 'Aqabat al-Takiyya to the north. At the east end of both buildings, the lower courtyard widens to the north and south and is bounded at its east end by a three-storey 'tower building' which accommodates a single vaulted classroom on each floor. These rooms are reached from the double courtyard of Madrasa al-Mawardiyya via neighbouring roofs further to the east. The now disused *sabil* occupies this end of the lower courtyard. The lower level of the courtyard has been raised artificially to a level plain above the natural slope of the site. This is primarily indicated by a flight of steps which leads down to taps at the base of the west face of the *sabil*. A second flight, located on its south side, leads up to its roof.

To the north of the *sabil* two doors give onto three small chambers, two of which are abandoned and full of debris. The third, adjoining the east elevation of the bakery building, is used as a wood store. A fourth chamber, located to the north of this last one, is reached via a small tunnel leading from the east vault of the bakery building.

Returning to the upper level of the courtyard, one encounters a wide staircase in the north-east corner which leads up to the first floor of the bakery building. Today this floor accommodates three classrooms and a small house occupied by two widows. In point of fact, the house extends from the bakery building across a small courtyard to a small chamber on the upper floor of the north gatehouse with a large number of niches in its walls.

Architecture—South

South Elevation (pl. 35.4)

The south elevation of the complex—as it exists today—is 33m long and stretches from a point 12m to the west of the corner of 'Aqabat al-Saraya, up the slope of the street. A neighbouring house adjoins the east end of the elevation while at its upper (west) end, the eastern part of a second house has been built in front of the gatehouse façade. To date the hidden extent of this end of the elevation remains unsurveyed.

The elevation comprises two distinct components—the south front of the 13th/19th-century courthouse (Da'irat al-'Adliyya) dominates the east end, and, to the west, the 10th/16th-century gateway leads through into Khan al-Khassakiyya. At a distance of 5.3m from the west

end, the façade of the gatehouse changes direction to the north by approximately 3 degrees.

An arched, double height, gateway 4m wide (pl. 35.5) dominates the 10th/16th-century elevation. The arch is constructed of voussoirs 0.3m deep and springs from double corbel stones on each side; the stones extend up to 70cm into the surrounding masonry. On their inside edges there are three registers of *muqarnas* carved in heavy relief. An elaborately decorated cavetto hood-mould, which terminates at the springing line of the arch with horizontal extensions, surrounds the arch. The curved underside of the mould is carved with a repeated leafy *muqarnas* motif. The moulding bears a striking resemblance to a hood-mould around the north arch of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud). Four small foliated carvings in relief—two on each side of the arch—project from the *muqarnas* motif up over the front edge of the mould; these seem to be the only examples in Jerusalem. A deeply incised hemispherical basket-weave boss is positioned at the apex of the arch. Further decoration is provided in the form of circular medallions located in the masonry around the gateway. On each side of the arch there is a single medallion—measuring approximately 0.35m in diameter—incorporating a twelve-pointed star design. Above the apex of the arch one of similar size is carved with a series of radiating petals in high relief.

The double window at first floor level, immediately above the gateway, is surmounted by two pointed arches with finely drafted voussoirs of alternate orangey-brown and a darker reddish-brown colour. In place of a mullion, the arches are supported on, and separated by, a single round white marble column with a capital of incised triangular design that is typically Ottoman. Again the author has found no other examples of this design in other monuments from the period in Jerusalem. However, clear comparisons can be made, for example, with the capitals found in the asylum colonnade in the Bayazid II complex at Edirne (Goodwin 1977: 82, pl. 26). An almost identical window design can be seen in the east elevation of an unidentified 13th/19th-century building immediately to the north west of Jaffa Gate adjacent to the south side of the newly constructed Dan Hotel. An exquisitely carved hollow-square hood-mould, carved into the surrounding masonry, surrounds the arches. The mould terminates on either side of the window with volutes of the same design, and, at the apex of the arch, it forms a circular loop which surrounds a small ventilation hole. Positioned between the arches there is a single medallion in the shape of a flower with ten petals.

The remaining fenestration in the façade is unremarkable. Two pairs of rectangular windows, set to the left and right of the double window, light the rooms on the upper floor of the gatehouse. Above the pair on the left-hand side there is a single star-shaped ventilation hole. The

usual horizontal ventilation slits are located above the lintels—however, rather unusually, they vary between the curved and flat types. Located at ground level on either side of the gateway, there is a single semicircular arched window, which lights the chambers to each side of the gateway portico. An inspection of the masonry surrounding the windows suggests that both were either remodelled or inserted at a later date. A small rectangular ventilation window is located above the window to the left of the gateway. Above it there is a stone with a carved motif that has the appearance of a mason's mark (fig. 35.4).

Discussions with Dr Yusuf Natsheh and Dr Beatrice St Laurent have not produced a consensus as to whether, in fact, the elevation is entirely of 16th-century origin. Certainly there is little doubt that the gateway and the decoration around it date from the 10th/16th century. However, there is a suggestion that its first floor level may have been rebuilt at a later date. Unfortunately, the survey team were unable to undertake a drawn survey of this elevation which would have shown the jointing more clearly. The inscriptions inside the gateway give no clue as to the extent of the restorations and no other documentary or pictorial evidence that describes them has yet appeared. As will be seen, the first-floor rooms above the entrance portico were probably built (or rebuilt) during the 13th/19th century. While the stonework in the lower half of the elevation is weathered and includes changes in the coursing around openings, as well as a number of re-used stones, the upper half of the elevation is evenly coursed and in good condition. This suggests that it could have been rebuilt at a later date. However, it seems more probable that the extent of re-building was limited to the east end of the elevation perhaps at the time of, or before, the building of the courthouse. A careful examination of the stonework close to that end of the façade reveals a vertical joint that meanders up the full height of the elevation, along the length of which the general coursing of the stonework changes. This feature is treated more fully below under the description of the upper floor of the gatehouse. The quality and design of the central double window, and more particularly the moulding around it, resemble closely those of the earlier Mamluk foundations—for example, al-Uthmaniyya, which dates to 840/1437 (Burgoyne 1987: 544). The general conclusion must therefore be that most of the upper level of the elevation was probably retained in the restorations of the 13th/19th century.

South Gatehouse

The gatehouse consists of two floors with a mezzanine level in the north-east corner. At ground level, double-height inner and outer porticoes, separated by heavy wooden doors, lead through to the *khan* to the north. Following the

Syrian model (Hillenbrand 1994: 350), on each side of the outer portico there is a single vaulted room shaped to suit the exigencies of the site. A blocked-up opening in the east room suggests that there was once access to the east of the gatehouse. The mosque, entered from the *khan*, is located in the north-west corner (see below). A dead-end intramural passage in the east wall of the inner portico represents the remnants of a staircase that once gave direct access to the upper floor.

The first floor of the gatehouse comprises a cluster of six rooms ranged along the south front of the gatehouse (fig. 35.5). All of the rooms are entered from the roof of the *khan* and are today used as offices and a music room. The spaces have been considerably altered and rebuilt since the foundation of the building. Two large, decoratively vaulted spaces—on the south and west—dominate the group and are the earliest in date. The other spaces were the result of later restorations or rebuildings.

Outer Portico (pl. 35.3)

The double height outer portico is almost square in plan, measuring 5.8m by 5.1m. The space is covered by a plastered cross vault between which there are wall arches. The walls of the portico are solidly constructed of regularly coursed and finely drafted stones measuring on average 0.4m deep. Although accurately cut, the masonry is deeply incised with regularly spaced markings often used as the 'keying' for plaster. There is also evidence that the stonework was once painted a light blue colour. A photograph taken as late as 1971 shows that the whole portico was at least painted if not plastered (Burgoyne 1971: 28, pl. XVIIb). Evliya Çelebi, writing at the end of the 11th/17th century, states that 'the houses are covered with lime as are all the prayer places' (in Peters 1985: 494). At the springing line of the vault, the ribs split to form a rather unusual decorative petal-shaped incision in each corner of the space. This rather pretty feature seems to be unique to this monument in Jerusalem.

On each side of main gateway is a single niche that was probably used as a cubby-hole for doormen or guards. The west niche measures 0.7m deep and is covered with a cloister vault, while the niche on the east side of the gateway measures 0.95m deep and is covered by a vault, which incorporates a split pendentive in the centre of the back wall. Two diamond-shaped lozenges carved in low relief are also incorporated into the vault. These lozenges were quite a common feature in Mamluk monuments in the city. The closest example to the complex is to be found in the ceiling vault of al-Madrasa al-Rasasiya/Mawardiyya in Ribat Bairam Jawish.

The north wall, which appears to have been repaired after its foundation, is dominated by the gateway

into the *khan* courtyard. The opening is 3m wide and 2.3m deep and is covered by a solidly built arch. Projecting from the impost blocks at each end there are mouldings which extend to the ends of the north wall. An inspection of the stones above the moulding at this point suggests that the moulding may originally have continued up the face of the wall around the line of the wall arch. On either side of the arch there is a single projecting medallion with a pattern of radiating petals. The curved hinge stones for the wooden doors, which are hinged at the back of the stone jambs of the arch, are in the vault above. Carved into each of the northern jambs of the opening there is a single triangle that may possibly be a mason's mark (fig. 35.4).

Positioned above the same gateway there is a large, recessed panel, the ends of which are terminated with a trefoil-shaped frame. Originally the panel probably housed the foundation inscription, but, as with the inscription above the gateway into the north courtyard, the plaque has since been removed. The two inscription panels that are now fixed over the recess record restorations to the complex during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The larger one located over the recess is dated to 1326/1923 and is in Arabic; the second, immediately below the first, is dated 1286/1869-70. It is, rather unusually, written in both Turkish and Arabic and records the restorations carried out by Nasif Pasha. The other, later, inscription appears to record work done during the period of the British Mandate. No reference to this work was found in the records from the British Mandate open to the public and now located in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.⁵

High on the east and west walls there are two further panels with Qur'anic inscriptions carved in relief. Each panel is surrounded by a cartouche with chevron-, scallop- and star-shaped designs, and are today painted in dark green and rusty-red colours. On either side of all of these recesses there is a single projecting medallion with a geometric design carved in low relief. A further medallion is located above each of the inscription panels, below the apex of the vault.

In the north-west corner of the gatehouse at mezzanine level there is a small cross-vaulted chamber, access to which is from a staircase in the south-west corner courtyard of the *khan*. The room is currently used as a store for oil and is closed off with a heavy iron door (fig. 35.7). Officials working for the orphanage say that the door in the entrance to the room was incorporated during the mandate period and that the room was used as a holding cell for

prisoners awaiting trial in the courthouse. It is today an unimpressive chamber. It is, however, the only space from which one can identify the now blocked-up staircase that led from ground level to first-floor level at the time the complex was first founded. In the west wall of the room there is an arched window that opens into the stairwell. Access to the stairwell is almost impossible. A close examination, however, reveals that it is covered with a rising barrel vault constructed of finely crafted ashlar. The bottom five or six steps were removed when it was closed up. It is possible to see despite this that at its upper end it turned to the west, and would have emerged, probably into the open air, on the roof of the gatehouse.

Upper floor (pl. 35.7 and fig. 35.5)

The upper floor of the gatehouse consists of a cluster of chambers built on a raised podium above the level of the rest of the roof terrace over the *khan*. Broadly speaking the rooms form a shallow rectilinear C-shaped configuration, with the top and bottom extensions projecting to the north. Three steps spanning the intervening space rise to a landing along the north elevation. Three main chambers are ranged along the south elevation of the gatehouse. A large central chamber projects to the north of two similarly sized square-shaped rooms to the east and west. The central chamber is divided into two areas. To the south there is a large space which is raised approximately 0.5m above a narrow antechamber to the north, which is at the same level as the external landing. The southern space is roughly the same size as the two flanking chambers. While the antechamber is covered by a stretched cross vault, the raised area is covered by a high, folded cross vault. In the east and west walls of the antechamber there is a deeply recessed niche which stretches from ground level up to head height. On each side of the recess openings there are projecting stone jambs, which suggests that one or both of them are blocked-up doorways. This seems to be confirmed by the plans which show the rear wall of the western recess to be unusually thin.

The two flanking chambers were probably very similar to each other. The east chamber, however, has been heavily altered and repaired (probably at the end of the last or the beginning of this century). It is now covered by a flat ceiling and has a high wide window in its east wall with a wide, flat, dressed-stone architrave around the external surface of the opening. The west chamber, however, has survived to a large extent unaltered. It is entered via a tiny external lobby to the north and is covered by an elaborate cross vault with a domelet at its apex. The areas between the pendentives of the vault are incised to create an elaborate geometric pattern that is very similar to the one in the vault in an antechamber in the exquisite cell

⁵ Mr Giora Solar, formerly of the Israeli Antiquities Authority, informed me that there are considerable quantities of archival material from the period in the museum which are still largely undocumented. Future scholars may find records of the extent of the Mandate period restorations in the complex in those records.

commonly known as ‘the Mamluk cell’, but more correctly the North Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (see cat. no. 22), which is located on the north side of the upper esplanade of the Haram. In the south wall a bay window, which incorporates a pair of window openings separated by a stone mullion, opens into ‘Aqabat al-Saraya. There are a number of niches located at both a high and a low level in the east and west walls. A niche in the north wall reveals itself in plan to be a blocked-up window. A similarly positioned niche in the north wall of the flanking chamber to the east suggests that it too once had a window. Both seem to confirm that the smaller rooms to the north are later additions.

The north elevation of the main central chamber has three openings—a door flanked by a window on each side. Around and above the openings, a broad relieving arch of alternating cream and grey stones spans the area from one side of the elevation to the other. The use of different coloured stones—or *ablaq* technique—is of course typical of Mamluk monuments and continues in some Ottoman foundations. In this case, however, it is almost certainly a ‘revival’ technique used in imitation of the earlier monuments. Indeed it is fairly safe to say that the elevation as a whole is a later, perhaps 13th/19th-century, addition to the building. The evidence for this is to be found in the decorative keystone at the apex of the arch where there is a floral motif typical of the last century.

A careful examination of the location of the blocked-up staircase, which survives at ground and mezzanine levels, reveals that it would have risen onto the podium terrace through the floor of the existing lobby at the east end of the external landing.

What seems to emerge from the survey of this cluster of rooms is that the 10th/16th-century upper level of the gatehouse consisted of a central chamber flanked by two rooms, that the central chamber had a raised area to the south and that it was, possibly, open to the north. Such evidence strongly suggests that the arrangement of the rooms was that of a *qibla iwan* with two flanking chambers (fig. 35.5). Confirmation for this idea is found in a strikingly similar arrangement, in both plan and location, that occurs not far away in the Mamluk foundation of al-Jawiliyya (715–20/1315–20)—which happens coincidentally to be the site of the former Ottoman barracks in the north west corner of the Haram (Burgoyne 1987: 201–10). In the Mamluk complex, the central *qibla iwan* has windows in its south wall and a door at the north end of each of the side walls of the space leading through to the two flanking chambers in the same configuration as the chambers in the Khassaki Sultan foundation. In addition, the *iwans* in both complexes are located on podia and approached via a short flight of steps. The suggestion gains further credence when one considers that it was in this area of the complex that the pious residents were primarily based. Indeed, if this

supposition is correct, one could venture to suggest that the main unidentified component in the list of provisions in the *waqfiyya*, namely the ‘high praying place’, may in fact be these three rooms.

Khan (*Khan al-Khassakiyya*) (fig. 35.1 and pl. 35.8)

The *khan* lies immediately to the north of the gatehouse, positioned against the south side of the main hall of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. Despite the irregularities of the site, the architect has managed to insert a rectangular courtyard in the same way that the Mamluk Suq al-Haraj in Tripoli (14th century) has been planned to fit the exigencies of its site (Salam-Liebich 1983: 187, fig. 172). The courtyard measures 9.2m by 14.3m, surrounded by walls extending up to a height of 5.78m. On the north, south and west sides two broad, pointed arches supported on five solid piers measuring some 1.32m square face onto the courtyard. The south-eastern arch—which is, in point of fact, the portal arch of the main gateway—is supported on the east wall of the gatehouse at its north end. The pier in the north west corner is slightly larger, with its inside corner shaped to define the corner of the courtyard space. The arches spring from slightly projecting raked corbel stones some of which—specifically those in the west bay of the south elevation leading through to the mosque—have simple *muqarnas*-type arches incised into the raking surface. The masonry in the walls is roughly dressed. Decorative features are however provided by a series of projecting medallions located at a high level between each of the arches. The medallions are each carved with radiating petals or floral designs.

There seems to be no indication that there was ever a second floor to provide accommodation for travellers. It is more than likely that the existing first floor of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq and the main hall provided copious space for them. In any case the roof terrace also provided extra space for those who wished to pray; this was near to the *qibla iwan*.

Seven vaulted bays, shaped to absorb the irregularities of the surrounding buildings, are ranged around the north, south and west sides. The northern portico was built against the south side of the main hall of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq which provided easy access from the reception area of the courtyard to the stabling facilities and accommodation of the hall. While the undersides of the vaults and enclosed outer walls of the *khan* are plastered, the transverse arches separating each of the bays are constructed of fine ashlar. In the north east corner of the *khan* there is a smaller bay measuring 2.7m by 4m which houses four lavatories.

The east end of the courtyard is bounded by a

wall—measuring 1.4m thick—that rises to the same height as the other three sides of the courtyard. A walkway runs along the top of the wall. The north end of the wall abuts the south east corner of the Mamluk palace and, at its southern end, the north-east corner of the gatehouse. Through the wall, a shallow arched opening measuring 2m wide, with chamfered jambs facing onto the courtyard of the *khan*, gives access to the south courtyard to the east. A flight of steps in the south-east corner rises up the wall, above the archway, via a landing at mezzanine level to the roof above. The steps were clearly constructed at a later date to the wall, for they are built in front of one of three medallions set into the masonry at the same level as those in the other three elevations of the courtyard.

The east wall probably existed in a similar form in the original foundation. This is indicated by the small vaulted space in the north-east corner of the courtyard, as well as the close proximity of the refectory in the south courtyard. However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that it has been rebuilt at a later date. In the first place, an inspection of the east side of the wall shows that the upper two-thirds of the wall is built with a rougher masonry than that of the lower third. This may indicate a substantial reconstruction of the wall. In the second place, the medallions in the east elevation appear to be in re-use. Whereas the medallions in the other walls of the courtyard are the same size as the surrounding masonry, here they are not. Finally, there is a large door jamb in the south-east corner of the archway, but there is no reciprocal jamb on the other side of the opening. The jamb extends to a height equal to the upper level of the first building phase of the surrounding masonry. This seems to suggest that there was a large opening, perhaps similar to the other arches of the courtyard, in the wall which once led through to another courtyard on the site that is now occupied by the 19th-century courthouse.

Mosque (pl. 35.9)

The *waqfiyya* stipulates that ‘... a virtuous *imam* should be appointed for the aforementioned noble mosque ... He should be a Sunnite, following the school of Abu Hanifa. He should lead the Moslem congregation in prayers as prescribed, and also serve as *mu’ezzin*, calling for prayers’ (Stephan 1944: 188). The mosque referred to here is located immediately to the west of the gates between the inner and outer porticoes of the gatehouse, and is today partly enclosed and filled with modern partitioning. It is, however, easy to make out that it was a simple rectangular space measuring 4.2m by 4.9m and that it was covered by a rendered folded cross vault with a shallow domelet at its apex. The north end of the space is entirely open to the south bay of the courtyard of the *khan*. It is spanned by a

pointed arch supported on raked corbels. As a result, the mosque spatially reads as an extension of the *khan*—making it visible and easily accessible to those staying at the place. Like the walls of the south-western corner of the *khan*, the east and west walls are constructed of rough stonework, although it has been well coursed.

Modern partitioning covers the south (*qibla*) wall to about three metres above ground level. A hole has been cut into it to reveal a large, plain, semicircular *mihrab* constructed of curved ashlar stones located centrally in the wall behind. Built into the wall above the niche—but, because of a modern ceiling, now almost inaccessible—there are three decorative features, one above the other. The lowest is a stone plaque, currently painted dark green and with a Qur’anic inscription carved in relief. The inaccessibility of these features made any close inspection of the inscription impossible. It was however clear that it contained no further information but was restricted to a quotation from the Qur’an. Above the plaque is a short—about 2.5m long—frieze consisting of a cavetto moulding, painted green. The raked surface of the moulding is sculpted with a repeated foliated *muqarnas* motif, similar (though simpler) to that found in the hood-mould over the main gateway. Finally, above the moulding and projecting from the wall, there is a circular medallion carved with a floral design.

Refectory (pl. 35.10)

This building is referred to here as the ‘refectory’ for the sake of convenience since part of it today functions as the dining hall for apprentices and staff of the Islamic Industrial Orphanage. It seems probable that the refectory originally served as the principal meeting place of the residential Sufi community. The primary evidence for this conclusion, as will be seen, is the striking similarity between it and an almost identical space built for that purpose in the later foundation of al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya (1043/1633) (al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, see cat. no. 35).

The building is a single storey structure enclosing a large hall space. In plan it is exactly square, measuring 13.4 by 13.4m. It is enclosed to the north, west and east by neighbouring structures with only the south elevation exposed to the courtyard. Immediately to the west, the building abuts vaulted chambers which formed part of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (Burgoyne 1987: 486, fig. 48.2). It appears, indeed, that the orientation of the refectory was dictated by the line of the east wall of the earlier vaulting. A cross-vaulted portico, opening onto the courtyard, fills the space left between the south end of these rooms and the north end of the east wall of the *khan*. A closer inspection of the stonework at the west end of the south elevation clearly shows that the vault was built after the main (Ottoman)

hall. The north side of the refectory abuts the south side of the first floor of the unidentified hall in the north courtyard. This graphically illustrates the change in levels across the site. A level survey was not carried out to ascertain the exact difference in levels between the north and south courtyards. The approximate difference at this point today, however, is 3m. But there will be further discussion in this section concerning the probable levels of the interior of the building when it was first founded. The eastern side of the building is enclosed within a narrow vaulted passage running between it and the mausoleum.

The exterior was considerably altered during the 13th/19th century—probably at the time of Nasif Pasha's restorations—and again in the early 20th century. A simple four-sided building surmounted by a pitched roof of clay tiles, and built in the same 'classical' style as the courthouse, was built at roof level. In addition, the exposed south elevation seems to have been remodelled at an even later date with the incorporation of two doors and three round-headed doors and windows. The suggestion is that these openings were incorporated at the time that the hall inside the building was divided into two separate rooms. The style of the openings, which are surrounded by flat-fronted architraves, could date from any time in the latter half of the 19th century to the first two decades of the 20th century. However, judging by the thinness of the dividing wall, the likelihood is that it was inserted during the 20th century. This raises still unanswered questions concerning the position of the original opening into the hall. The rest of the elevation is roughly constructed of rubble masonry, in contrast to the more massive stonework of the east elevation.

Accordingly, the main architectural interest, so far as the 16th-century foundation is concerned, is to be found inside the building (pl. 35.10). Despite the dividing wall, one can easily discern that the hall was rather grand, composed of four equal bays covered with plastered, folded cross vaults. The vaulted bays are supported at the centre of the space on a single pier measuring 1.2m square, and on engaged piers set against the outside walls. Between each of the engaged piers there are wall arches which give added strength to the structure. Impressive transverse arches separate each of the vaults. All of the arches spring from elaborately moulded corbels located on the central and engaged piers less than one metre above ground level. Situated at the apex of each vault there is an eight-sided cupola surmounted by a shallow saucer dome; the dome in the south east vault has been removed in modern times to allow extra light into the space.

The wall surfaces in the western bays have recently been rendered with a thick coat of plaster. However, the walls in the eastern bays have been stripped to reveal rough, undressed masonry which would suggest that they were intended to be rendered at the time of their

foundation. In contrast, the voussoirs of the arches, which are also exposed, are constructed of finely drafted ashlar of a similar quality to that of the arches in the *khan* and the soup kitchen.

There is an interesting array of blocked-up openings ranged around the north and east walls. To the east there are two pairs of deeply recessed openings which once opened into the passage between the mausoleum and the 'refectory'. Both are covered by slightly curved, roughly built vaults. An inspection of the exterior of this wall in the passage adjoining the mausoleum confirms that these consist of four rectangular openings with grille windows. Two extend to ground level in the passage which suggests that they may originally have been doors. Officials of the orphanage say that 'a long time ago' there had been a means of access from the space to the north of the mausoleum through a (now blocked-up) door to the balcony overlooking the soup kitchen (see the description of the kitchen) which had been used by a supervisor to oversee the workers there. This might confirm the need for doors from the 'refectory', but otherwise there is no further evidence for this arrangement. At a high level, at the north end of the wall, there is a single, similarly recessed and blocked window opening into the (now enclosed) space to the north of the mausoleum. It is not possible to tell whether this was a later addition or part of the original foundation (see below in the description of the mausoleum for further discussion of this point).

In the north wall of the north-east bay there are two openings positioned one above the other. Low down there is a shallow arched niche, springing from ground level, measuring 1.32m wide, 0.5m deep, and no more than 0.6m high. Higher on the wall there is a blocked-up window measuring 0.82m wide that once opened into a narrow chamber located to the north of the 'refectory', at the level of the roof of the soup kitchen.

The largest of the openings is located centrally in the north wall of the north-west bay (pl. 35.11). It measures 1.85m wide, rises to the full height of the room, and is surmounted by a pointed arch on the inside face of the wall. Behind the arch, within the thickness of the wall, the soffit of the opening is approximately 0.15m higher than the apex of the arch. Close to ground level, the sides of the opening are chamfered, narrowing the width of the opening to 1.5m at floor level. The opening is today blocked up. It is clear, however, that it opened to the north of the building, perhaps onto a roof terrace, or into another enclosed space over the rebuilt hall to the west of the kitchen (see below). This recess/opening bears a striking resemblance to a recess in the north-east bay of the hall at the Zawiya al-Afghaniyya (al-Qadiriyya) which has already been mentioned, both in its size and in the fact that it has the same chamfered protrusions at ground level. On either side of the opening, at ground level, there is a small arched

niche, measuring 0.7m deep. The sills of the niches are buried below floor level.

The west wall has been considerably altered over time to allow better access from the vaults to the west. Although previous surveys indicate that there were once two openings, perhaps a window and a door, these have now been opened up to allow freer access between the kitchen and the refectory (Burgoyne 1987: 482, fig. 48.2).

The present-day floor level inside the building is clearly markedly higher than it was originally. As has already been noted, the springing lines of the arches and vaults are low down on the walls. The floor was up to 50cm lower, perhaps at the level of the passage between this building and the mausoleum. This is also confirmed by the fact that all the internal sills of the blocked-up recesses in the north and east walls are today either below ground floor level or are uncommonly low down.

Mausoleum (pl. 35.12 and fig. 35.1)

No documented evidence has so far been found that states clearly who was buried in the mausoleum, or when. However, officials working in the complex at the end of the 11th/17th century told Nabulsi that a person by the name of Shaikh Sa'd al-Din al-Rusafi was buried there (al-'Asili 1984: 26). No published information has been found to confirm or disprove this identification. As Nabulsi admits, this is second-hand information and would need further verification (see also Nabulsi, 1101/1699 from a handwritten copy dated 1150/1737 located in the Islamic Library of the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem). Tombs were often built in large charitable complexes and Sufi religious foundations to house either the original benefactor or the founding administrator (the *mutawalli* or, in Turkish, *mütevelli* or *nazir*) to whom the management of a complex was passed in trust, after the founder's death. After the death of the founder, the responsibility for the administration of the trust would then remain in perpetuity with the founder's hereditary descendants until such time as the direct line of inheritance was cut. The trust would then be passed into the hands of 'manumitted' slaves of the family (*'utaqa va 'atiqat*) (Goodwin 1973: 455 and n. 1). The *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Sultan makes provision for a 'trustee ... renowned for his ... appearance of integrity and honesty ... a religious, acceptable, and religiously minded person who would not deviate ... and whose hands are clean from committing sins ...' (Stephan 1944: 187). A *shaikh* was also appointed 'to be in charge of the said imperial building. He should be of pure character traits, God fearing, conforming to the canonical law, content, trusting in Allah, piously scrupulous and not greedy' (Stephan 1944: 188). Without access to the relevant *sijill* documents (which perhaps have yet to be found)

confirmation of whether Shaikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Rusafi was indeed the *mutawalli* of the complex, or the *shaikh*, and whether he is buried here, will have to wait. Of course, this assumes that the tomb was built after the complex was finished and not before; this question too has yet to be resolved satisfactorily.

What can be gleaned from the architecture, however, is that the person must have been a man of either wealth or position, or both. Unusually for a mausoleum sited within the walls of the city, it was clearly planned as an independent unit, and this in itself reflects considerable social status of the occupant. Indeed, if this is an Ottoman foundation, as seems to be the case, it is the only independent mausoleum built within the walls of the Old City during the whole Ottoman period. All other tombs built during the period—for example, Maktab Bairam Jawish (947/1541, cat. no. 12) and al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya (the date of the conversion into a mosque is unknown, but the minaret and main chamber of the second level date to before 995/1586-7, cat. no. 19)—are often located in humble chambers integral to the rest of the building, and they are thus in direct contrast to both the number and the elaborate style of mausolea during the Mamluk period. Although the architect of this mausoleum may have been fortunate in having the space to build an independent structure, the monument was nonetheless intended as a prestigious building.

Today neighbouring structures both surround it and are built against it on all sides except the south. A narrow, tapering vaulted passage runs between the west elevation of the mausoleum and the refectory from the south courtyard and an enclosed space to the north. This latter space lies between the building and the south wall of the kitchen. Until quite recently the space was open to the roof terraces above, but it is now covered by a flat ceiling made of steel beams and concrete. A cross-vaulted chamber located immediately to the east abuts the east elevation of the structure.

Exterior

The mausoleum is square in plan, measuring 6.3m by 6.3m, and is covered by a dome supported on an eight-sided transitional drum. On the north side there is a portal arch built against the main body of the structure. There are four openings into the chamber located centrally on each side. The structure is generally constructed of finely chiselled ashlar masonry built in narrow courses in contrast to the broad, solid coursing of the kitchen or the *khan*.

The portal is 0.98m deep to the main face of the north wall and extends up to the top of the sides of the main structure. Covering the recess is a pointed arch, the voussoirs of which are finely carved with a gadrooned

(‘pillow’) moulding. A number of the voussoirs have collapsed near the apex of the arch. The door into the tomb chamber is a simple rectangular opening which has been made more elaborate by the addition of alternating courses of cream-coloured and black basalt stone to each side of it. Above the recessed doorway a small rectangular window opens into the interior of the mausoleum.

In the south side of the chamber there is another large arched opening, which this time is built into the thickness of the wall. The opening is 3.15m high from the internal floor level of the wall to the apex of the arch. On each side of the opening, there is a narrow stone bench set within the thickness of the wall. In addition, there appear to be the remains of a short flight of steps leading down through the opening from the outside to the interior of the chamber. Both suggest that the opening may have been built to function as a door, or in imitation of one. In the east and west elevations a single rectangular opening is set back by 0.18m into a recess which is covered with a gadrooned arch. The east opening is today incorporated into the west wall of the neighbouring chamber to the east where the gadrooned arch has been left visible. As at the north door, the wall on either side of the west (and presumably the eastern) opening consists of alternate courses of black and cream-coloured stone. Both openings rise from a sill at floor level. From the inside of the tomb chamber, it is possible to see that the east opening is closed with a grille that has been built into its jambs, sill and lintel, which would suggest that it was designed as a high window. In contrast, the opening in the west wall has no grille and there are no obvious signs that it ever had one; this in turn suggests that it was intended to act as a side door.

A raked cornice runs along the exposed sections of the north and south elevations. In both locations the moulding extends over the vault which covers the passage between the mausoleum and the east front of the ‘refectory’. A change in the jointing and the type of masonry at the top of the south and north elevations where they meet the vault clearly indicates both that the vault was inserted at a later date, and that the sections of cornice running over the exposed faces of the vault were re-used from the west elevation.

On the roof, the eight-sided drum (pl. 35.13) is constructed of good-quality ashlar. Unlike the masonry of the enclosed elevations below, the stonework on the drum has become rougher with weathering. There is a single rectangular window on each side of the drum, which provided light to the interior of the tomb chamber. Today all of them are blocked with concrete. The top of the drum has been dressed with a raked cornice moulding. On the south west side of the drum, almost hidden from view between it and a neighbouring building, a single corbelled stone projects at the level of the cornice. There seems to be no obvious function that can be directly attributed to it. The dome is clad in modern white stone paving and is

surmounted by a finial of unusual design with barley-sugar fluting around the main shaft.

Interior

Entering from the north, under the portal arch, two steps lead down approximately 0.4m into the stone-paved tomb chamber. The interior of the chamber measures approximately 7.6m from floor level to the apex of the dome. The dome and drum are supported in each corner on pendentives (pl. 35.14). Wall arches built of well-coursed but undressed stone span the pendentives. Traces of older plaster suggest that the interior was once plastered and painted but both the dome and faces of the pendentives appear to have been recently rendered with cement. Above the north, west and east openings there is a single relieving arch built into the surrounding wall. The inside faces of the windows in the drum of the dome are covered by small pointed arches.

The cenotaph (*tabut*), the *raison d’être* of the space, is located on the ground in the centre (pl. cat. 15.18). Today the tomb measures 1.05m by 1.62m by 0.65m. It has, however, recently been encased in a thick layer of concrete which makes an assessment of its original size difficult. The rectangular structure has four small marble posts at each corner which rise approximately 25cm above the surface of the concrete. Carved into the two outward facing sides of each post are small, well-preserved inscriptions. Unfortunately the bottom of each inscription is embedded in the concrete and as a result they remain indecipherable. A close inspection suggests that there is no date. This may indicate that the inscription is taken from the Qur’an and it is possible that the four separate inscriptions were designed to be read as one continuous text.

Interpretation

In the absence of a legible inscription or any document giving details as to the identity of Shaikh Sa’d al-Din al-Rusafi and when he lived, it is difficult to be certain whether the building was extant when the Khassaki Sultan foundation was built, or whether it was a later addition. Despite the report by Nabulsi, a judgment has to be made on the architectural evidence alone—and this in itself is contradictory. There does however seem to be a compelling, if speculative, argument to suggest that it was built after 959/1552 but before the end of the 10th/16th century.

The argument for the building having been built after the rest of the complex rests primarily on the design of the east wall of the refectory. It seems highly improbable that the builders of this structure would have incorporated

four large openings to look out into a passage that is less than one metre wide and the blank wall of the west side of the elevation. The number of openings and their position strongly suggest that the area to the east had been more open than the present arrangement. This might explain the high-level opening at the north end of the same wall, which could then be seen as a later addition built into the wall to allow light and air to enter from the larger space to the north of a new mausoleum. The reason that the building has large openings in all four sides can then be explained by the fact that, when it was first built, it was an independent structure within a confined space and open to the sky. This in turn would explain why the southern opening has been designed to be deliberately larger than the east and west openings, for it was the only side from which the faithful could obtain a good view of the chamber. And in turn this would suggest that the 'refectory' and kitchen, at least, were already in place. The third piece of evidence relates to the general mode in which funerary architecture in the region was planned. By building the tomb chamber within the close confines of the neighbouring buildings to the north, east and west, the builders were, it seems, taking the opportunity to create the procession of spaces often associated with other single-phase funerary monuments—that is, an entrance followed by a passage leading to a formal antechamber to the north of the tomb chamber where there would be a grand entrance. An example of this can be found only a short distance to the north in the Mamluk foundation of Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq (Burgoyne 1987: 505) (fig. 35.1, pl. cat. 15.6).

Other architectural details of the building could be used both to support and contradict the theory that the mausoleum is an early Ottoman foundation. Gadrooned arches are found in some Ottoman monuments in the city until the second half of the 11th/17th century (for example, Qubbat Yusuf, dated 1092/1681—see cat. no. 38). But in Jerusalem they are far more commonly associated with the Mamluk period. The use of gadrooned ('pillow') arches has its origins in the Crusader and Ayyubid architecture of the city and are found, for example, at the Holy Sepulchre (see Burgoyne 1987: 88, 92, 112 and throughout). A number of them can be found around slit openings in the gates and towers of the city wall, for example Bab Nabi Da'ud. Burgoyne states that gadrooned arches were used 'well into the Ottoman period'. While in principle this is true, in fairness it should be pointed out that they were by then extremely rare. The use of alternating courses of different coloured stone occurs throughout the Ottoman period (and later). However the use of black basalt was exceedingly rare. Indeed, to the author's knowledge, the only other monument in which it was used was al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) which, although undated, is believed to be another Mamluk monument. Black basalt

from the 'Basalt Barrier' in Southern Galilee is a distinctive rough-textured stone and should not to be confused with the black bituminous limestone (*hajar musa*) which is found in the vicinity of Nabi Musa close to the Dead Sea, a type of stone that was also used in limited quantities in Jerusalem (Burgoyne 1987: 41 and n. 24).

To sum up, sparse historical evidence suggests that a person by the name of Shaikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Rusafi is buried in the mausoleum. Until new documentary evidence emerges, any additional speculation would be inappropriate, but the strength of the evidence lies with it being a Mamluk foundation.

Courthouse (al-Da'irat al-'Adliyya) (fig. 35.1)

The 19th-century courthouse is sandwiched between the gatehouse to the west and a house to the east. Although he was restricted in this way, the architect managed to insert into the available space a formally planned, rectangular building measuring 17.5m by 17m. At ground level there are a series of four barrel-vaulted galleries, measuring between 4m and 4.4m wide, ranged around a rectangular central courtyard measuring 6m by 4.8m. The courtyard is today roofed over and a modern mosque, built in the 1950s, occupies the southern half of the roof above.

Exterior (pls. cat. 15.1, 15.8-15.9 and pl. 35.4)

In direct contrast to the surrounding environment, the main elevation of the courthouse displays a regimentation appropriate to the function and planning of the building. A high, round-headed doorway, centrally placed and measuring 1.3m wide, dominates the façade. Above the door there is an undated inscription panel which advertises the function of the building—*al-da'irat al-'adliyya*. Ranged regularly along the elevation on each side of the doorway there are three high, round-headed windows measuring 0.9m wide. The six windows in the façade are surrounded by a flat frame projecting 7cm from the elevation, and a vertical, fluted channel runs up the centre of the frame and around the arch of the window.

The elevation incorporates a type of neo-classical architectural detail that was increasingly the mark of secular Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem from the middle of the 13th/19th century. 'Rusticated' masonry is used in the construction of most of the wall, while decorative details are constructed in smooth ashlar. A plinth, projecting 5cm from the principal face, extends along the base of the elevation. From the top of the plinth, four articulated pilasters, located at the ends of the elevation and on either side of a central door, extend up to first-floor level where they 'support' a simple, flat string course. Incorporated into the south wall of the mosque above the

string course are the remains of higher extensions of the pilasters which seem to have formed part of an upper level to the façade, since destroyed.

Interior

As noted above, the interior consists of four barrel-vaulted galleries ranged around a central courtyard. Today, a number of modern, concrete-block walls divide the spaces into useful compartments for the operation of the printshop.

From the galleries a series of round-headed windows and doors open into the covered courtyard. They are now mostly blocked. Entry into the courtyard is currently through an opening at the west end of the north wall. However, the original doorway, measuring 1.5m wide, is located immediately opposite the entrance door in the south elevation. Two similarly-sized doors are found in the west wall, suggesting that the galleries around the courtyard were originally divided up into separate compartments with their own entrances into the courtyard. In the east wall there are three windows. Above each of the windows and doors in the north and south façades, a small vaulted bay intrudes on the main vault and thus elegantly articulates an otherwise plain interior.

Three large, arched niches in the west wall are the only indicators of the relationship between the gatehouse and the site of the courthouse. All are now heavily plastered and painted, making it difficult to draw conclusions concerning their original function. The survey and the lack of order in their spacing in an otherwise regular building, however, allow for a number of conclusions. The relationship between one of the ground floor rooms of the gatehouse and the niche at the south west corner of the courthouse has already been noted. To judge by the size of this and the middle niche, both were doors—the first leading through to the room currently occupied by the director of the complex. The central one may once have led to a now inaccessible chamber at a lower level, which was adjacent to—and to the north of—the present office. The middle and third niche, located to the north, appear to indicate the position of the north east corner of the gatehouse. The back walls of both correspond exactly to the outside face of the east wall of the *khan*, suggesting that the east face of the *khan* wall continued south to abut the north wall of the gatehouse.

Architecture—North

(figs. 35.3 and 35.8)

Elevation to ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya (pls. 35.15–35.16)

The plainness of this, the most visible elevation of the

complex, is perhaps at first surprising. It should not be forgotten, however, that the richly decorated Mamluk Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which adjoins the elevation at its west end, was also incorporated into the foundation of Khassaki Sultan at the time of its construction, and would have provided a fitting façade to the imperial foundation. It is unfortunate that constraints of time prevented a survey of this elevation from being carried out in the summer of 1993.

The elevation measures 33m in length and extends from the western side of Saraya al-‘Iyafi al-Matbuli, up the slope of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, to the east end of the principal façade of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. Dominating the west end of the elevation—but hardly matching the splendour of the three portals in the earlier building—there is a double height portal gateway. The rest of the elevation is, in essence, a high, plain wall constructed of solid masonry in courses that vary in depth from 0.25m to 0.45m. The elevation rises (or drops) to a maximum of eighteen courses at the east end where the street is at its lowest. The central section of the wall, however, extends higher to first-floor level. Behind this section today there are the classrooms and the house sited above the bakery and stores.

The most attention, predictably, is reserved for the portal arch of the north gatehouse (fig. 35.8 and pl. 35.16). The portal measures 3.35m wide and 0.68m deep, and is dominated by a trefoil arch. The arch and the rest of the gateway are constructed of ashlar masonry of a colour very similar to that of the Mamluk elevation to the east. A vertical joint runs up the elevation to the top of the Ottoman portal between it and the structure next door. The joint is reciprocated on the south side of the gateway. A double quirked ogee moulding extends up the sides of the portal and across the elevation above the arch in a style identical to that found in earlier Mamluk portals (see Burgoyne 1971). The moulding terminates at ground level on the front edge of the stone benches (*maqsala*—literally ‘lazy boys’) to either side of the gate. The moulding splits at the level of the springing of the arch and continues around the line of the trefoil arch to its apex. There it merges with the main frame and forms a circular loop over the keystone.

The gate opening itself is recessed into the portal. It measures 2.15m wide and has a flat-arch lintel constructed of keyed voussoirs measuring 0.58m deep. The lintel is supported at each end on corbels with a double quirked ogee profile. The outside face of the corbels is in each case carved with two small incised medallions and a single *fleur-de-lys* motif. A single stone medallion, measuring 20cm in diameter and carved with radiating petals, is located centrally above the lintel. Above the ends of the lintel, a single boss (measuring 40cm in diameter) projects from the surrounding masonry. Both incorporate

elaborate geometric designs and a central flower with eight petals. Two further medallions, with spiral designs carved into them, are located below.

Above the gate in the tympanum of the portico, there is a large recessed rectangular panel measuring 2m by 1m. It is framed by a woven geometric design. The recess must certainly have contained one of the two 10th/16th-century foundation inscriptions. Located above the panel there is a small window with a grille which opens into a chamber situated above the gateway. Above the portal arch a slit, with an ogee shaped top, provides ventilation to the same room. The façade extends up to a cavetto cornice which continues around to the east elevation of the building. A repeated *muqarnas* motif is carved into the raked surface of the moulding. Carved into some of the *muqarnas* are small circular bosses with floral designs.

The only features in the elevation to the east of the portal are two rectangular windows—which light the stores to the south—and a single ogival arched slit at the west end, which ventilates the latrines on the east side of the gatehouse. Above each of the windows there is a single boss. The left hand (eastern) one incorporates a geometric eight-pointed star and smaller *fleur-de-lys* designs, while the other (western) is a circular design with ten ‘petals’ (pl. 35.17). The lintels of both windows comprise five fanned voussoirs. Those in the right-hand window, that is the one further up the hill, extend through two courses of the surrounding masonry, while those in the left-hand window extend through only one course. This may seem rather curious; however, by standing further down the street to the east, one can clearly see that the architect was attempting to correct the perspective view of the elevation. This apparent concern with the way in which the building relates to the surrounding environment was also noted by Professor Robert Hillenbrand during a discussion in 1993 when it was noticed that the east elevation of the *qantara* of Ribat and Maktab Bairam Jawish further down the slope of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya is constructed of alternating courses of red and cream-coloured stone, whereas the west elevation is constructed of plain limestone. Professor Hillenbrand suggested that the reason for this apparent curiosity was an attempt by the builders to provide an appropriate frame for the view up the street towards the decorated façades of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya and Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (author’s notes, 1993).

North Gatehouse

The north gatehouse is today a three-storey tower-like structure. The top floor is however a modern addition, and in its original form the building consisted of only two floors. The east end of the south elevation, at first-floor level, is partly ruinous which perhaps suggests that it once

extended further in that direction (pl. 35.18).

The ground level consists simply of a barrel-vaulted space, constructed of rough stonework which leads through to the north courtyard from ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya. At its northern end, the vault drops down to a shallow ashlar arch. Built into it on either side there is a curved stone from which the heavy wooden doors in the gatehouse are hung. In the south elevation, there is a single rectangular window at first-floor level which lights the chamber behind. Two arched ventilation slits are located above and on either side of the opening.

The small rectangular chamber situated over the gateway is reached via a short flight of steps from the roof terrace adjacent to the east. Survey drawings of the building suggest that there may also have been access to the mezzanine level of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq through a door in the south-west corner of the room, a view shared by Burgoyne in his discussion of the Mamluk palace (1987: 492). Most of the space to the north is roofed over by a folded cross vault with a small domelet at its apex, while a narrower ‘antevault’ covers the south end. Ranged around the walls are a large variety of niches and window openings. There is little further information available about the space, although it has been suggested by Professor Robert Hillenbrand and Dr Beatrice St Laurent that it may have been a small bathhouse. If it is indeed a bathhouse, then it may be the one that Turner mentioned in 1815 (Ben-Arieh 1984: 161).

Soup Kitchen (‘imara) (pl. 35.19 and fig. 35.3)

Of all of the principal buildings in the complex, this is the best preserved. After more than four centuries it remains almost unaltered and, indeed, is probably the only one that performs the same function—if somewhat scaled down—as it did in 959/1552. Other than the *khan*, it is also the largest individual structure, measuring 14.5m by 14.5m. It is a simple box shape in form and is clearly distinguished from the neighbouring buildings by three pyramid-shaped chimneys on the roof.

The exposed north front, facing onto the lower half of the north courtyard, is constructed of well-dressed ashlar masonry in courses that measure up to 0.45m high. The west end of the north elevation is partly covered by the steep flight of steps which leads down from the upper area of the courtyard. It seems reasonable to suggest that the steps were built once the kitchen had been completed.

The kitchen is entered through a shallow arched door measuring 1.55m wide, situated at the centre of the north elevation close to the bottom of the steps in the courtyard. On either side of the door, towards the end of the wall, there is a single rectangular window, measuring 1.1m wide, with ‘eye-brow’ ventilation slits⁶ above its lintel.

There is a single projecting medallion between each of the openings and a further medallion is located centrally on the elevation at a high level. All of the medallions have geometric designs carved in low relief. A deep raked cornice runs along the top of the elevation and returns to the east to abut the façade of an adjoining building where it appears to stop. A slightly curious feature is located at the east end of the wall, approximately 1.7m above ground level. It is a small niche, no more than 0.3m in width, with a trefoil arched top and with a second trefoil arch recessed into the opening below. At the base of the niche, a stone basin—clearly intended to hold water—projects from the elevation.

The precision and solid elegance of this elevation directly contrasts with the comparatively rough construction of the other buildings in the courtyard. The reasons for this apparent curiosity become clear if one stands just outside the north gateway and looks back into the courtyard. The only building visible externally from the unidentified hall to the west of the kitchen is the elevation of the kitchen. It seems probable that the builders of the complex decided there was no reason to build the other structures to the same standard if they were not going to be seen by the general public. Apart from indicating a degree of forward thinking on their part, it also perhaps suggests that the complex was built to a budget.

Located in the centre of the flat roof above the kitchen is a dome supported on an eight-sided drum. In each of its sides there is a small arched window providing light to the interior. Ranged along the south side of the roof, on a high terrace, are three pyramid-shaped chimneys. Both the chimneys and the dome are today rendered in a thick plaster. It is known that during the British Mandate period they were all clad in stone paving (Kendall 1948: figs. 87-8, pl. 35:20).

Interior

The interior of the building is a large square hall divided into nine vaulted bays. The vaults are constructed of rough rubble which is now exposed, and are separated by transverse arches. These spring from simple raked corbels in the walls and piers and are constructed of smooth ashlar in a similar fashion to those found in the ‘refectory’. At the centre of the hall, four solid piers, measuring 1m by 1m, support both the vaulting and the drum and dome noted above. In each side of the cupola there is a single arched window lighting the centre of the hall. Of the remaining eight vaulted bays, the two to the east and west are cross vaults. The ribs of these vaults meet at a

rectangular shaped apex. A brick chimney stack from the ovens below pierces the apex of the west vault, while in the east vault the apex has been opened up to form a small skylight. The three bays to the north are simple cross vaults. Pointed transverse arches separate each of the bays; they spring from slightly projected raked corbel stones which are positioned at the top of the piers or in the walls (pl. 35:21).

The three ceiling bays ranged along the south wall are occupied by the chimneys. In form, the chimneys are elongated pyramids with rectangular openings at their apexes. While the rest of the internal walls of the kitchen are built of well-coursed, but rough, undressed stone, the inside faces of the sloping sides of the chimneys are built of smooth-faced ashlar.

In the central western bay there is a raised platform under which are situated two furnaces. The hatches, through which fuel was once fed, are located on the east side of the platform in a sunken area of the floor. A square brick chimney rises from the top of the platform, through the vault above, to the roof. Embedded in the top surface of the platform are two of the original five large copper cauldrons which Schultz noted at the beginning of the 19th century (Schultz in Ben-Arieh 1984: 161). One of the cauldrons is of a curious inverted-conical shape.

The floor level in the three eastern bays steps up 0.42m to form a platform which is reached by way of three steps located at the north end of the central bay. The bottom step, which is only 25mm high, suggests that the floor level of the rest of the hall—now covered in a concrete screed—would once have been about 0.15m lower. The north-east and east bays are also enclosed by a stone partition, measuring 0.5m thick. The infill stone closely resembles that of the surrounding walls but it would seem likely that the walls were a later alteration to the kitchen. Previous surveys have shown that the south-east bay was also enclosed, but this wall has since been removed (Burgoyne 1987: 486, fig. 48.2). Another change is that the north-east bay recently has been enclosed with a concrete wall to form an office. In the east wall of the kitchen there is a flat slab of stone projecting 0.5m from the surrounding stonework at head height. None of the present kitchen staff could offer an explanation for its purpose. In the same wall, there is an arched opening measuring 2m across which leads through to the adjoining room to the east. Close inspection of the opening reveals that it was broken through the back wall of a wide niche located in the west wall of a chamber immediately to the east of the kitchen. To the south of this opening there is second, smaller, arched opening, recessed 0.3m into the kitchen wall.

Perhaps the most interesting structural feature of the hall is the west wall. Incorporated into it are a number of blocked-up openings. Situated at distances of 1.35m and 2.9m from the north end of the wall there are two high

⁶ The term was first coined by Dr Sylvia Auld in 1993.

(approximately 3m) and narrow (0.7m) openings, positioned 1.5m above floor level. The southern opening is roughly arched, whereas the north one is covered by a single curved span which rises to the north. The function of these niches is unknown, but the similarity between these and similar niches located in the bakery building suggests they were once used to store the long handled 'spades' or spatulas with which the broth was stirred in the cauldrons.

In the same wall, at the same level, 4.2m from the north end, there is a third blocked opening 1.2m wide which resembles an arched doorway. The remains of a second arch can also be seen immediately above the doorway. There are no vertical joints 'supporting' the arch and it seems likely that it is the remaining section of a relieving arch. All three openings are filled with rough, uncoursed stonework. At the south end of the wall there is a deeply recessed niche, raised 0.25m above ground level and measuring 1.45m wide and 1.15m deep with a slightly pointed vault of rubble stones. The back of the niche is filled with a very rough rubble similar to that of the other blocked openings.

The appearance of the niche, and the presence of a high-level blocked-up doorway, suggests that there may once have been access through to the hall to the west of the kitchen which is located at the higher level of the north courtyard. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the wall is 3.6m thick. Of that perhaps 1m can be attributed directly to the Ottoman kitchen itself, since the other walls are of a similar thickness. Staff in the workshops mention that there were 'two or three' openings in the west face of this wall in the adjoining room, but since its surface is now rendered in plaster it is impossible to know their location, and how—or even if—they relate to those still visible in the kitchen. No identification of the hall has been made. However, given the formal entrance off the upper level of the courtyard, and its proximity to the kitchen it may be that this is the 'refectory' mentioned in the *waqfiyya*.

What can be said for certain is that at this junction there is an artificially sharp rise in the external ground level of about four metres. This leads to one of two possible conclusions: (a) that there was already an existing building to the west of the kitchen against which the builders of the complex positioned the kitchen, or (b) that two buildings were constructed at the same time but that, because of the sharp drop in level, it was decided to build two abutting walls with which to support the roofs.

One additional feature of the kitchen is a small stone lean-to structure located in the south-west corner against the south wall. It comprises a balcony supported on an arch. A blocked-up doorway built into the south wall above the balcony matches a small blocked-up doorway in the north wall of the space to the north of the mausoleum. Its location under one of the chimneys of the kitchen indicates that it was built after the kitchen was founded,

and may confirm accounts by the staff that it was used by the administrators of the foundation to supervise the work of the kitchen.

East Chamber

Adjoining the kitchens, to the east, is a large, roughly rectangular, cross-vaulted chamber. At the southern end of the vault there is a blocked-up opening that once opened to the roof above. In the east wall there is a long alcove with a smaller arch between the corner piers that support the vault. The chamber was originally accessible only from the north courtyard through an arched door situated in its north wall. Today, however, there is direct access to the kitchens through two openings in its west wall. Both openings were clearly later alterations. This can be seen most clearly in the larger of the two, which appears once to have been an arched niche. Evidence for this can be seen in the southern half of the arch, where the original niche is still visible, even through the plaster on the walls of the chamber. In addition, there is a change in stone within the thickness of the opening.

The function of the chamber is unknown. Drainage holes cut through the sill of the main door in the north wall might, however, point to the possibility that it was used for the butchering of animals and the preparation of meat. Curiously enough, no mention of a 'butcher' appears in the *waqfiyya* even though meat is stipulated as a provision within the list of foods to be cooked. However, this apparent omission was rectified in 987/1579 when the *beg* and *qadi* of Damascus were ordered to appoint a special butcher for the complex (Heyd 1960: 144). There had been a shortage of meat during the winter. Unfortunately the butcher had to contend with local quotas of meat which by law had to be supplied to the shops. Whereas other butchers in the market had to supply a nominal one sheep and one goat per week, he had to supply no less than fifteen sheep and fifteen goats (Cohen 1984: 151).

Bakery Building (pl. cat. 15.20 and fig. 35.3)

Although for clarity's sake this is here referred to as the 'bakery building', it both serves and accommodates a number of different functions. At ground level these include the bakery, which still functions as such, as well as ovens and storerooms. The first floor partly serves as a house, while the majority of the rooms today serve as classrooms for the school.

The bakery building is located on the north side of the north courtyard immediately opposite the kitchen, and backs onto 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. The main bulk of this large building is a two-storey box-like structure. Adjoining the

east end of it there is a single storey annexe which, judging by the masonry of the south elevation, appears to have been built at the same time as the rest of the building. Towards the east end of the building, the south elevation returns 0.7m to the north, apparently in an effort to allow freedom of movement around the north side of the *sabil*. This perhaps supports the view that the *sabil*—or at least the site—may have been in existence prior to 959/1552 (Burgoyne 1987: 499). Ranged along the first-floor level of the south elevation there are four rectangular windows, while on the north elevation, fronting onto 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, there are only two, with a single double window in the east front. At ground level in the south elevation, four doors give access into the same number of chambers. A single window lights the interior of the bakery. Excepting the north elevation onto 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, the outer walls are constructed of regularly coursed but undrafted stonework. A careful inspection of the north and south elevations reveals a 'line of construction' at first-floor level, suggesting that there may have been a break between the completion of the ground floor and the construction of the first floor. This is perhaps confirmed by the presence of a large number of re-used stones in the upper level, whereas none are used at the lower level. In fact the *spolia*, mainly found on all sides of the building except the north, are of particular interest. Amongst them are at least five stones with Arabic lettering carved in relief, which have clearly been taken from a large inscription (pl. 35.22). A further seven stones, again carved in relief, have sections of a complex curvilinear design. Careful investigation of these stones reveals that they all probably originated from the Mamluk monument of al-Ashrafiyya (887/1482) in the Haram al-Sharif which was destroyed in the earthquake of 952/1545 (Walls 1980: 199, n. 5; Walls and Abu 'l-Hajj 1980: 29, n. 87-88). The date of this upper level of the bakery, and of the re-use of these stones is probably confirmed by the fact that, according to Cohen, during the 1550s 'explicit orders were issued to clear the entire esplanade (of the Haram) of weeds, building materials and other debris that had accumulated there' (1989: 4). Such building materials would have provided a useful and cheap addition to the new building project.

Ground level

At ground level there are six barrel-vaulted rooms of varying sizes. All of them are entered from the lower level of the north courtyard through arched doors 1.1m wide located in the south elevation of the building. The western chamber, ranging across the full depth of the building, serves today as the bakery. The other four spaces to the east serve as stores for the wood used in the carpentry/joinery workshop now housed in the main hall of Dar al-Sitt

Tunshuq. The two chambers in the eastern annexe are today in a ruinous condition. The southern one has collapsed and is filled with 3m of debris, while the northern chamber is still extant but hardly accessible behind the debris.

The bakery, a long rectangular space, is the largest chamber at ground level and measures 5.2m by 11m. Its vault, which is now plastered, painted and tiled, is higher and more rounded than those of the wood stores to the east, which are pointed. At a distance of 2.3m from the north end of the space, the side walls return approximately 0.8m on each side and the vault drops to a lower level. Located in the resulting alcove is a huge oven. A brick chimney measuring 0.9m by 0.9m extends from the top of the oven through the vault and floor above to roof level. In front of the oven is a sunken area in the floor (approximately 0.6m deep) which allows the baker to slide dough and bread in and out on long-handled 'spades'. Apart from the door, the space is naturally lit from a single window 1.2m to the west, and a narrow slit above the door.

Adjoining the bakery to the east a large chamber, stretching the full depth of the building, today serves as the main wood store. The room is irregularly shaped with a number of changes in direction in the walls. Most of the barrel vault is rendered with modern cement. At a distance of 4.7m from the southern end of the room, the space narrows from 4.5m to 3.7m wide, and the vault drops down to a lower level. This exposes a pointed arch with finely-dressed ashlar voussoirs which would appear to suggest that the space may have formed part of an earlier structure. In plan the thickness of the walls at the north ends of the chambers at ground level is much thicker than to the south. This seems to confirm the suggestion that the remains of earlier structures were perhaps incorporated into the Ottoman complex (see Burgoyne 1987: 499). The space is lit by a single, high level, slit window at each end of the space. At a point 2.2m from the north-eastern corner of the room there is a low door, 0.8m wide and raised 36cm above the ground, which leads through the enormously thick (nearly 2m) side wall to a small chamber to the east. At the west end of the tunnel is a single exposed door jamb with iron door fixings and a deep lintel above. There is no sign of the door jamb on the north side of the opening. The small adjoining space, now completely covered in a cement render, is also lit by a single recessed slit window at a high level. The author has been unable to ascertain the function of this little 'hidden' chamber.

To the south of this room there is a slightly larger chamber entered from the courtyard. It is unremarkable except for the existence of three niches located in the east wall, 0.4m above floor level. While the southern niche is small and rectangular, the two to the north are over 3m high and 0.74m wide and surmounted by a hooded vault. They clearly served as storage alcoves for specific items—

perhaps for the long-handled 'spades' still used today in the baking of bread.

Nothing is known of the south chamber in the eastern annexe which, as noted above, is now ruined. However, the almost inaccessible north chamber is entered through a 2.5m wide archway with a pointed arch made of finely-dressed stones similar to those found in the arch in the main wood store. The space is covered by a cross vault and constructed of a matrix of rubble and plaster. The roof over the vault serves as a balcony for the family who today live in al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (1083/1672?).

First-Floor Level (fig. 35.8)

The first floor of the building is entered from the upper level of the north courtyard via a 2m-wide staircase built against the west end of the building. A door located in the centre of the elevation leads off the landing at the top of the stairs into a cross-vaulted lobby, which in turn leads directly into a long corridor space which is also covered by cross vaults. Doors in the south and east walls of the corridor lead into classrooms which are similarly vaulted. In the west elevation, a second door towards the north end and located in a small roof-top terrace—the courtyard to the east of the bathhouse over the north gateway—opens into a small barrel-vaulted lobby. This leads by way of a low door through into the west end of a large space consisting of two cross-vaulted bays which are today used as the house.

The functional division of the first floor is a later adaptation. The survey shows that the floor is, in point of fact, structurally divided into twelve bays of almost equal size, eleven of which are covered by cross vaults. The twelfth bay in the north-west corner is divided by a small barrel-vaulted space and a staircase, which leads up to the roof of the building. Within this framework it is possible to see that the floor was divided into three principal spaces divided off by two thick (0.65m-0.9m) partition walls.

The largest of the spaces is a great hall, measuring 8m by 12m, located on the north side of the building. The space occupies six of the vaulted bays which are supported in the centre of the space on two square piers. Ranged along the length of the south front of the floor is the second principal space—a long gallery occupying four of the bays arranged end to end. A wide alcove in the north wall of the space accommodates a door which leads through to the central bay of the great hall. The plasterwork covering present on the walls today prevents an investigation to find out whether the opening was contemporary with the foundation of the building, or a later addition. The last space is located in the north-west corner of the floor, adjoining the west end of the great hall. It comprises one cross-vaulted bay which functions today as a lobby space

leading into the classrooms, and the narrow barrel-vaulted space mentioned above. A raised doorway in the north wall opens into the stair. The door is covered by an arch with voussoirs which are, for some reason, massively over-sized for the job that they do. The south-east corner of the lobby conceals, and houses, the chimney rising from the bakery below.

The function of the two main spaces is unknown. However, given their proximity to the chamber over the gatehouse—which, it will be remembered, is thought to be a bathhouse—and their location over the 'working' areas of the complex, it is possible to surmise that they were perhaps used as accommodation (dormitory or otherwise) for the many staff, in particular for the kitchen and the bakery, employed in the complex. Goodwin notes that workers in religious foundations were lodged and fed, and that a hereditary system of apprenticeships developed down through the children of the staff (1971: 456). However, curiously, staff accommodation is not included within the provisions of the (Turkish) draft *waqfiyya*.

Sabil (pls. cat. 15.5 and 15.19)

The *sabil* is a simple rectangular structure projecting from the east wall of the north courtyard and orientated obliquely to its main west-east axis. The structure, which encloses and contains a large water-storage tank, measures 5.3m by 4.4m in plan, and is constructed of well-dressed ashlar masonry of a very similar type and size to that used in the construction of the kitchen. The sides of the *sabil* rise to approximately 2.8m above the level of the lower courtyard. The west front of the *sabil* extends to 1.83m below the level of the courtyard. At the base of the wall there are four slightly recessed arched panels surrounded by a quirked bevelled frame. In the centre of each of the panels a single (modern) tap supplies water from the tank behind. Access to the taps is down a series of eight steps stretching the full width of the *sabil* and terminating close to its west wall.

Access to the water-storage tank is through a small access hatch (0.6m wide) at ground level in the north face of the structure. The stone reveals of the opening are shaped to form the jambs of a small door. A small arched niche, measuring 0.45m wide and 0.45m deep, has been built into the same wall 0.5m to the west of the access hatch. Socket holes in the sides of the opening suggest that the niche was once fitted with a door but its precise function is unknown. The north-west corner of the structure is heavily chamfered and corbels out, in an elegant curve, at a high level. The only possible reason that can be deduced for this arrangement is that it allowed easier movement around the return in the bakery building a couple of metres to the north-west.

The interior of the water storage tank is today disused and filled with a pile of unsavoury debris. It is easy to discern, however, that the space is barrel-vaulted and that both the wall and—after some investigation—the floor, are heavily lined with a layer of plaster 5cm thick up to a level approximately the same as that of the lower courtyard. The corners of the tank are rounded and the walls above are constructed of roughly dressed masonry. A simple calculation reveals that the tank could store in excess of 14.5 cubic metres of water or 14,500 litres. This goes some way to explain why, in 959/1551-2, the complex donated money for the building of a channel that led to the *sabil* from Birkat al-Sultan, which was the principal source of water for the city (al-‘Asali 1989: 24). Although this sounds like a good deal of water, it should not be forgotten that, because of the low levels of rainfall in the region during the summer months, this might have been the only water available to the complex for a significant part of the year.⁷ 13th/19th-century surveys of the city show a channel linking this water storage tank with Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), located at the junction of al-Wad and ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya less than 50m to the east. Nothing more is known about the channel (Warren 1865: map sheet 1). Immediately to the west of the access hatch to the storage tank there is a settlement tank and a water chute, which suggest that water was also directed to the *sabil* from the roofs of the complex.

Built against the south side of the structure there is a flight of eight steps, measuring 1.1m wide, which leads up to the east to a platform/landing at the level of the roof of the *sabil*. It seems clear that, when it was first built, there was once a small vaulted room on top of the building. Apart from the existence of the steps, two further pieces of evidence point to this conclusion. Firstly, foundations of walls are to be found around the outside of the space, at the corners of which there is the extra thickness of masonry which would indicate support for a cross, or folded cross, vault. Secondly, leading from the landing of the external stairs there are the remains of a sill as well as the bases of the jambs of a door. There is yet a third piece of evidence in the way the chamfer of the north-west corner of the structure arcs out in the top two courses of the existing structure to form a corbel or jetty to receive the corner of the room above.

The overall arrangement strongly suggests that this building functioned as a *sabil-kuttab*, that is, as a public fountain with a small room above used for the tutoring of children in the tenets of Islam. Only one other known example of this type of building has been recorded in Jerusalem to date. This is the *sabil-kuttab* found at the Mamluk foundation al-Tashtamuriyya (784/1382-3), located to the south in Tariq Bab al-Silsila (Burgoyne 1987:

470). Despite the lack of precedents in Jerusalem, *sabil-kuttab*s were firmly founded within the Ottoman tradition, both in Ottoman Turkey and in the provinces of the empire. Qa’itbai had built a number of them in Cairo during the latter half of the 9th/15th century, and the practice continued into the Ottoman period. Indeed, such was their popularity that nearly one hundred were built through the city, perhaps because they were reasonably small and therefore quickly (and cheaply) built (Blair and Bloom 1994: 92; Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 27). Added weight is given to the suggestion that this was a *sabil-kuttab* by its location. Children—orphaned or not—would have been present in this northern half of the complex more than they would have been in the south, as they came to the kitchen. More pertinently, the existing *iwān* to the east of the *sabil*—facing on to the courtyards of what was probably a part of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya/Rasasiyya and which probably continued as a religious college under the guise of al-Madrasa al-Khassakiyya (al-‘Asali 1981: 25)—probably did not exist in its present form. A double window is oddly positioned in the east wall of the space once occupied by the *kuttab*, suggesting that it at least, if not the whole *iwān*, was a later addition. As such, the *sabil-kuttab* was also perhaps in an ideal position to overlook the courtyards of the *madrasa* to allow the children on occasion to benefit from the discussions of their elders there.

Summary and Conclusion

It is hoped that the description and analysis of the Khassaki Sultan complex has provided a comprehensive overview of this, the largest imperial foundation in Palestine. It does not pretend to have solved all of the problems that the chapter began by asking. The date and history of the mausoleum and of Shaikh Sa‘d al-Din al-Rusafi remain a mystery. Nor has a satisfactory answer been found to the question of the function of the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq after that building was incorporated into the complex. Perhaps it was used as accommodation for the principal administrators and their staff? The planning of the south side of the complex suggests that it might have been here that the necessary accommodation for the Sufi community would have been located, perhaps on the site of the 13th/19th-century courthouse. It could be argued that this hypothesis is confirmed by the rather curious layout of the house in the south-east corner of the south courtyard and what appears to be the remains of a connecting doorway between the two. Further confirmation of this would require a detailed analysis of the house, and/or archaeological investigation of the courthouse, a prospect that will have to be ruled out, at least for the foreseeable future.

Leaving aside the ‘fifty-five’ rooms, all of the

⁷ My thanks to Mr Martin Dow for putting this in perspective.

provisions listed in the *waqfiyya* have been identified. The kitchen, the *khan* and the bakery were already known, if not fully documented. The document does not make clear for whose use the refectory was designed. However, the hall in the south side of the complex was almost certainly used by the Sufi community and would undoubtedly have performed the function of refectory. Perhaps too, the rebuilt area adjoining the west wall of the kitchen served a similar function. The 'high praying place' seems to have been located over the south gatehouse. If this is correct then this raises questions concerning the reason for the use of a format of praying place that hitherto, to the author's knowledge, had not been used in an Ottoman foundation. The *sabil* which, judging by its location, would have been primarily for the use of the kitchen, and those who came to eat there, certainly had a chamber over it. That the Ottomans had had a predilection for building *sabil-kuttabs*—particularly in Cairo—both before and after the middle of the 10th/16th century is indisputable. Whether or not this structure has been properly identified here as a *sabil-kuttab* is open to debate.

What has emerged from the survey of the key 10th/16th-century elements in the complex is a clear picture of a socio-religious complex which was carefully organised within the constraints of a dense urban complex to take advantage of existing built resources. The place, however, was almost certainly not designed or planned by Sinan and he certainly played no part in the resulting

architecture. Even if the architecture is not particularly elegant, the planning solution was, and this suggests that it was conceived by a resourceful mind. By clearly dividing the functional requirements of the *waqfiyya* between the north and south sides of the site, that is between the civic requirements of providing for the poor of the city and the pious requirements of pilgrims and the Sufi community, and by linking the two with the joint requirement for the provision of food, the available space was used to its maximum potential. The careful weaving of the new foundation into the already existing Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, and notably the connection made between the *khan* and the main hall of the Mamluk palace, illustrates that no little thought was given to its planning.

In a sense the architecture did not have to be grand. The borrowed Mamluk palace, Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, often confused by 19th-century visitors to the city as the Ottoman foundation—which of course by then it effectively was—provided the grandeur that was required. Nevertheless, even though the architecture is solid and workmanlike, there are clear links between this site and the other imperial foundations in the city—the walls and the *sabils*—which suggests that at least the same builders, and perhaps the same architect or supervisor, were responsible. If nothing else, it is hoped that this survey will have provided the foundation, and inspiration, for further work on the site.



Pl. 35.1 Al-Imara al-Amira, south courtyard looking south-east.



Pl. 35.2 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, south courtyard looking east.



Pl. 35.4 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, ‘Aqabat al-Saraya showing south elevation of the 19th-century Ottoman courthouse looking west.



Pl. 35.3 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, view of outer portico of south gatehouse looking north.



Pl. 35.5 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, portal of south gatehouse looking north-east.



Pl. 35.6 Al-Imara al-Amira, north courtyard looking west.

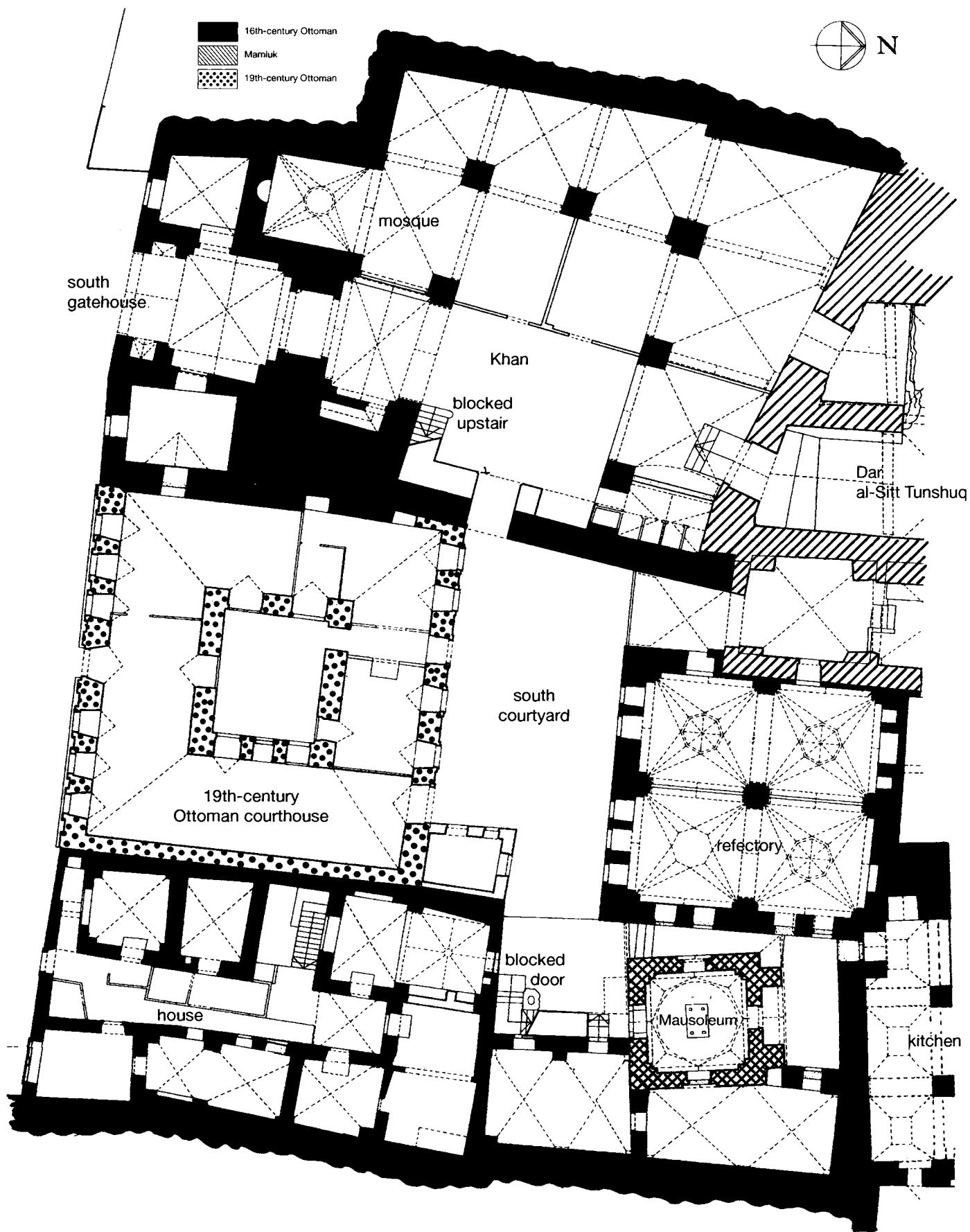


Fig. 35.1 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, plan of the south courtyard.

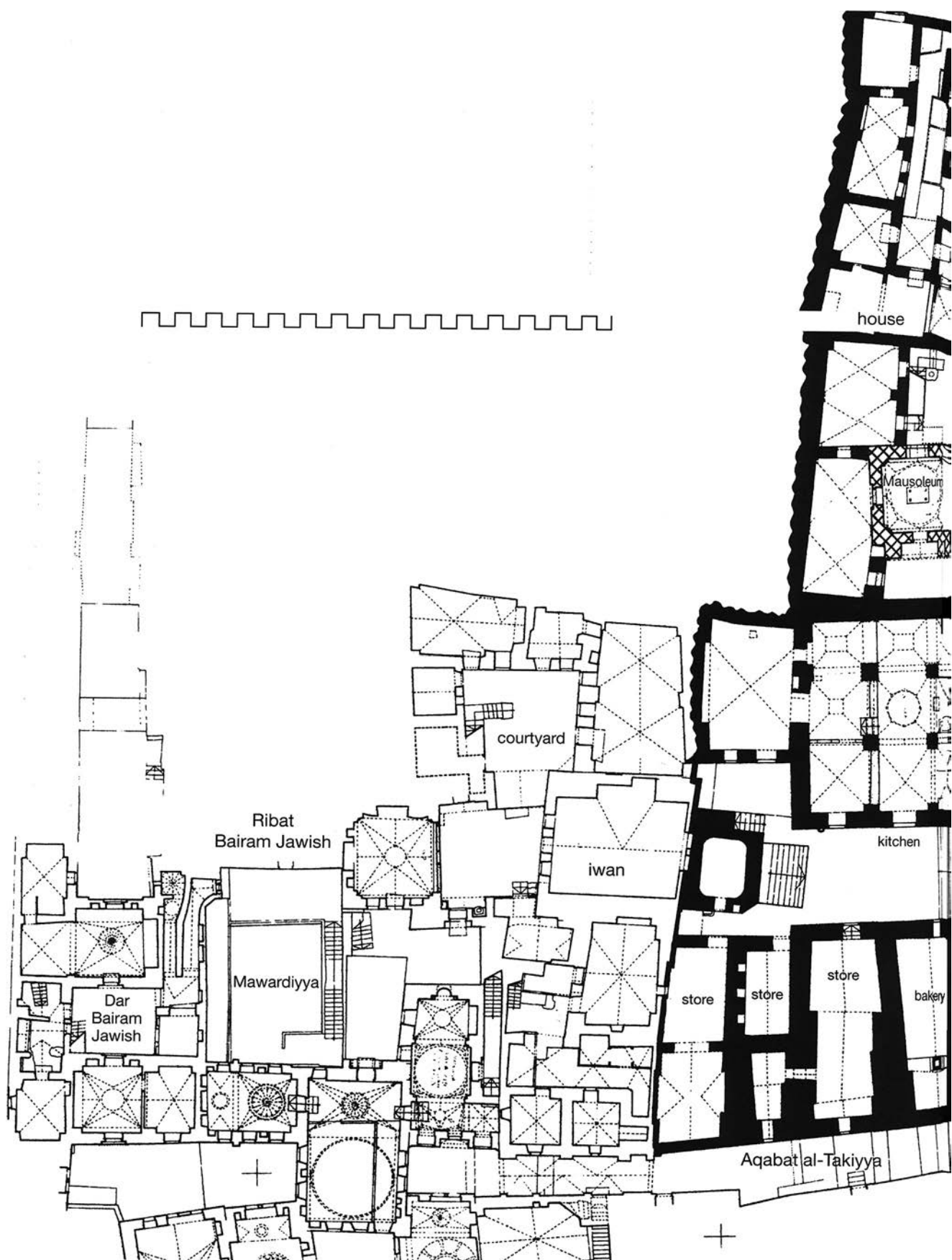


Fig. 35.2 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, plan of the 9th/16th-century complex, showing other neighbouring institutions subsequently incorporated into the Khassaki Sultan complex.



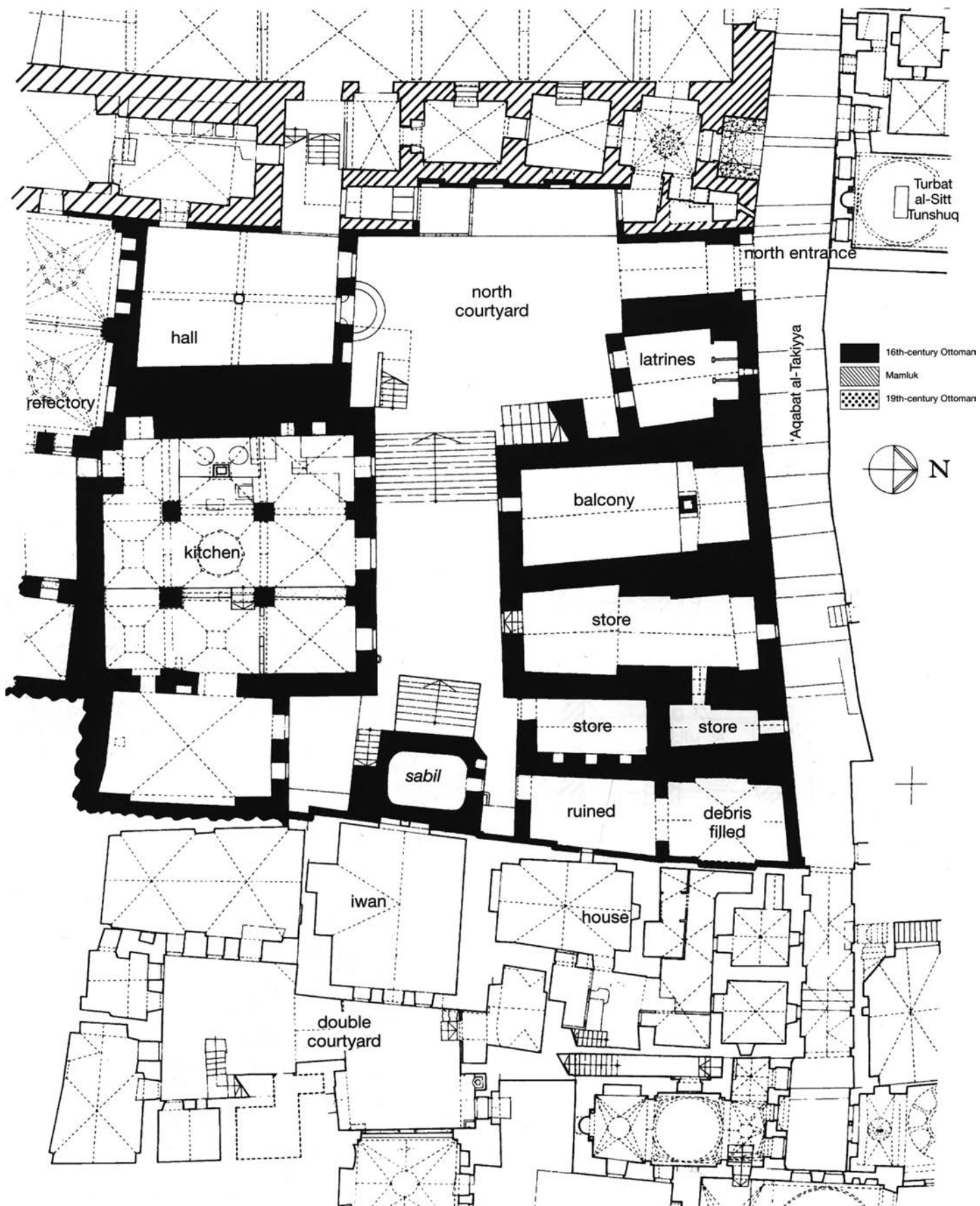


Fig. 35.3 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, plan of the north courtyard.

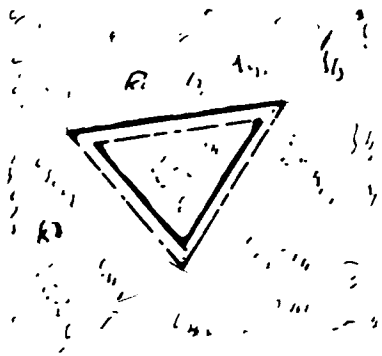
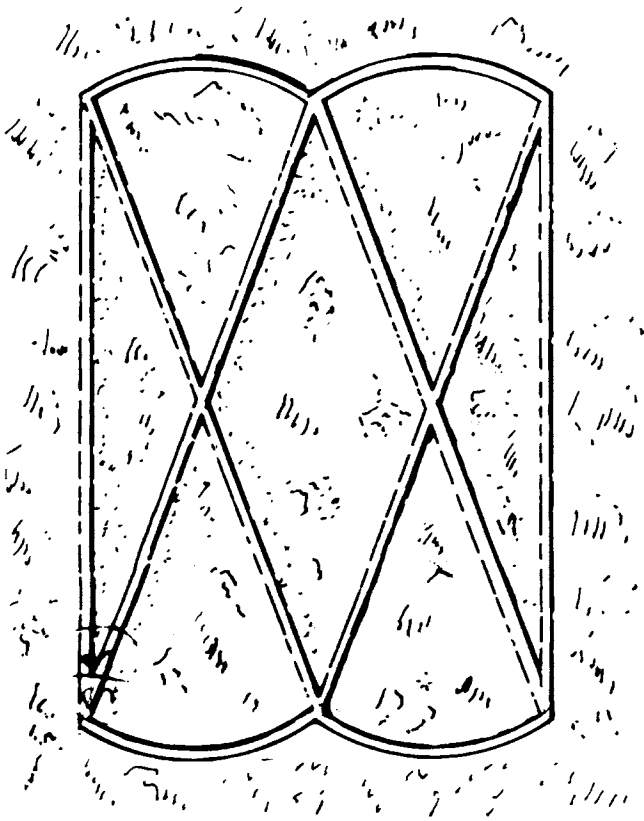


Fig. 35.4 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, mason’s mark found on the south gatehouse.



Pl. 35.7 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, upper floor of south gatehouse from the north.



Pl. 35.8 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, view of the *khan* looking north.



Pl. 35.9 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, view of mosque from inside the *riwag* of *khan* looking south.



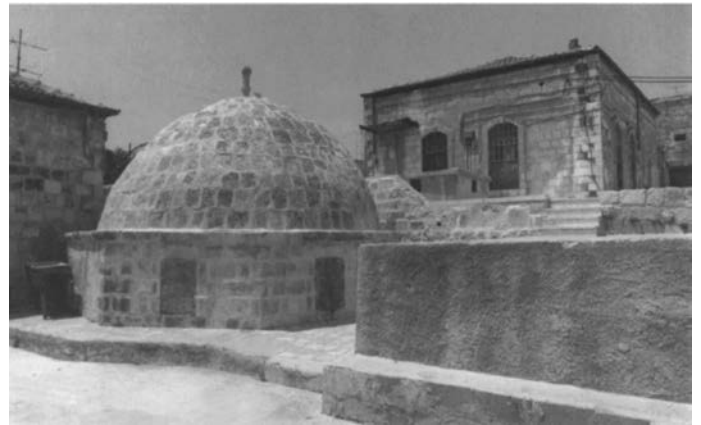
Pl. 35.10 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, interior of the refectory looking north.



Pl. 35.11 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, blocked-up opening in north wall of the refectory.



Pl. 35.12 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, south wall of the mausoleum.



Pl. 35.13 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, dome of the mausoleum looking west.



Pl. 35.14 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, vaulting to the interior of mausoleum.

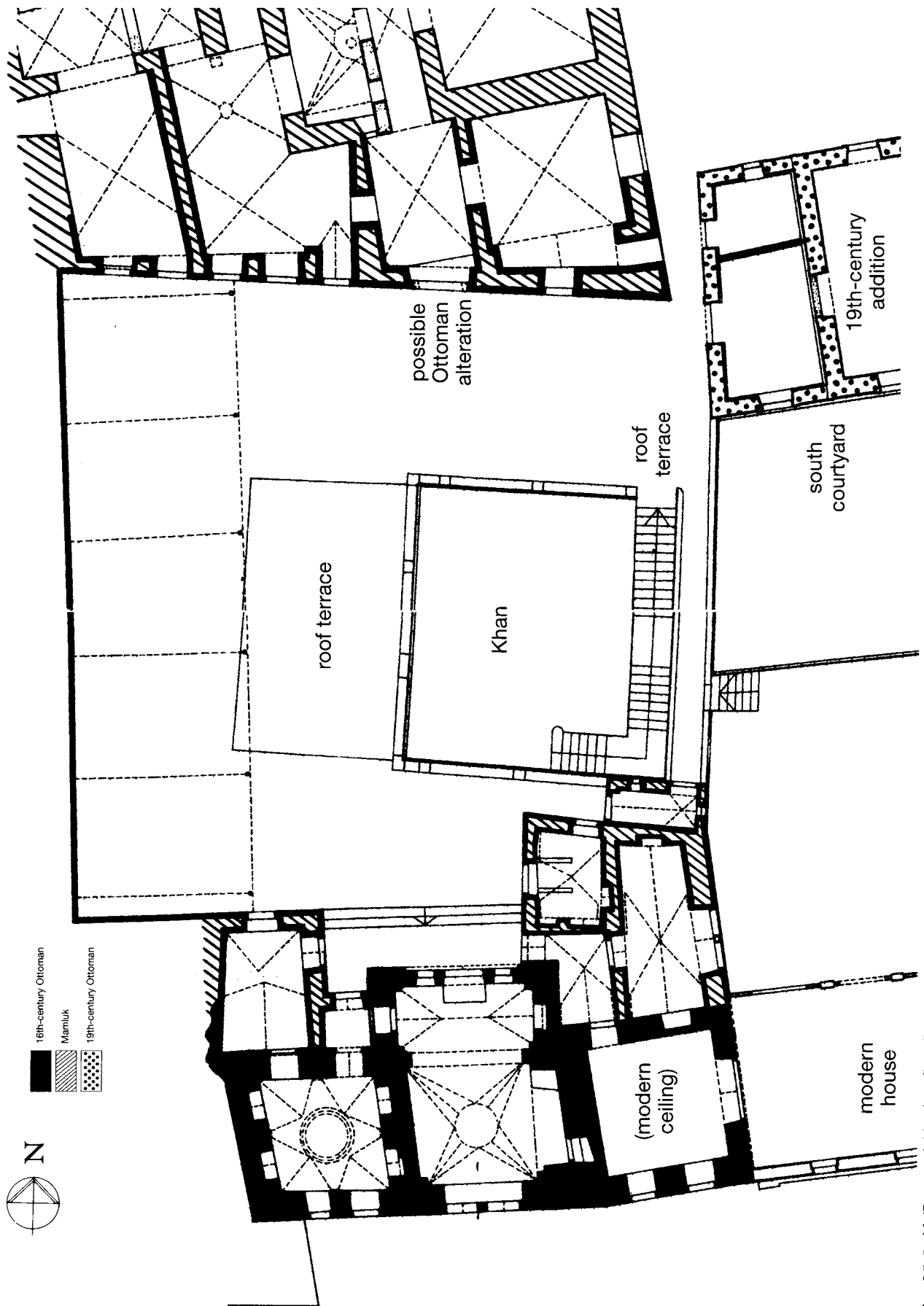


Fig. 35.5 Al-Imara al-Amira, first floor plan of the south gatehouse.



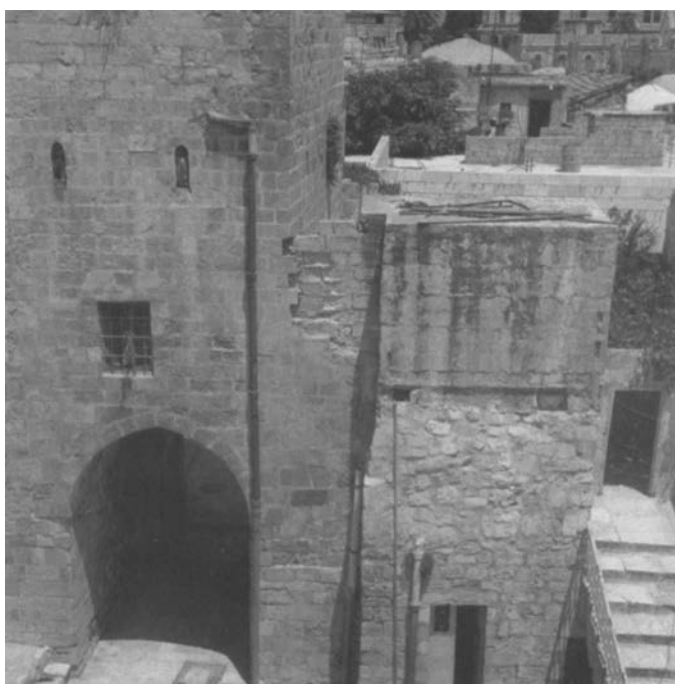
Pl. 35.15 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, elevation to 'Aqabat al-Takiyya looking east.



Pl. 35.16 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, port of north gatehouse.



Pl. 35.17 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, detail of window on north elevation of bakery.



Pl. 35.18 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, view of the north gatehouse from the south.

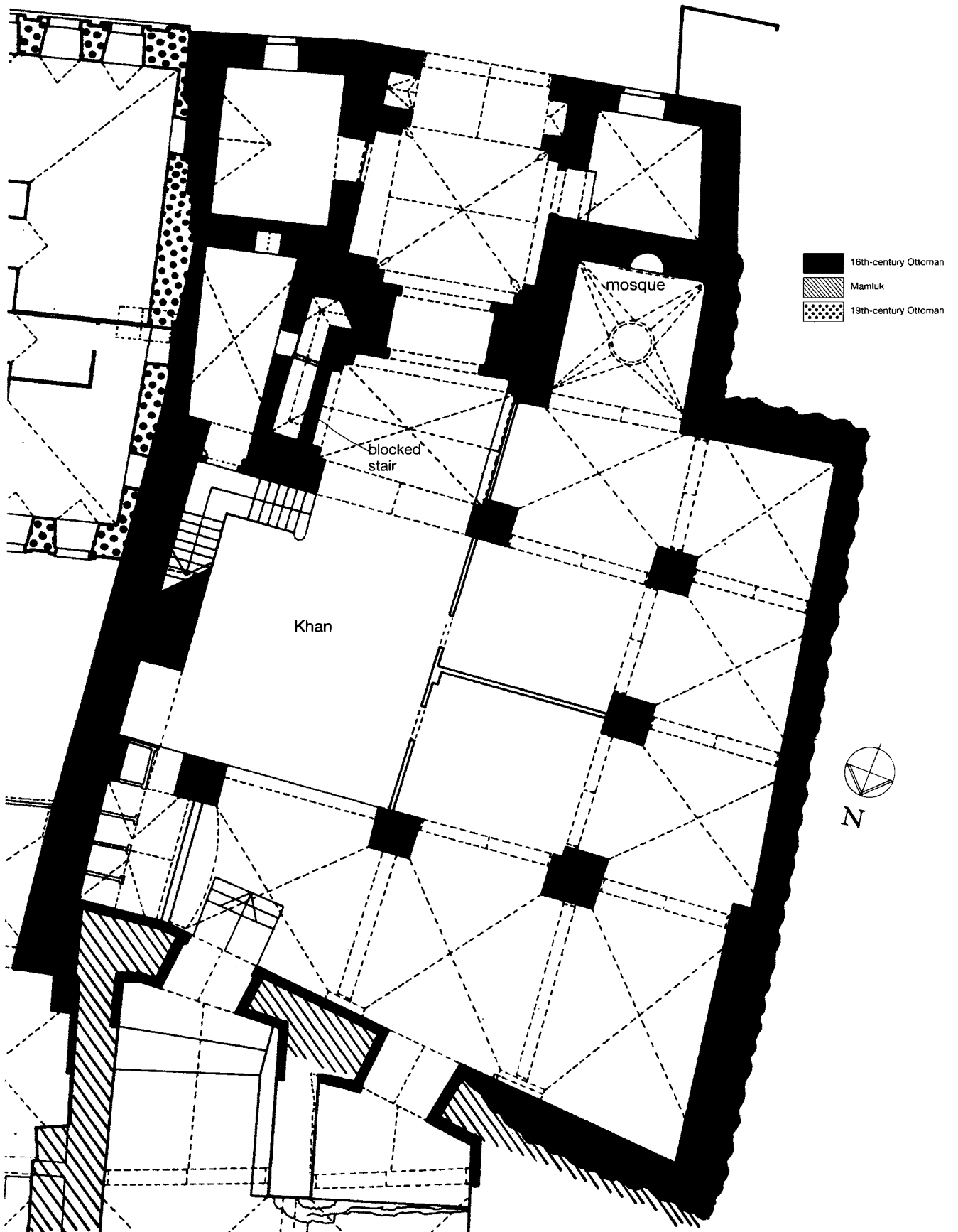


Fig. 35.6 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, mezzanine level of south gatehouse and *khan*.

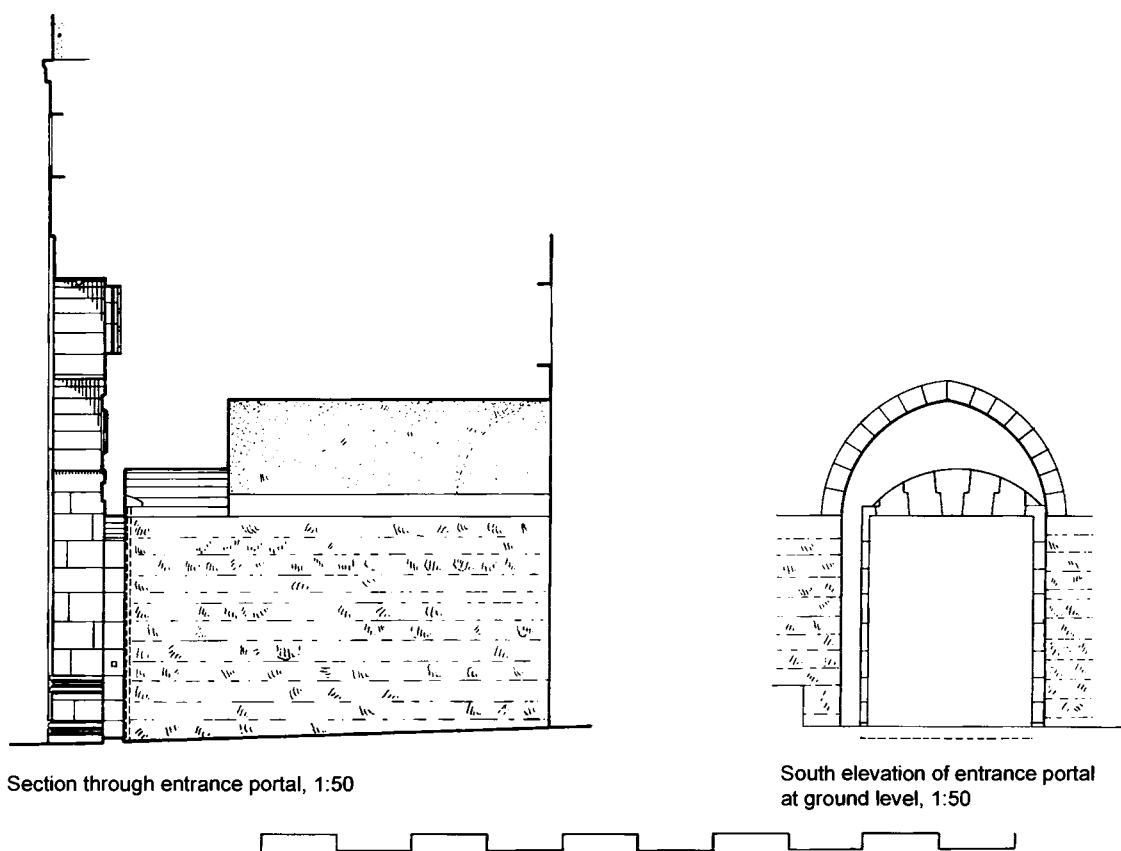
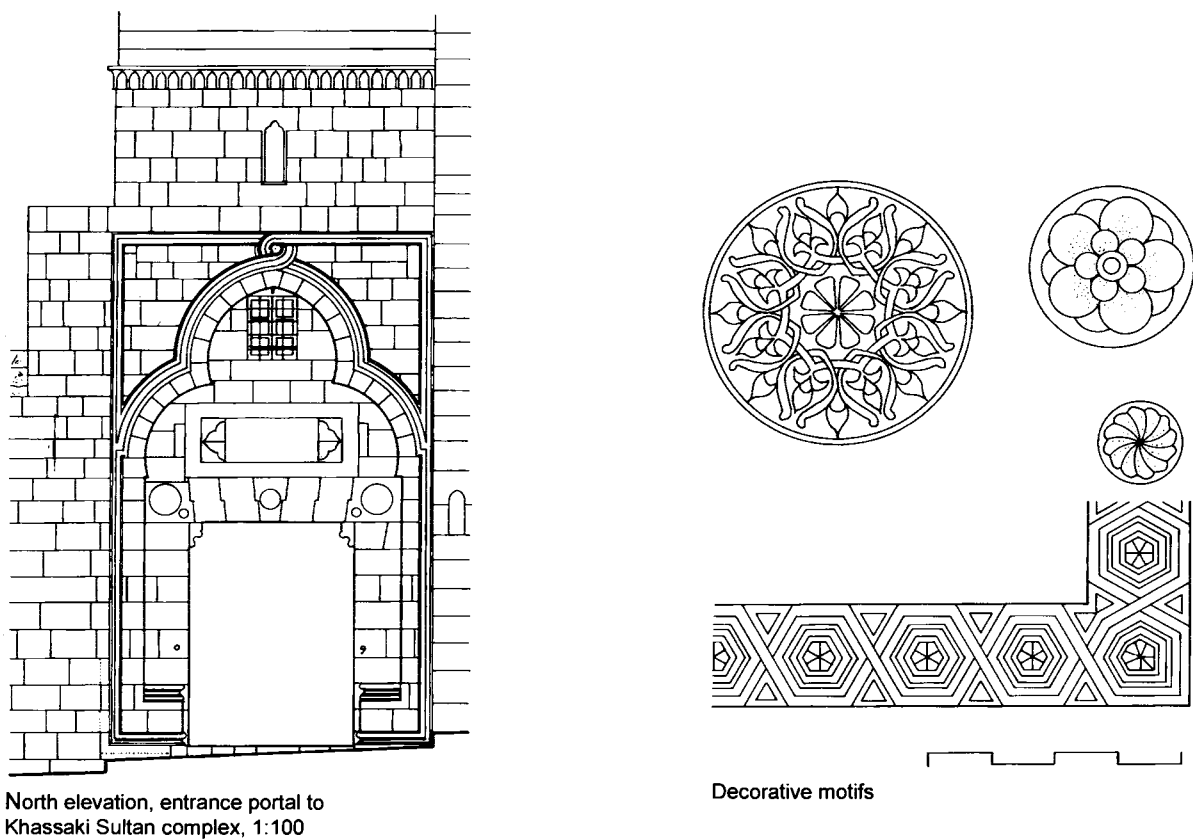


Fig. 35.7 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, north gatehouse (after Burgoyne 1971).

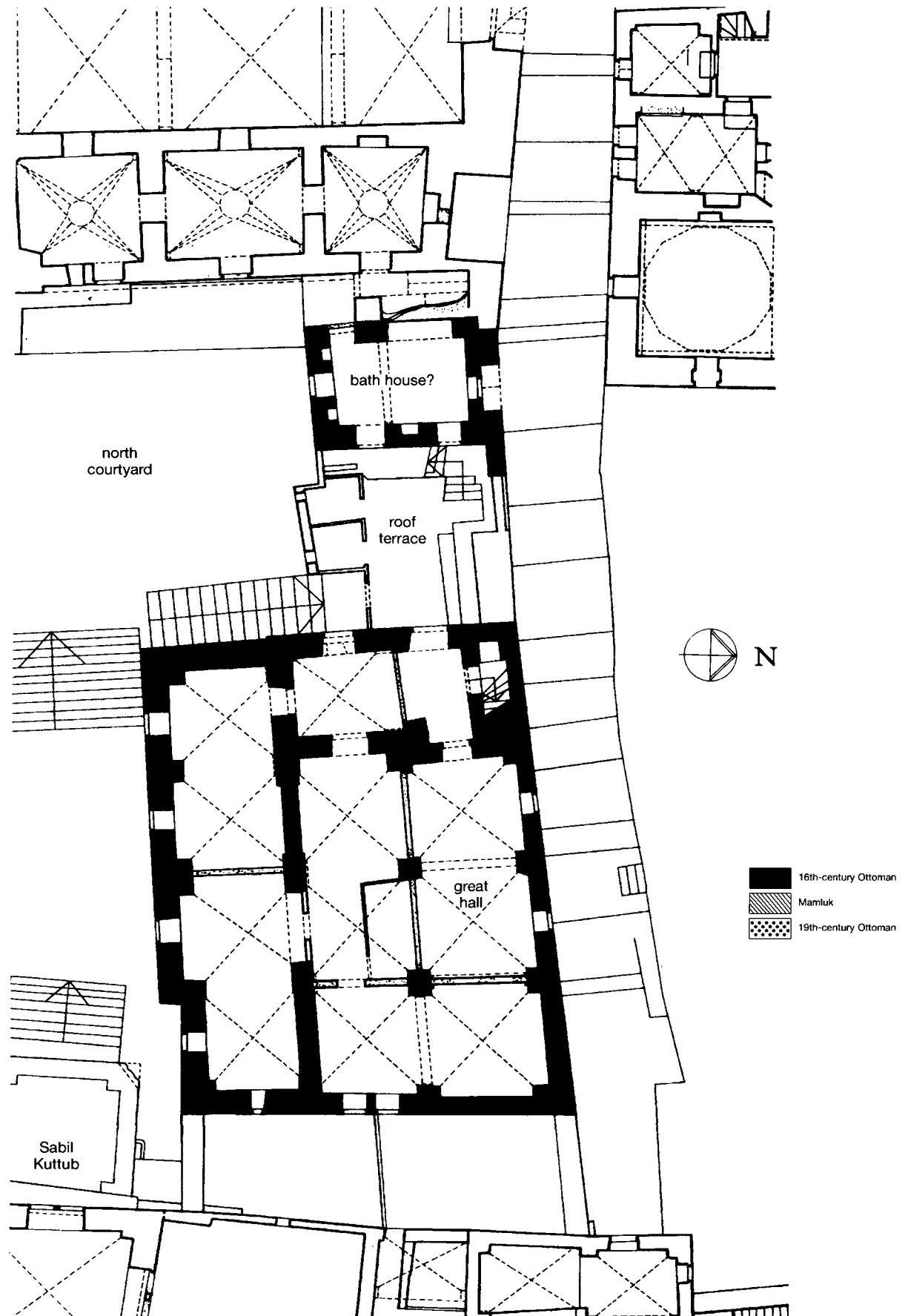


Fig. 35.8 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, first floor of north gatehouse and bakery.

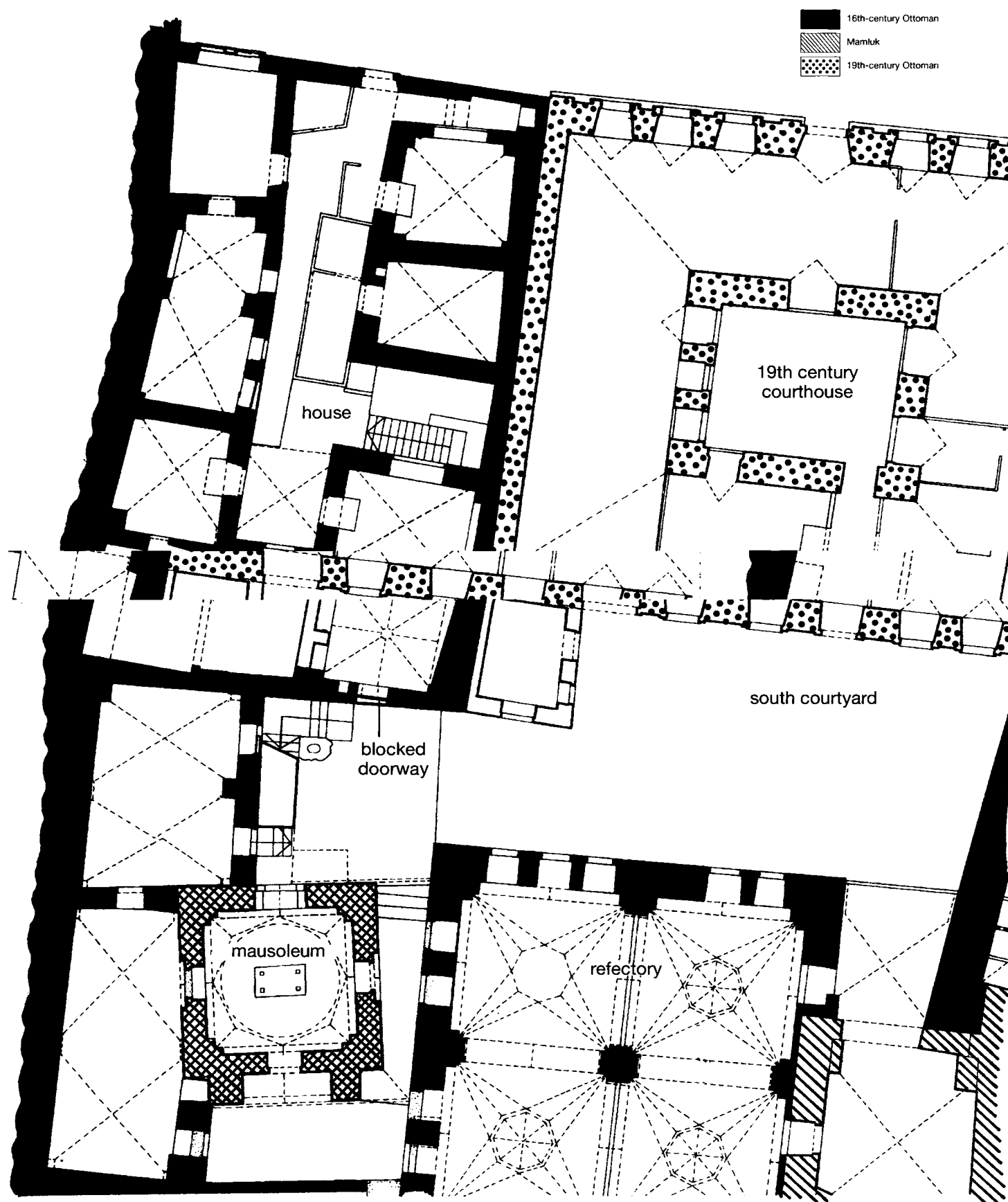


Fig. 35.9 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, plan of house adjoining the south courtyard, indicating position of blocked-up doorway.



Pl. 35.19 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, kitchen building from the north east.



Pl. 35.21 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, interior of kitchen looking north.



Pl. 35.20 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, roof of kitchen from the north.



Pl. 35.22 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, detail of south elevation of the bakery with re-used stone bearing an arabesque.

Chapter 36

THE ARCHITECTURE OF OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Yusuf Natsheh

Introduction

Sources

The *sijills* of Jerusalem, standing monuments, descriptions by travellers (Muslim and Western), recent research.

The principal primary sources for this chapter are twofold, as the sub-title—the *sijills* of Jerusalem and the standing buildings—reflects. Other sources too have significantly enriched the research. The intention here is not to present and evaluate all the sources used, but rather to cast some light on the nature and complexity of the most important unpublished material as well as some of the published material regarding the architecture of Jerusalem in the relevant period. All the other secondary references, regardless of the size of their contribution to the study, are listed in full detail either in the Bibliography or in a specific footnote. There follows a list of the central sources used, arranged according to their importance.

*The Sijills of Jerusalem*¹

Sijill (plural *sijillat*), the original Arabic meaning of which was 'to register', is used widely today to refer to the

archives of the Shari'a, or Muslim religious court.² The records of the religious court of Jerusalem provide scholars with an unparalleled fund of information on the history of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Ottoman period—material which is not found in any other available source. The records cover almost all aspects of Palestinian history in general, and Jerusalem life in particular. They contain data on social, legal, and politico-administrative matters relating to both Muslims and non-Muslims, and include a wide range of *firman*s and communications with the capital.³

The official and the legal records, which began⁴ in the year 936/1529 and continue up to the present, are

² For further discussion on the term *sijill* and its development, see Manna' 1986: 351-3.

³ For further details on the importance of the *sijills* of Jerusalem and on the areas of information, see Ma'oz 1970: 10-11, Mandaville 1975: 517-24.

⁴ The first volume of the records of Jerusalem predates the first volumes of the courts of Aleppo (962/1555) and Damascus (991/1583) (Manna' 1986: 354). It is worth mentioning that the earliest volume of the Mühimme Defteri kept in Istanbul is dated 951/1544. The dated documents in Heyd are extracted from a second volume dated 959-60/1552 (Heyd 1960: XVIII 'Addendum', 4.). Tahrir Register no. 522, which includes 72 pages on the *waqfs* of Palestine of which 14-31 relate to al-Quds, is not dated. Tahrir no. 342 has 33 pages exclusively on the *waqfs* of al-Quds and is dated 970/1562-3. Tahrir register no. 602 has no termination date, but Ipsirli (1984: 96) estimates that it may have been compiled a few years after the Ottoman conquest; it includes a list of 243 *waqfs* (pages 463-95), the majority of which belong to the Islamic dynasties before the Ottomans (Ipsirli 1984: 95-96).

¹ Whenever the *sijills* are used as a reference, the number of the volume and the page are given. A colon separates the two numbers. If more than a single *sijill* is quoted, a semicolon appears between the *sijill* volumes.

contained in some 650 bound volumes.⁵ Most of the *sijills* are written in Arabic, but a few are inscribed in Ottoman Turkish. The records are registered haphazardly, with no specific order or classification according to subject or date, but were written as the various matters arose and were recorded.⁶ It is therefore necessary to scan each item in order to determine if it contains information relevant to a specific matter. It is a huge task which will require years of study.

‘Arif al-‘Arif (1961), a Palestinian historian, was the first local scholar in modern times to appreciate the importance of the *sijills* as a source for the history of Jerusalem. He cited many references in his famous book on the history of the city. The value and wide range of the *sijill* records relating to Jerusalem were mainly introduced to Western scholars in two works by Mandaville (1966: 311-19; 1975: 517-24). Tibawi (1978) published the *waqf* foundation of the Moroccan neighbourhood based on two *waqfiyyas* from the *sijills*. Al-Husaini (1982) wrote a book on *waqf* with a transcription of some documents from the *sijills*. Soon after 1967, Cohen (1994: 4, 5) was the first Israeli scholar to use the *sijills*; following this work, the way was paved for a group of Israeli scholars and their students to utilise this primary source for a number of published studies.⁷ Al-‘Asali from 1983 onwards used the *sijills* to a varying degree in his books (see Bibliography); the volume entitled *Watha’iq Maqdisiyya* (vol. 1 1989, vol. 2 1989) contains extensive extracts from the *sijills*, but it mostly pertains to the later Ottoman period.

While some of these publications were in preparation, another group of Palestinian Ottomanists as

well as other Israeli scholars investigated the *sijills*, a process which resulted in a further treatise on the importance of the records. Doumani (1985: 155-72) revealed the value of the records as a source for socio-economic history, and Manna‘ (1986: 351-62) published a valuable article on the Jerusalem *sijills* as a source for the study of Palestine during the Ottoman period. Atallah (1993) published two volumes on the guilds of Jerusalem in the seventeenth century. The *sijills* were also the source of primary information for many MA and PhD dissertations in different institutions.⁸

With the exception of al-‘Asali (1989), who included three short documents concerning building activities, all the studies mentioned above were concerned to seek out and publish various aspects of historical data; they did not deal with buildings or their history. It is indeed noticeable that neither of the works of Atallah include anything on the guilds of the builders. The first—and indeed the only—attempt known to the present writer to investigate the *sijills* for architectural purposes was made by Burgoyne and Richards (1987: 58). As the writers themselves admit, this attempt ‘was largely frustrated’, and after 33 volumes of the *sijills* had been examined, they had not come across a single Mamluk endowment instrument.

Thus, when the present writer began research into the *sijills* in 1995, the situation was neither clear nor promising, although it was hoped that relevant data would be discovered because of the publication of very limited *waqfiyyas*⁹ recorded in the *sijills* regarding certain Mamluk

⁵ Al-‘Asali (1989b: 225 n.3) estimates that these comprise some 100,000 folios; Manna‘ (1986: 356) notes that it is almost impossible to calculate the average number of the documents contained within each volume because of their diversity.

⁶ An attempt was made in the late 1980s by a small team of employees of the Shari‘a court to solve the problem by indexing a number of the *sijills*. The team was headed by the late Shaikh As‘ad al-Imam al-Husaini. Each index entry contains the following: (1) the number of the *sijill*; (2) the number of the page; (3) the number of the document; (4) the subject of the document; (5) the name of the *qadi*; (6) and any notes that were necessary. At the outset, although the size of the index was almost as big as the volume of the *sijill* itself, the attempt was both successful and useful. Unfortunately, the index later became very abridged and therefore less useful. At present there is no further indexing process in hand.

⁷ Cohen’s publications include: *Jewish Life under Islam* (1984); *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* (1989); ‘Sixteenth Century Egypt and Palestine: The Jewish Connection as Reflected in the *sijill* of Jerusalem’ in *Egypt and Palestine, a Millennium of Association*, eds. Cohen and Baer (1984). Cohen also published several Hebrew articles and books (see Bibliography), the most recent of which was with others in *Jews in the Moslem Religious Court* (1996). Examples of publications by other Israeli scholars are: Baer (1990); Peri (1990); Singer (1994); Ze‘evi (1996).

⁸ For example B Sabri, *Liwa‘ al-Quds fi al-Qarn al-Tasi‘ ‘Ashr, 1840-1873*, MA thesis, ‘Ain Shams University 1981; A Manna‘, *The Sancak of Jerusalem between two Invasions (1798-1831): Administration and Society*, PhD Dissertation., Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1986; D Ze‘evi, *An Ottoman Century—The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, PhD Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1991; M Atallah, *Die Zünfte in Jerusalem im 17. Jahrhundert anhand von Gerichtsurkunden*. PhD Diss., Universität Tübingen 1988.

⁹ Examples of the most important are:

(1) the *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Sultan (al-Husaini 1982: 78-93, al-‘Asali 1983: 127-142) though Stephan noted the difference between the Arabic text in the *sijills* and the published Turkish text (1944: 170-192).

(2) the short *waqfiyya* made by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash for the benefit of the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman (al-Husaini 1982: 109-10; 115-16).

(3) the *waqfiyya* of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili (al-Husaini and Abu Layl 1987).

(4) the *waqfiyya* of al-Madrassa Tankiziyya (al-‘Asali 1983: 108-121). Burgoyne (1987: 224-5) quoted a large part of this *waqfiyya* directly from the *sijill* (92: 426-30).

(5) the *waqfiyya* of al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya by Salah al-Din (al-‘Alami 1981; al-‘Asali 1983: 91-100); see also Frenkel, ‘The Establishment of the Waqf of al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya by Salah al-Din’ in *Cathedra*, vol. 65 (1992: 21-36 in Hebrew).

(6) the *waqfiyyas* of the Maghariba (al-‘Alami *Waqfiyyat al-Maghariba*, Jerusalem: General Auqaf Administration 1981).

and Ottoman buildings. Although the early search proved slow and disappointing, it later changed dramatically, and the results have surpassed any expectations.

With the help of the data found in the *sijills*, the present writer has been able:

(1) to add twelve monuments to the list of the known Ottoman buildings, six of them (cat. nos. 13, 21-25) datable to the 16th century; three others (cat. nos. 34, 41, 48) date to later than the 16th century, and three more are undated (cat. nos. 18, 28, 29).

(2) to find the complete text of 12 unpublished *waqfiyyas*—seven (cat. nos. 11-13, 18-19, 21, 25)¹⁰ of these relate to buildings constructed in the 16th century, and the rest (cat. nos. 33-35, 40-41, 48) relate to buildings constructed after the 16th century.

(3) to find extracts (cat. nos. 1, 3, 20, 22-24, 34) of many other *waqfiyyas*, which for some reason were not recorded in their entirety in the Jerusalem *sijills* and whose original text is most probably now lost.

(4) In addition, the *sijills* provided the data for the second chapter of the study. This deals with building processes, the traditional materials and the activities of the master builders, both local and non-local, Muslim and Christian. The writer was able to follow the fortunes of a local family of master builders for five successive generations. The contents of the study alone demonstrate the importance of the various data. The most important documents are transcribed into Arabic with an English summary in Cat. Appendix 1.

It is certain that future research in the *sijills* will reveal even more information on the architecture of Jerusalem and its history, and will fill in the gaps that remain. The research work that has been done for this study has proved that it is wrong to consider the *sijill* documents of the archives of the Ottoman Court at Istanbul as the main resource, with the Jerusalem *sijills* as merely a supplementary and complementary record. The Jerusalem documents are in fact unmatched as a source for provincial local history, even when they are compared with the archives of Istanbul.

The Standing Monuments

The buildings themselves provide primary evidence, in particular for the architectural fabric of the city. The description of these monument in the accompanying catalogue forms the second part of the study. It was on the basis of the catalogue that the third section was written. It covers various aspects of architecture arranged under three

categories: types of buildings, architectural elements, and decorative elements. These categories have enabled the writer to compare the Ottoman monuments of Jerusalem with those found in the city before the Ottoman period, and those of other areas.

Beside the architectural elements, many buildings contain foundation inscriptions which have been meticulously studied and edited with valuable comments by the famous Swiss epigraphist Max van Berchem in his indispensable *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1922-27). However, a few inscriptions escaped the van Berchem study,¹¹ and in certain cases a different reading to some names and words is offered here (see cat. appendix 2).

Descriptions by Travellers

(a) Muslim Travellers

The status of Jerusalem as a focus for visits and pilgrimage increased in the Ottoman period and many travellers have left descriptions of the city as a whole, and of the Haram area in particular. It is however the case that the majority of these descriptions concentrated on the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqsa Mosque, and on Sufi figures and saints. Most of the travellers were not concerned with architecture or the fabric of the buildings, unless these had some religious significance. Any such reference was included only from a religious or legendary point of view. As a consequence, the reader will be frustrated of any hope of discovering in the writings of the Muslim travellers significant information on the monuments and their architectural features. However, an exception to this general rule must be made for two travellers who left useful descriptions both of the city and of certain of its monuments. The first is the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi who visited Jerusalem in 1059/1649. His text was translated into English from the original Turkish by Stephan (see below). Evliya Çelebi left vivid, detailed descriptions of Jerusalem in the *Seyahatname*, his text proving the richest and most extensive of all the descriptions of the travellers who visited the city in the Ottoman period (see al-'Asali 1992). This learned Turk demonstrates an indefatigable interest in the physical appearance of the monuments, to such a degree that he includes the numbers of columns supporting certain of the domes, and he was in addition precise in mentioning the exact location of the buildings. His description of the Citadel is particularly interesting. His remarks cover most aspects of the structure and life of the 11th/17th-century city. But, for all that, it is necessary to sound a word of caution. Care should be taken over some of his opinions

¹⁰ The complete Arabic text with an English summary and a facsimile are to be found in cat. appendix 1, under the number of each catalogue entry.

¹¹ The numbers of these inscriptions as they appear in the catalogue and in cat. appendix 2 are: 13; 14; 15/1; 15/2; 17/2; 19; 33/1; 33/2; 33/3; 35; 40; 42; and 46.

and interpretations, such as, for example, his statement that Qoja Sinan was the architect who was responsible for the projects of Sulaiman Qanuni. No basis for this assertion has yet been discovered. Another problematic area is his belief that the motivation behind Sultan Sulaiman's building activities was a dream that he had about the Prophet Muhammad.

The second traveller whose account is of value is al-Nabulsi, who visited Jerusalem twice, in 1101/1690 and 1105/1693. He left descriptions of the city and its surroundings full of rhetorical expressions in rhymed prose (*saj'*) and much poetry. He was interested in particular in the Sufis, saints, and tombs, rather than in architecture or the individual buildings themselves. Generally his descriptions are concise, apart from that of Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) and al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19). Both of these contain interesting detail, although it is noticeable that al-Nabulsi for some reason ignored the minaret of the *khanqah*.

(b) Western Travellers

The literature of the travellers from the West underpinned the present research with useful but limited information on a few of the monuments under discussion. The limitations of the information are due to many factors. The main interest of the travellers was in biblical and Christian sites rather than the Muslim ones. Even if a visitor was interested in Islamic architecture in the city, that interest would have been confined to the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque or perhaps some other monumental building. The simplicity and unimposing size of the Ottoman monuments meant that they left little impression. It should also be remembered that Western travellers were not allowed easy access to the Haram—the location of the majority of monuments described in this study—until the second half of the 19th century. This meant that any visit by earlier travellers was either conducted under a false name (as was the case of Ali Beg al-Abbassi), or under heavy escort; some visitors even experienced real danger (Burgoyne 1987: 35-6).

Any researcher must use caution when using data included in the reports of some of the Western travellers, for, beside the difficulties they encountered in investigating the sites mentioned above, some early visitors to Muslim sites apparently based their writing on oral information gleaned from the guardians of the Haram rather than from more authentic sources. Van Berchem (1925: 170), for example, commented on Catherwood's use of the name 'Qubbat Fatima' for Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) which had no basis in any traditional Arabic reference to the Haram al-Sharif. Schick (1887: 25) gave the name 'Masjid al-Nabi' (Mosque of the Prophet) to the building identified by the restoration inscription as the 'Qubbat al-Hadi al-

Amin' (cat. no. 43). Pirotti (1864: 151-2) considered the 16th-century kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15) as having been originally a *hammam* (bath-house), and, as Burgoyne (1987: 36) has noted, he ascribed every 'Saracenic' building either to Saladin or to 'Solyman'.

The fact that Qubbat al-Khadr does not appear on any of the three maps drawn before the Ordnance Survey of Palestine dated 1867, although according to Ali Beg al-Abbassi it was extant before then (1816 2: 223, pls. LXXI, LXXII), leads the Spaniard Badia y Leblich to argue against the accuracy of these maps for the small monuments of the Haram. The maps are held in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London. The first map was drawn by Catherwood in 1833,¹² and the second is a reduced copy of the map with a few corrections and additions. The third is a sketch map of the north-western area of the Haram drawn by Conrad Schick (No. Schick 239/7).

Modern Research¹³

Since 1967, almost every year has seen the publication of numerous articles, books, and theses on Jerusalem past, present, and future. Our knowledge of Jerusalem's history and its development has been impressively enhanced in the last three decades by virtue of archaeological excavations and surveys, and by the discovery of various types of written documentation, such as the Haram records, inscription plaques, and *sijill* documents. Despite this situation, there has been only a mere handful of works devoted to widening knowledge and understanding of the city's development and the nature of its architecture in the Ottoman period, and what has been published is very limited.

Stephan was one scholar of Palestine who showed an early interest in the Ottoman period and its architecture. Although his main contributions were translations from Ottoman Turkish to English, his pioneering work and perceptive remarks command admiration. Stephan (1933: 132-5) began his output by translating from Ottoman Turkish into English and then

¹² The map is published by J Fergusson, *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, (1867: pl. IV, London).

¹³ It is worth mentioning here the major recent bibliographical works on the history of Jerusalem. These include J Purvis, *Jerusalem, the Holy City: a bibliography*, vol. 1 1988 and vol. 2 1991; Rasdad al-Imam, *Bibliography of the Holy City of al-Quds Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (1989 in Arabic), vol. 2 part I (1990 in Arabic), vol. 2 part II (Appendices 1991), vol. 3 (1992 in English), Carthage; and K Bieberstein and H Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem. Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden 1994.

publishing two inscriptions from the Citadel. This was followed by a translation of the text of Evilya Çelebi's travels in Palestine. Stephan published the translation in successive issues of the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (QDAP IV-IX, 1935-42). Schiller reprinted the texts in a single booklet in 1980, and al-'Asali (1992) has recently translated the text into Arabic. Finally Stephan (1944: 170-94) translated the Turkish version of the important *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Sultan with comments regarding the Arabic version recorded in the *sijills*.

Meinecke's article (1988: 257-83) on the restoration of al-Quds/Jerusalem by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman is also very important. Though the article is relatively short, the author has surveyed most of the known architectural restoration and construction projects which were carried out in the city during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman. Meinecke based himself primarily on the epigraphic evidence from van Berchem and on some contemporary and recent references. The article includes many photographs and a rich bibliography given the length of the work but it does not include any architectural plan or section. The author was after all based successively in Cairo and Damascus. The value of Meinecke's article lies in his wide knowledge and his ability to draw a comparison between the architectural elements of the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem and the region under Sulaiman, and other buildings in Cairo, Damascus, and in particular in Aleppo. This cross-referencing allowed him to come to many conclusions, in particular about the origins of the master builders who were employed to work on the imperial projects in Jerusalem, and in general about the sources of the Ottoman architecture of the city. The majority of these hypothetical conclusions have now been proved correct by evidence discovered in the *sijills* by the present writer.

One year after Meinecke's article, two papers appeared in *The Islamic World: from Classical to Modern Times*, edited by Bosworth and others (1989). The first paper was written by Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 589-607), and dealt with the Jerusalem *sabils* built by Sultan Sulaiman. This is the only article known to me which includes a detailed architectural description of Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem. It includes good photographs and plans in addition to a map but has no elevations. Rosen-Ayalon confines her paper to an analysis of the fountains with no concern for the literary sources, which resulted in her missing useful historical material from the *sijills* published by al-Husaini (1982: 113-16). This information was latter quoted and expanded by Cohen (see below). The author traces most of the features of the *sabils* to traditions found in the 'region' prior to the Ottoman period. It follows that most of her analogies are drawn from the buildings of Mamluk Jerusalem, with only two examples taken from outside the city. She concludes that the form of the *sabils* is

not found in other periods or other places, a conclusion with which the present writer does not agree (see section below under *Sabils*).

The second paper by Cohen (1989: 467-77) is devoted to the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem under Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni. Cohen investigates the motives which led Sultan Sulaiman to surround the city with a wall, and changes his earlier ideas (Cohen 1982: 407-18) about the administrative and financial role in the project of Castro (a Jewish financial employee from Cairo) in favour of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, who was the superintendent of the wall project according to his title in the Jerusalem *sijill*. Though the paper concentrates on historical and financial aspects, it contains useful information drawn from the *sijills*.

The following year, Cohen (1990: 31-51), once again basing himself on new material discovered in the *sijills*, published a longer article than his one of 1989 in which he expanded and confirmed his earlier conclusions about the role of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. In this second article, Cohen provided proof of his supervision of other construction projects in Jerusalem during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman. Among other issues, Cohen also briefly explores the administrative aspects of the city and its Citadel in the early Ottoman period.

Al-'Asali (see Bibliography) has recently published a number of books and articles about the educational institutions and monuments of the city. The works deal with some of the Ottoman monuments under discussion, but very briefly and from a historical rather than an architectural point of view. His contribution is helpful, particularly when it is based on the *sijills* and on new material, for when he depends largely on Mujir al-Din, Max van Berchem, al-'Arif, and the recent publications on the walls and by Burgoyne in *Levant*, his work offers only a limited addition to knowledge of the history or of the development of the Ottoman monuments under discussion. Having said that, his contribution in re-introducing the history of the city and its architecture to the general Arab reader remains unrivalled in recent times.

Many recent Arab authors¹⁴ have collected material on the history and architecture of Jerusalem during the Islamic period. But once again, either they have concentrated on a historical approach or, if they mention the buildings under discussion here, they have repeated the

¹⁴ Shafi'i et al. 1971; Najm et al. 1983; C. Cha'th, *Al-Quds al-Sharif* ('Noble Jerusalem'), Ribat 1988. For a French version of the book printed in Ribat (also published in 1993) *Al-Qods Acharif*, Publications de l'Organisation Islamique pour l'Education, les Sciences et la Culture, ISECO; M Ghosheh, *Bawabat al-Quds* (Jerusalem's Gates) Amman, 1992; I Baydun, *Dalil al-Masjid al-Aqsa al-Mubarak*, Kufr Kanna 1993; Sabri et al. 1981; Taha 1988, 1989 and 1990 (see Bibliography).

known data with little additional material and, frequently, the same errors. It would be a true assessment, however, to say that these works provide the basic tourist information for some of the monuments.

Ben-Dov (1983: 85-120) has devoted a pioneering chapter to the Ottoman walls of the city. This Hebrew version was later translated into English (1990: 12-35). The work includes many photographs and plans not previously published, statistics about the architectural features in the walls, and above all he gives a good indication of recent measurements taken by the Israeli authorities. Unfortunately, neither this chapter nor the books (1983, 1990) as a whole offer anything significant on the buildings under discussion, or their contribution to the study of the Islamic Ottoman architecture of Jerusalem. They include no description of architectural or decorative features nor is there any comparison with other similar features. Bahat (1990), on the occasion of the Ninth International Symposium of CIEPO which was held in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University, concentrated on a selection of the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem. His article includes a few plans and photographs, but contains only abridged historical data mainly taken from van Berchem on the name and date of the chosen buildings. Its aim was to draw attention to these buildings.

Although *Mamluk Jerusalem*, whose main author was Burgoyne (1987), does not include any direct or indirect study of the buildings under discussion, it does contain useful information about Mamluk foundations which were added to or restored during the Ottoman period. The book is also particularly informative when it traces the difference between the Mamluk elements and the Ottoman additions. The method used by Burgoyne in the descriptions contained in the catalogue entries is the most up-to-date approach, and is therefore followed here with minimal modifications. The book is very rich in plans, sections, and decorative details, and it is without rival or precedent in dealing with the great majority of Jerusalem buildings of the period.

The Development of Ottoman Jerusalem

The development of the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem can be divided into two phases. The first covers the period extending from the time of Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66) until the end of the 16th century, and the second begins in the 17th century and finishes in 1247/1831. During the first phase, Ottoman development was distinguished—almost to the same degree as during the Mamluk period—by substantial architectural

foundations and major restoration projects. The second phase was mainly marked by modest projects, or minor repairs and restoration work, and above all by innumerable domestic Palestinian houses, characterised in particular by the *qantar*as (archway bridges) that span the thoroughfares of the Old City.

The first phase of the Ottoman development was concentrated in three main areas: (1) within the Haram; (2) along Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (formerly known as 'Aqabat al-Sitt); and (3) more generally within the Old City of Jerusalem. Two new building projects and two repairs were undertaken outside the walls of the city. The second phase focused mainly (1) within the Haram, and (2) within the Old City in areas close to the Haram.

Before attempting to make sense of the development of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, it is necessary to make a few preliminary observations about the city, its previous architectural development, and the Ottoman approach to it. In this respect, the development of the walled city of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, as in any other Islamic period, was deeply influenced by the landscape, by the geographical facts which governed and shaped the later architectural developments, and by its historic and religious character. An additional factor was itself part of the Ottoman development of the city—namely the wall of Jerusalem, which played a major role in confining any expansion within its circumference. The city was freed from that factor only early in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁵ The Ottoman development of the city was also constrained by other factors, particularly by the work done under the Mamluks and by the location of the Haram al-Sharif.

When the Ottomans became masters of Jerusalem, the Haram in particular—but also the city in general—had already attained a high degree of architectural development. This had been particularly marked during the Mamluk period. Both areas had been so enriched with sophisticated buildings and institutions that inevitably they were to leave their influence on some of the future Ottoman projects. Indeed, the excellence of the existing architecture meant that it was only rarely surpassed by Ottoman work. It is however true that the city and its monuments had suffered from years of neglect under the later Mamluks, and it is noticeable that, even under early Ottoman rule, architectural activity in the city was sluggish. The monumental projects of Sultan Sulaiman only began almost two decades after the Ottomans had taken control of the city. It would seem, then, that Jerusalem was equally neglected at the end of their rule by the Mamluks,

¹⁵ For information on the first buildings beyond the walls (1850-80) see Ben-Arieh (1986: 62-81).

and by the Ottomans at the beginning of theirs.¹⁶

The slow start to the Ottoman development of Jerusalem changed rapidly at the beginning of the fifth decade of the 16th century. Sultan Sulaiman I was the man responsible of that dramatic change, for he sponsored three major projects in Jerusalem. In addition his name is associated with many minor and medium-sized projects. His architectural contributions affected the future development of the city for centuries to come, and their impact can still be felt. The way Sulaiman conducted his projects leads to the belief that they were carried out according to a set plan and not in response to sporadic impulse. The fact that no major project—even counting the cells built by Ahmad Pasha—was undertaken during the whole Ottoman period after Sulaiman tends to strengthen this belief. In fact Sulaiman's approach was contrary to that of the Mamluks which was—as shown by Burgoyne (1987: 77-86)—based on individual effort and initiative, rather than on any specific overall plan. In this way, Sulaiman's attitude towards the development of the city can be likened in principle to that of 'Abd al-Malik. It must be admitted, though, that while the motivations of the two men were in some respects similar, the outcome and the impact of their projects differ radically.

There was a specific Ottoman contribution to the city quite apart from the work patronised by Sulaiman. The first element of this was through the setting up of individual pious foundations in various parts of the city, and the second was through the sponsorship of many restoration and repair projects—particularly in and around the Haram, but also within the city as a whole. These restorations were primarily undertaken on the structures of earlier Mamluk pious foundations and institutions. There are many standing monuments which bear witness to the first of these Ottoman contributions, further evidence of which can be found in the foundation inscriptions; proof of the second category is evident in the extensive records of the *sijills* especially in the records of the first half of the 16th century.¹⁷

Although it is true that there was some independent activity by lesser or anonymous patrons, the

major Ottoman architectural projects were on the whole the work of exalted patrons. Seven of the individual foundations were constructed by two patrons—Bairam Jawish and Ahmad Pasha. The biggest and most important foundation in the city, al-'Imara al-'Amira, also known as the Khassaki Sultan, was the work of Roxelana, the beloved wife of the Sultan Sulaiman. The pious foundations, as well as the imperial projects, embellished the city with so many imposing monuments that the 16th century—and particularly the time of Sulaiman—may justly be considered the Golden Age of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem. Of course, the absence of any Ottoman activity in the city before the time of Sulaiman, and the fact that there were no major construction projects from the first half of the 17th century (with the exception of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya of 1043/1633-4) both tend to support that impression.

1. The Haram

From the first days of Islam, the area of al-Haram al-Sharif has always been the principal focus for any architectural activity in Jerusalem. New constructions, as well as the inevitable repairs and maintenance, continued spasmodically from the time of the Umayyads to the end of Mamluk rule, apart from the hiccup of the Crusader period. The Ottomans too contributed to a remarkable degree to the development of the Haram. The first visible sign of their work is the repair and restoration of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, and of some of the monuments located on the Haram esplanade and the upper Sakhra terrace. The second sign is the establishment of new, independent buildings.

1.1 Individual Construction in the Haram in the 16th century

Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2, 933/1527) was the first new Ottoman pious foundations not only within the Haram but in the city as a whole. It was preceded only by the conversion of the Cenacle (Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud) on Mount Zion into a mosque. The *sabil* is located a few metres from, and opposite to, Bab al-Silsila, one of the main gates of the Haram, where, according to Mujir al-Din (1973: 2: 330), the site of the *sabil* was once occupied by a small *fasqiyya*. It would then have required only minor efforts to prepare the site for the new construction. The *sabil* was constructed in order to provide the faithful with water both for drinking and for ablutions—and still does. The layout is unique among other public fountains either on the Haram or more widely within Jerusalem. It is made up of eight symmetrical walls, surmounted by a small dome. The founder, Qasim Pasha, held many important offices in Egypt and Istanbul in the time of Sultan Sulaiman.

¹⁶ There is no historical information or foundation inscription relating to any significant architectural activity in the city after the works of Sultan Qa'itbai (872-901/1468-96). This period deserves a special study concentrating on the records of the *sijill* as well as a reconsideration of some of the unidentified buildings still extant in Jerusalem. See for example the cat. nos. 28 and 29.

¹⁷ Further support is also found in the architectural description and analysis of the upper parts of the Mamluk foundations by Burgoyne—see Burgoyne 1987: 109, 125, 133, 145, 148, 150, 168, 175, 177, 185, 191, 200-1, 204-5, 207, 211, 214, 217-18, 244-5, 270, 272, 320, 415, 417, 436, 458-9, 515, 568, 570.

Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8, beginning of Sha‘ban 943/13 January 1537), was the second monument constructed in the Haram. It was ordered by Sultan Sulaiman himself, and was one of the six *sabils* which secured the water supply to the city and, more specifically, to the Haram. It was the fourth in chronological order of the *sabils* project. The *sabil* is located on the northern part of the Haram esplanade, near Bab al-‘Atm and next to Bab Hitta, the two most easily approached gates in the northern section of the Haram. Once again the site was chosen carefully—and with success, for it acts as a counterbalance to Sabil Qasim Pasha for those entering the Haram from the north. And once again, since the site was already occupied by a prayer niche (*mihrab*), the location did not need much preparation or levelling. Sabil Qasim Pasha and Sabil Bab al-‘Atm are the only 16th-century Ottoman structures to be situated within the actual esplanade of the Haram.¹⁸

The next in chronological sequence, the Mihrab Muhammad Beg (cat. no. 10, 945/1538-9), was erected—according to its foundation inscription—by the governor of Jerusalem and Gaza. It is built on a site once occupied by Qubbat al-Nabi, 10m north west of the west gate of the Dome of the Rock. After the *qubba* had been dismantled, a floor *mihrab* known as al-Mihrab al-Ahmar was constructed there. Later, in 945/1538-9, Muhammad Beg surrounded the *mihrab* inlaid into the pavement with his modest walled *mihrab*. At an unknown time, the second Qubbat al-Nabi was built on the same site. Most scholars treat the three standing monuments as a single edifice, and date them all to 945/1528-9. However, in my opinion, the three monuments have nothing in common other than that they share the same location, and a new date is proposed here for the rebuilding of Qubbat al-Nabi. In any case, once again the site did not require initial preparation by the builder of the kind which had been necessary for many of the earlier Mamluk structures.

Hujrat Muhammad (cat. no. 14, 956/1549-50?),¹⁹ Amir Liwa’ (governor) of Jerusalem, was the first Ottoman construction to be built on the north side of the Dome of the Rock at the edge of the terrace which forms the upper

platform of the Sakhra and thus distinct from the esplanade as a whole. The *hujra* was built in the middle of the north side, and consists of two storeys, each with two chambers, which serve to bridge the gap between the two levels of the Haram, as well as forming a buttress to the upper platform. It is in this respect unlike the monuments which are constructed either wholly within the upper terrace or within the esplanade. According to its foundation inscription, the *hujra* was built for the ‘people of knowledge’ (*ulu al-‘ilm*).

The choice of this site by Muhammad Amir al-Liwa’ had a great impact on the future development within the Haram throughout the whole Ottoman period. Its influence can be detected on all 16th-century Ottoman constructions (apart from Qubbat al-Arwah) built after the *hujra*. Not only were these buildings erected on similar sites, they also had a similar design. The motivation for the choice is clear. Building within or around the Haram was always a first option if it was available; the Mamluks (see the map of Burgoyne 1987: 35, fig. 2) had left no spare space around the western and northern sides of the Haram. The two remaining sides to east and south of the Haram terrace were anyway unsuitable for construction. The area to the east is bounded by the cemetery, and the southern border constitutes the wall of the city as well as the wall of the Haram. To build beside either would have demanded a tremendous effort to bridge the levels. Quite apart from these difficulties, the chosen site at the edge of the upper platform, for all its limitations, was eminently appropriate for the nature of the Ottoman buildings. They were in principle small and modest in layout and function, particularly compared to Mamluk foundations. Aesthetically, it seems that the architects who found the solution to the problem of the extremely limited space of the Haram were highly successful: the constructions are pleasing to the eye, they do not block the view, the natural bedrock which was used as a foundation saved both time and money, and—above all—they bridge the relatively short gap between the two parts of the Haram in a practical way.

The direct impact in terms of both location and layout of the Hujrat Muhammad is obvious in the construction of both the Khalwat Parwiz Katkhuda (cat. no. 17), and the Khalwat Qitas Beg (cat. no. 16). The first cell is situated at the north-western end of the north side of the upper terrace and the second is built 3m to the east of that. The façades were originally linked by a stone dais. Both *khalwas* are dated 967/1559-60 according to their foundation plaques. The founder of the former was the deputy of the citadel of Jerusalem, while the patron of the second—son of Parwiz—was the governor of Jerusalem district.

During the thirty years following the construction of Khalwat Qitas, it seems that the development of the

¹⁸ The Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 18) is undated, but an endowment record in the *sijills* implies that it was probably already extant by 987/1579. The *sabil* is situated opposite Bab al-Maghariba on the Haram esplanade. It is strikingly similar to the Well of Ibrahim al-Rumi (839/1435-6) in many of its features, which indicates that the *sabil* was probably built either very early in the Ottoman period, or very late in the Mamluk one.

¹⁹ Although the date of this *hujra* is not yet confirmed, I believe it to be the earliest built in the Haram. This is because I was able to date most of the constructions around the Dome of the Rock terrace. Even if in future the date of the *hujra* turns out to be later, this will not effect the principal development pattern of the Haram.

terrace on the north side of the Dome of the Rock slowed down, for the construction of only one new *khalwa* is recorded—Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20). This cell is located between the *khalwas* of Qitas and of Muhammad. Its specific location opposite the Dome of the Rock is emphasised in the foundation inscription, which also gives the date of construction as 996/1588.

After the building of Hujrat Muhammad Agha, it seems that building activity on the Sakhra terrace became both faster and more localised. However, in contrast to what might have been expected, the next building to be erected under the patronage of the governor of Jerusalem, the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), was on the western side of the terrace, rather than to the north, facing Bab al-Hadid. The *hujra* observes the same principles as the earlier *khalwa*, but is decorated with elaborate *muqarnas* niches above the upper level of the western façade. It was constructed in 1002/1593–4 according to its endowment *waqf*. It is not clear why, when there was still space to the north, Islam Beg decided instead to build on the west side of the terrace.

The years 1009–13/1600–4 apparently saw the first planned project to construct a series of *khalwas* on the north side of the Sakhra terrace. Four buildings formed the basis of the project under the patronage of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza. On the evidence of the *sijills* as well as that of the standing monuments themselves, it is apparent that in 1009/1600 Ahmad Pasha built two *khalwas*—one called here the ‘North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha’ (cat. no. 22), and the other the ‘North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha’ (cat. no. 23). The *khalwas* are separated by the North Colonnade and both face Bab Hitta. The first *khalwa* is not only the most elegant of the Ottoman constructions in Jerusalem, it is also the biggest Ottoman building in the Haram. It is lavishly decorated with *ablaq* stone of different colours and there is a clear intention in the design to revive some Mamluk decorative elements such as joggled voussoirs and *muqarnas*. The architecture of the *khalwa* raises immediately the question of the identity of the master builder—not only of this building in particular but also of the other works sponsored by Ahmad Pasha. In the Mamluk and the early Ottoman periods²⁰ some sophisticated buildings similar to the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha were built by imported teams of builders. However, to judge by information in the documents of the *sijill* and as a result of architectural

analysis, it would seem that the architect of the *khalwas* for Ahmad Pasha must have been a local master builder and not one brought in from elsewhere (see below, under *khalwas*). The Eastern Khalwa, though smaller, is also elegant and includes decorative and architectural elements which place the buildings of Ahmad Pasha—as well as the Hujrat Islam and Khalwat Bairam Pasha—in a separate category from others on the Haram (details are to be found below under *khalwas*). Both the *khalwas* of Ahmad Pasha span two levels, their main south façade facing the Dome of the Rock.

The third project of Ahmad Pasha was the Junbalatiyya Khalwa (cat. no. 24, 1010/1601–2). It is situated on the north side of the terrace between the Khalwat Qitas Beg and the Odat Arslan (restored 1109/1697). Ahmad Pasha, according to the *sijills*, had contracted ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem, to ‘restore’ (*‘imara*) the *khalwa* in 1010/1601–2. This means that the *khalwa* must already have been in existence some time before the contract. The available information does not make clear the exact connection between Ahmad Pasha and the *khalwa*, for it is referred to as ‘al-Junbalatiyya’ and, in a second record in the *sijills*, it is attributed to Ibn Junbalat. Ahmad Pasha’s connection with this *khalwa* is, however, confirmed in another document (Sijill 115: 721). In addition, both the layout and the decorative and architectural elements place it firmly among the projects sponsored by Ahmad Pasha.

The final building attributed to Ahmad Pasha, the Ahmadiyya Madrasa (cat. no. 25, 1013/1604), is as impressive as his previous constructions. However, instead of building it next to his earlier works, he chose a remarkably empty site on the eastern side of the Dome of the Rock between the Eastern Colonnade and the north-eastern corner of the terrace. The reason for such a move from the north side is understandable, for by that time it was fully occupied apart from its eastern corner. But building on the eastern side of the terrace would have necessitated greater efforts in levelling, for the difference in height between the two levels of the Haram esplanade is greater than on the north side. It is worth underlining that al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya is the only edifice built on the eastern side of the Sakhra terrace. One reason for this may be the variations in level, for the Haram was—and still on the whole usually is—approached from the west. The Ahmadiyya is also the only Ottoman structure to carry the identification of *madrasa*, and in its *waqfiyya* Ahmad Pasha as donor stipulated that its four students were to gather daily to study, and that the *mudarris* (the lecturer) was to be the best scholar of his age. It has to be said, though, that despite being termed a *madrasa*, neither in its layout nor in its decorative elements does it differ from the Khalwa Junbalatiyya, the Hujrat Islam, the Khalwat Bairam Pasha, or the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha.

²⁰ For details of some Mamluk constructions which employed imported craftsmen, see Burgoyne 1987: 79–80, 84. A section below deals with craftsmen and builders brought into Jerusalem in the Ottoman period to work on the walls project and al-‘Imara al-‘Amira.

Recent references,²¹ without citing the evidence, have attributed two commemorative domes as being 'Ottoman monuments of the 16th century'. These are Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30) and Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31); both are located in the northern part of the Dome of the Rock terrace. Both are undated, and their founders are anonymous. The author has found a record in the *sijills* which proves that Qubbat al-Arwah was in existence some time before 1037/1627-8, but unfortunately whether it is a 16th- or a 17th-century structure is still an open issue. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that Qubbat al-Khadr is a 16th-century structure. The complete argument for this belief is to be found in catalogue entry no. 31 under 'Dating the Building'.

It is clear from the evidence discussed above that the early projects sponsored by Ottoman patrons within the Haram al-Sharif tended to concentrate on the upper area around the Dome of the Rock; it is possible to be more precise, for they tended at first to cluster on the northern side of the terrace, and only later on the west. This practice was continued to a large extent in the period after the 16th century, and was a characteristic of Ottoman structures. It seems safe to suppose, as had been the case with the Mamluks before them, that the Ottoman concentration was inspired by the sanctity of the Haram. Another factor is that the Ottomans were constrained by the earlier Mamluk development on the north and west borders of the Haram. It would almost seem as if the role of developer was divided between the Mamluks and the Ottomans—the former built around the Haram, while the latter concentrated on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock, 'the Inner Haram', as vacant sites around the perimeter of the Haram became increasingly scarce.

1.2 The Ottoman Repairs on the Haram in the 16th century

The repairs on the Haram, and in particular to the Dome of the Rock and Jami' al-Aqsa were—and continue to be to this day—a royal responsibility. Knowledge of the Ottoman work has been primarily dependent to date on the epigraphic²² evidence, that is on the inscriptions on the

monuments themselves which document the work undertaken. But it is also necessary to bear in mind that some repairs were not documented in this way at all, or that the relevant inscriptions have since been lost. Those that still existed earlier this century were carefully compiled and edited by van Berchem in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* in the volumes devoted to the Haram and the city, some of which have been recently reviewed, and given a few additions, by Walls and Abu'l-Hajj. Unfortunately, however, many of the inscriptions have disappeared, and the additions to the *magnum opus* of van Berchem have proved limited. The situation improved slightly when scholars such as al-Husaini and al-'Asali (see below) published portions of text from the *sijills* which include information on repairs undertaken during the Ottoman period. It is hoped that the present study will go some way to clarify the situation and to enhance our knowledge, but the picture will not be complete until a systematic and detailed investigation of the *sijills*—a work which will take many years—has been completed. However, in order to put the Ottoman development of the Haram in its historical context, the repairs done by the Ottoman administration will be reviewed here with reference to the research done to date, for they will not be mentioned elsewhere in my chapter, although the public buildings will be studied in detail.

The first major restoration work was undertaken by Sultan Sulaiman I (935/1529) on the Dome of the Rock itself. According to an inscription (van Berchem 1927: 329-32, no. 238; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21, no. 238—the inscription was removed between 1956 and 1964) it was a repair to the glass windows. Meinecke (1988: 259 and note 12) pointed to the account of Evliya Çelebi, and assumed that 'since the act was ordered by Sultan Sulaiman, it can hardly have been restricted to the windows alone, and the date given can be accepted as that for the comprehensive renovation for the monument.'

The next work in chronological order was a monumental project also carried out by Sultan Sulaiman. It included refacing many of the outer parts of the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain with under-glaze painted tiles.²³ The work was carried out at different dates. It was one of the three major projects ordered by Sulaiman, the others being the *sabils* and the renovation of the city walls. According to the inscriptions, the resurfacing project on the Dome of the Rock included refacing the drum in 952/1545-6 (van Berchem 1927: 333-5, no. 239, Walls and

²¹ Burgoyne (1976: no. 115), with reservation; Najm *et al.* (1983: 320) and Taha (1990: 21) for Qubbat al-Arwah, and for Qubbat al-Khadr, Najm *et al.* (1983: 321), Meinecke (1988: 261-2), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1990: no. 187), Taha (1990: 21), and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994: 3: 89-90). Buschhausen (1978: 233), unlike these authors, thinks the dome belongs to the late Mamluk period.

²² A detailed study of the Ottoman repairs has to depend on the *sijill* records, the Turkish archives in Istanbul, historical information and on close observation of the structure, in addition to the inscriptions edited by van Berchem and others.

²³ These tiles were replaced during the 1958-64 restoration; a specimen is displayed in the Islamic Museum of the Haram, the majority now being stored there. The Auqaf Administration granted Professor John Carswell and Dr Julian Raby permission to photograph most of these tiles. It is hoped that a study will be published in the near future (see the chapter by Carswell in this volume).

Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21, no. 239), the octagon in 959/1551-2 (van Berchem 1927: 335-8, no. 240, Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21, no. 240), and the restoration of the east and west doors in 972/1564-5 (van Berchem 1927: 339-40 nos. 241-2, Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21, nos. 241-2). In addition to the works on the Sakhra, Sulaiman ordered the embellishment of the Dome of the Chain with tiles in 969/1561-2 (van Berchem 1925: 180-3, no. 196; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 18, no. 196).

Meinecke (1988: 259-60) in his valuable article *Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaiman Qanuni* assumed—quite correctly—that the project was the result of work in several stages,²⁴ and was probably not completed until 972/1564-5. He further concluded that the final decorative stage of the tiles on the Dome of the Rock occurred after the completion of the Süleymaniye Cami which was built between 957-964/1550-7, because under-glaze painted tiles were used for the first time on that building. Meinecke (1988: 260) presumed that the building teams who worked on the task of retiling the Dome of the Rock had also worked on the tiles of the *takiyya* of Sultan Sulaiman in Damascus, which had been completed shortly before, in 967/1560.

Sultan Sulaiman was also responsible for two other minor restorations in the Haram. The first was on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock where a restoration of the North West Colonnade is commemorated by a restoration inscription. It was published by van Berchem (1925: 184-6 no. 198) and is undated, but it contains the name of the sultan, which means it must be dated between 926-74/1519-67. A similar inscription (van Berchem 1925: 168-9, no. 192) is found above the *mihrab* located behind Sabil Bab al-'Atm (see cat. no. 8).

After the reign of Sulaiman, maintenance work continued, for in 1006/1597-8 two windows were opened in the Dome of the Rock (van Berchem 1927: 340-41 no. 243; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 21, nos. 243-4; the inscription was removed during the 1958-64 restoration and is now in the Islamic Museum). The present author has located two *sijill* entries (79: 574) dated the middle of Rajab 1006/21 February 1598 which give the reasons for the opening of the two windows. The entries reveal that Shuja' al-Din Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, had agreed at that

date that the Sakhra required two new windows. One window was to be pierced in the east wall, and the second in the west wall. They were intended to provide enough light to allow the reciters to read the chapters of the Holy Qur'an, for it had proved too dark for them to see. Shuja' al-Din had accordingly despatched a report to Istanbul requesting approval for the opening of the windows, and later an order from the sultan was sent to Jerusalem authorising the work.

While the Dome of the Rock was being renovated by Sulaiman, it is presumed that al-Aqsa Mosque was also being restored, though evidence in the form of an inscription is missing. Van Berchem (1927: 439, no. 294), taking Sauvage as his authority, and followed by Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 25, no. 294), pointed to an inscription (subsequently lost) which attested to the renovation of a window. It seems that the window in question bore the name of Sultan Sulaiman even though it was dated twenty years after his death. Meinecke (1988: 260-1) accordingly proposed to correct the date ascribed to the window to the year 936/1529, with the argument that the date of the renovation of the glass windows of the Dome of the Rock is given as 935/1528-9.

Cohen (1989: 473), apparently relying on the *sijills* though he cites neither number nor date, recounts that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash—who had responsibility for the collection of the *jizya* (poll-tax)—instead of spending all the money on the walls, directed some of it towards a religious end. Muhammad Çelebi is claimed to have spent, during the period 944-7/1537-41, a total of 300 *qubrusi* (gold coins, equal to 12,000 *para*) 'for the gilding of the banner of the Dome of the Rock', and a further 100 gold coins on al-Aqsa Mosque.

Shortage of time has meant that it has been possible only to scratch the surface of the *sijills* so far, but even that limited research has made it clear that constant restoration work was carried out on al-Aqsa²⁵ Mosque and the Haram area as a whole. As early as 28 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 936/24 July 1530, *Sijill* 1: 20 refers to Hasan Beg as *al-mushid 'ala 'imarat al-masjid al-aqsa al-sharif* ('the person in charge of the restoration of al-Masjid al-Aqsa the Noble'), and in *Sijill* 1: 348 his post is again mentioned as *al-mushid 'ala al-'ama'r al-sharifa bil-quds al-sharif* ('the person in charge of the Noble Buildings in Jerusalem the Noble'). Hasan had received 30,000 *'uthmani* from Yusri Jawish, probably to spend on repairs to al-Aqsa. Muhammad Beg (*Sijill* 2: 6) was *al-mushid* when the citadel was restored in 938/1531-2.

As early as 948/1541-2, the *sijills* (13: 179) seem to

²⁴ In this regard it is possible to see, though with many differences, a recent parallel with the works which have been sponsored by the late King Hussein of Jordan. The first stage of the Hashemite restorations was completed in 1964, and the second as recently as 1993; a third stage is under consideration but recent rapid political changes have delayed the final decision. Between these major phases, minor restorations and maintenance work have continued without interruption, especially following the disastrous fire in Jami' al-Aqsa on 21 August 1969.

²⁵ It should always be borne in mind that the scribes of the *sijills* use 'al-Masjid al-Aqsa' when they refer to the whole Haram, but they use al-Jami' al-Aqsa specifically to refer to the covered building located to the south of the Haram area.

indicate that some repairs had already been carried out at a local level, for it is there reported that the *qadi*, who was accompanied by Husain ibn Nammar, the master builder in Jerusalem, had visited the place of ablutions on the Haram in order to make an investigation and to estimate for any necessary repairs. The cost then amounted to 7,000 *'uthmani*.²⁶

Heyd (1960: 102, n. 2) pointed to an order which reveals that the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque were in need of repair in Shawwal 987/December 1579. Da'ud, the *mi'mar bashi* at Damascus, was prepared to undertake work on the lead for 200 gold pieces. The *firman* ordered the *daftardar* of Damascus that he was to pay Da'ud 200 gold pieces as recompense for his work.

According to Sijill 67: 2, new lead sheets were fixed to the roof of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Sha'ban 996/June-July 1588. Muhammad Çelebi, the *qabu aghasi* in the Sublime Porte in Istanbul, was overseer for this task. Sijill 76: 350 records that water had penetrated through the roofing sheets after heavy rain and snow at the beginning of Jumada II 1003/11 February 1595. A group of dignitaries had come to the *qadi* and reported that almost every year water leakage occurred in al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock due to the fact that there was no expert employed to maintain the roofs. They had asked the *qadi* to assign a qualified person to repair the lead. As a result of this deputation, Salih ibn Ibrahim al-Gharabli was appointed to the post of the man responsible for repairing the lead. He was allocated one *misriyya* per day from the income of al-Aqsa *waqf*; the leakage subsequently stopped.

It is clear from Sijill 113: 439 that the lead sheets of al-Aqsa Mosque were restored again by order of Sultan Murad Khan in 999/1590-1. A sheet of lead had been found on 22 Rabi' II 1037/31 December 1627 in storage in al-Aqsa; it had been used in the repairs undertaken at the earlier date.

Burgoyne (1987: 416), in attempting to date the minaret of Bab al-Asbat, suggested that the shaft of the minaret might be an Ottoman reconstruction. He was correct, for a record in Sijill 80: 100 has been discovered in support of his thesis. The record is dated 18 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1007/12 June 1598 and reveals that Sultan Mahmud Khan had sent 300 *sultani* to the inspector of al-Aqsa Mosque to fund the rebuilding of the Bab al-Asbat minaret. 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the chief builder in Jerusalem the Noble, Muhammad known as Khalaf al-Mi'mar, 'the master builder', and 'Ali ibn Khalil al-Hajjar,

'the stonemason', were contracted to undertake the rebuilding work. The architects were to receive 200 *sultani* in return for rebuilding the minaret and providing all the materials needed for the repairs (such as stone, lime, gypsum, water, workers and so on); the exception was the lead, which was to be provided by the inspector. The document specifies in detail the parts of the minaret which were to be rebuilt by the architects. For the complete Arabic text and English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 3/3.

2. Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya

Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya runs 192m between the Bab al-Nazir junction in al-Wad Road and the street named after Khan al-Zait, one of the main markets of the Old City. Khan al-Zait Road lies parallel to al-Wad Road, and they provide the only two routes that cross the Old City from north to south. Both roads appear in the Byzantine Madaba map. Khan al-Zait used to act as the upper *cardo* in the Byzantine city of Jerusalem. Recent excavations in the southern section of the road of Khan al-Zait have uncovered among other things a colonnaded street, and this supports the depiction of the area in the Madaba map.

The east end of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya lies 100m west of the Haram. Its eastern end is on the same level as al-Wad Road, and it then rises westwards out of the valley (al-Wad) located between the Haram and the road of Khan al-Zait. The road has had various names: Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 54) called it 'Aqabat al-Suq (Market Hill), but he also said that 'now it is known as 'Aqabat al-Sitt (the Lady's Hill), so called after *al-'imara al-'azima* (the imposing edifice) built by the Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya.' Later, when Roxelana, the much-loved wife of Sultan Sulaiman, constructed al-'Imara al-'Amira (the Khassaki Sultan complex) the road became known as Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takkiya. The name changed because the edifice of Sitt Tunshuq was incorporated into al-'Imara al-'Amira and because *takiyya* in local dialect denotes the place where free food is distributed. The name would indicate the free kitchen—which still functions—although the other three sections of the complex have ceased to operate.

Architectural activity in Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya began under the Mamluks. None of the buildings are earlier than the end of the 8th/14th century. There are now nine monuments in Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, two of them constructed in the Mamluk period. The first is the imposing palace of Sitt Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya (790/1388), built on the south side of the Tariq, and the second is Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq (800/1398), constructed on the north side facing the eastern portal of the palace. Both buildings have been the subject of careful studies by Burgoyne (1987: 485-511).

Judging by both the information in the *sijills* and the architectural features, it seems likely that two other

²⁶ The value of the *'uthmani* (silver coin) does not remain constant but changes from one document to another, but in general forty *'uthmani* were equal to one *sultani* (gold coin), and one *'uthmani* was equal to two *misriyya* coins. For the coins in the Arabic provinces in the Ottoman period, see Sahili (1971: 105-15).

undated monuments were constructed either in the late Mamluk or the early Ottoman period. These are al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28), and al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29). Both received repair and maintenance attention in the first half of the 16th century. My research has proved that al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya constitutes a separate monument—evidence that runs contrary to other recent references (al-'Arif 1961: 307; Burgoyne 1971: 23; al-'Asali 1981: 327; Najm 1983: 360; Grabar 1986: 339; Bahat 1990: 26; and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 2: 359) who have all called it in error by the modern name of 'the Rasasiyya' and who have considered it part of the Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11). It is not known when and by whom this monument was constructed, but it is quite clear that it already existed in the first half of the 16th century, and that it includes many Mamluk architectural features. The Mawardiyya is located in the lower part of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya immediately west of the Ribat Bairam Jawish.

Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya is located on the north side of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, facing al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya. A record in the *sijills* (12: 697) as well as physical evidence in the form of a vertical break in the façade in addition to other factors have led the writer to list the *zawiya* too as a separate building, instead of considering it as belonging to Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12) which abuts the *zawiya* to the east. The *zawiya* is now in a dilapidated condition and has lost much of its original beauty, but a window constructed with alternating coloured stones recalls its past elegance. The *zawiya* is made up of two floors, only the lower of which is original, the upper storey being a later addition. By whom, when, and for what reason the *zawiya* was constructed are all questions which still remain open.

Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7, 943/1536) was the first Ottoman monument with a precise date to be constructed in 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. It occupies the north-eastern corner of the junction of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, and is less than 100m distant from the Haram. It seems certain that the person (probably Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash) who was in charge of choosing the site for the *sabil* was aware of the circulation of people in Jerusalem at the time. Sultan Sulaiman, as the foundation inscription asserts, ordered the construction of the public fountain. It is one of the six *sabils* which provided the city with water, part of the well-known project initiated by Sultan Sulaiman. The fountain consists of a recessed and pointed arch, built with a beautiful combination of Islamic and Latin (Crusader) architectural elements. A trough to contain water, which sadly no longer exists, once stood in the lower part the niche. Earlier this century, van Berchem (1922: 417) described the *sabil* as presenting 'un tableau d'un charme exquis'. The fountain has lost much of its architectural decoration, and it is no longer in functional order.

In 947/1540, four years after the construction of Sabil Bab al-Nazir, Bairam Jawish started his individual projects in Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. He began his work by acquiring a corner site for his first construction. This occupies the south-western corner of the junction of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya and—according to the foundation inscription—the place was described as a *ribat*, so it is known as Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11, 947/1540). On evidence of the *waqfiyya*, it seems that the *ribat* in the Ottoman period—or at least this particular *ribat*—used to accommodate Sufis rather than pilgrims, as had been the common practice in the Mamluk period. The *ribat* has three levels and two façades giving onto the street, the north being the principal one. More than four different phases of construction can be distinguished in the northern façade. Inspection and interpretation of these phases, backed by the information provided in the *waqfiyya*, indicate that only the ground and first levels were constructed by Bairam, and that the eastern end of the façade was dismantled when Bairam constructed his own house, which abuts the upper eastern side of the *ribat*.

The second step of Bairam's architectural programme, also in 947/1540, was to work towards the development of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. Instead of acquiring a vacant site, he obtained a ruined structure and renovated it to serve as a *maktab*. The Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12) is located on the north-western corner of the 'Aqabat al-Takiyya junction, facing the *ribat* to the south and the Sabil Bab al-Nazir to the east—it thus occupies another prominent site close to the Haram. The question arises as to why Bairam chose to acquire a standing structure for renovation rather than constructing a new building in the vicinity of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya or al-Wad. It seems the answer behind this choice may have been Bairam's explicit desire to use the *maktab* as a burial place as well as a primary school. He apparently wanted a site close to his *ribat*, and near the thoroughfare, where people could recite verses of the Holy Qur'an for his soul. A corner site was thus ideal, but since the four corners of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya junction were already occupied, the only solution for Bairam was to acquire a standing building. Corner sites (as shown by Burgoyne 1987: 84) were also much sought after in the Mamluk period, for they allowed windows be opened in two sides of a tomb chamber, thus allowing Qur'anic recitation to be better heard by passers-by. The *maktab* is made up of two levels, the lower one being the original. It includes one large T-shaped chamber divided into two parts, the eastern of which contains the tomb of Bairam, while the western one was used as a teaching location for the children. Bairam endowed 150,000 *'uthmani* for the upkeep of both *ribat* and *maktab*, which were to be cared for according to certain stipulations specified in the *waqfiyya*. The document has only been recently discovered in the *sijills* by the author. It

is not only one of the biggest but also one of the most important documents of the Ottoman period, second only to the *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Sultan.

The last architectural project undertaken by Bairam at the 'Aqabat al-Takiyya junction was the construction of a private house (cat. no. 13, 959/1551-2). Thanks to the information contained in the *sijill*, it has been possible to add this new monument to the list of Ottoman buildings, instead of considering it as part of the *ribat* or another, unidentified structure. Once again, Bairam was highly successful in picking a key site for his house, close to his earlier constructions. The house is located directly south of the 'Aqabat al-Takiyya junction, above the south side of al-Wad road. It overlooks the north and the south sides of al-Wad road, the street of Bab al-Nazir, the Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya and—above all—not only the Haram al-Sharif area but in particular the Dome of the Rock.

In order to be able to benefit from such a site, Bairam and his master builder came up with a solution to what had become a pressing problem since the Mamluk period—finding desirable sites in the Old City of Jerusalem. Their answer was to build above the thoroughfare by spanning both sides of the road with a series of pointed arches which formed the support for the house in the shape of a *qantara* (archway). Although no documentation or example survives, bridging a road was not unknown in Mamluk Jerusalem for Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 52, 304) mentions a Qantara Khan al-Jubaili. In the Ottoman period this practice became such a dominant feature of domestic Palestinian architecture that now every street in Jerusalem has at least one example of a *qantara*. Bairam's house (*dar*) is the only secular construction with a firm date so far known in the city. It is described with much detail in the *sijill*, and still retains most of its original form, though an upper level was added later. Some of the decorative and architectural elements of the house—for example the roundels and the chevron arch—resemble the elements found in other 16th-century architectural projects, such as the city walls and the Khassaki Sultan complex.

Al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15, 959/1552)—as it is called in the *sijill* and the *waqfiyya*—or the Khassaki Sultan as it is called in modern references, is known to the people of Jerusalem as 'al-Takiyya' (the public soup kitchen). It was the most prestigious Ottoman project to be constructed in Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, to which it has given its name. The complex has no foundation inscription, but its identification and its date are secured by a *waqfiyya* dated 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552, as well as by many other records in the *sijills*. It is the largest Ottoman charitable project ever constructed in Jerusalem or elsewhere in Palestine. Its endowment is very large and can be challenged in importance only by the *waqf* of the Haram. Though the majority of the *waqf* properties have

been lost, the soup kitchen still functions today. The project was built under the patronage of Roxelana, the wife of Sultan Sulaiman I, and was supported by further endowments by the sultan himself. It was thus another royal foundation in Jerusalem, to rank beside the projects of the water supply, the walls, and the refacing of the Dome of the Rock with tiles. As stated by Meinecke (1988: 267) the restoration of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period reached its zenith with the founding of Khassaki Sultan.

The complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira ('the Prosperous Edifice') was made up of fifty-five rooms devoted to accommodation for pious Sufis (the *ribat*), a 'noble mosque' connected to these rooms, and a public kitchen, supplemented by a bakery, cellar, woodshed, storeroom, caravanserai and stables. Later, a mill was also constructed inside the complex. The rooms for accommodation, like the mill and the caravanserai, no longer exist. The remaining extant architectural components of the complex, as well as two monumental portals in the north and the south façades respectively, occupy a large area located between 'Aqabat al-Takiyya and 'Aqabat al-Saraya. The complex is now bordered by the Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya to the north, by the remnants of the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq to the west, by Tariq 'Aqabat al-Saraya to the south, and by al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya and another, unidentified, building to the east.

Architectural interpretation and analysis of the site are not easy because of the intricacy of the development which has taken place in the separate buildings of the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq, al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, Ribat Bairam Jawish, and al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan). Based on the *sijill*, it is however possible to differentiate between the eastern border of the complex of al-Takiyya and the architectural components of the Mawardiyya buildings. Unfortunately it is not as easy to do so on the western border, for the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq was evidently incorporated into the Khassaki Sultan complex. To the north and the south the site is bordered—as noted above—by two main streets. In order to acquire water for the Khassaki Sultan complex and for its *hammam*, two construction operations were needed. The first was to increase the quantity of water which was supplied by the Qanat al-Sabil for it was not adequate. This was done by an order (Heyd 1960: 147, n. 8) dispatched from Istanbul on 2 Rajab 959/24 June 1552, to the Begler Beg and the *qadi* of Damascus ordering them to combine the water from Wadi 'Abyar ('I-Bi'ar) to the water of Qanat al-Sabil. In response to this order, an ancient water-conduit, which had been defunct for a long time, was repaired and the cost—which amounted to 2,000 *floris*—was donated by Hasseki Hürrem (Roxelana), the wife of Sultan Sulaiman.

The second operation carried out in the neighbourhood of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya was the construction of a water channel to supply the two

bathhouses with water. Sijill 31: 110 (quoted by al-‘Asali 1989a: 98) records that Bairam Jawish had contracted a group of builders to pave the floors of two bathhouses which belonged to the *waqf* of the ‘Imara Khassaki Sultan. Neither bathhouse still exists, but from the architectural description they would appear to have been both impressive and of a high quality. Furthermore, Bairam contracted (al-‘Asali 1989a: 99; Sijill 31: 110) another set of builders (*mi‘mariyya*) in Jerusalem to supply a subsidiary canal to run for 150 *dhira‘* from the water-distribution point (*maqsam*) situated in front of the Sabil Bab al-Nazir to the cistern serving the two bathhouses.

3. Other Buildings and Projects

Outside the two main areas, that is the Haram and Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya described above, there were several other Ottoman construction sites. These were either individual buildings scattered throughout the city or more specific projects. Of the former it is still possible to identify the conversion of the Cenacle into a mosque, the Zawiya al-Hamra’, the Khanqah Maulawiyya, and the Qaimari Mosque. Of the second type there are the remaining *sabils* of Sulaiman’s original project, the city walls, and the work at the Citadel.

3.1 Individual buildings

The conversion of the Cenacle to a *masjid* named after al-Nabi Da’ud (cat. no. 1, 1 Rabi’ I 930/8 January 1524) was the first major architectural activity in the city undertaken by the Ottoman authorities. The order for the conversion was issued by Sultan Sulaiman and is recorded in the foundation inscription that still exists in its original location. The site lies outside the walls of the Old City some 130m south of David’s Gate (Zion Gate) where it stands high above the Old City in a prominent position. The mosque retains most of the original architectural features of its construction as a church, the conversion works being limited to installing a *mihrab*, the foundation inscription, a small *qubba*, and a relatively short-shafted minaret. Later (see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 1) the site was fully developed to form a great complex, with many estates endowed as *waqf* for the benefit of the *maqam* and the mosque.

Al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (cat. no. 3, 930s/1520s), also widely known by the name al-Zawiya al-Hamra’, was the first Sufi institution constructed in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period. It was built and administered by the prominent Shaikh ‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ali al-Khalwati, but it had various estates made *waqf* by two governors of Nablus and Safad. The *zawiya* was situated at the Bani Zaid neighbourhood, near the Zawiya Bistamiyya, north of the Haram. Even though its site is comparatively distant (170m) from the Haram, this location had its compensations, for it enjoyed a key position overlooking

the Haram area. No description of the site has been preserved apart from a record in the *sijills* (Atallah 1992: 26-27, Sijill 133: 739) mentioning a mill and a minaret. The minaret is still standing and also dates to the 16th century.

In the same neighbourhood of Bani Zaid, the Khanqah Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19, 995/1579) was founded 150m further north west of the Khalwatiyya Zawiya. It was thus the second famous Sufi institution to be built in Ottoman Jerusalem. The minaret in particular—but also the *khanqah* as a whole—occupies a dominant position overlooking the Old City, once again a compensation for being relatively far from the Haram. Most of the *khanqah* consists of three levels and includes a prayer hall (*masjid*) which was originally a Crusader church dedicated to St Agnes. It still retains its original plan, with many chambers, graves of four Sufis, a minaret, and a *sama‘* chamber. The conversion of the church into a mosque, as well as the construction of many of the chambers on the ground and first floor levels, was completed before the Ottoman conquest. The minaret itself, however, was built in the Ottoman period, some time before 995/1579, and the *sama‘* chamber was constructed in 995/1579, the date of the first *waqf* by the governor of Jerusalem, Khudawirdi Abu Saifain, for the benefit of the Maulawiyya Sufi order in Jerusalem.

One of the most problematic constructions of the Ottoman period is the Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32) for, although its layout is typically Ottoman, it is undated. No *waqf* document has been found that relates to it, and it is not known either who built it or why it carries the same name as a domed structure, al-Qubba al-Qaimariyya, which dates to the Ayyubid period and is located outside the city wall to the west. The *masjid* is built in a strategic site next to the (modern) New Gate in the north wall of the city, close to where once Tancred’s Tower stood. Perhaps the strangest thing about the site is that it has no minaret, although there is ample space for one. It would have seemed the logical adjunct to a religious building in such a prime position. Modern references (Burgoyne 1976: no. 114; al-Husaini 1977: 20; Najm *et al.* 1983: 51; Bieberstein and Burgoyne 1992: no. 185; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 2: 62) have dated it with some reservation to the 16th century, but the present writer thinks that it dates to a later period (see cat. no. 32 under ‘Features’).

3.2 Sulaiman’s Projects

The Citadel

The restoration of the Citadel was among the earliest architectural projects ordered by Sultan Sulaiman I. It was only predated by the restoration of the windows of the Dome of the Rock, and by the building of the Sabil Qasim Pasha. The repairs and reconstruction work in the Citadel predate the sultan’s *sabils* project by five years and his project on the city walls by six years. The reason that lay

behind the interest shown in the Citadel by the Ottoman authorities is different from the motivation which resulted in the walls, as Cohen (1990: 36) has noted. The Citadel was the ideal place to house the soldiers required on a permanent basis to preserve the security of Jerusalem; by restoring the Citadel the Ottoman authorities were emphasizing the fact that they were the new masters of the Holy City.

The Citadel (Qal'a) is located in the western area of the walled city, south of Bab al-Khalil (now known as the Jaffa Gate); its west wall is integral with the west flank of the city wall. Though the Citadel is located inside the Old City and is included within its walls, it forms an independent institution. Cohen (1990: 36) explains that it had its own system, special gates and chambers, as well as administrative and military establishment, which amounted to some 104 men.²⁷

As might be expected, the structure incorporates remnants from many periods of the occupation of the city, from the Roman period to modern times.²⁸ It was largely reconstructed by the Crusaders but in 616/1219 al-Mu'azzam 'Isa dismantled parts of it. The Citadel was then re-fortified in the Mamluk period and a new mosque was installed, to act as the only Friday mosque in the city apart from al-Aqsa. This was in order to allow the troops to perform the obligatory Friday prayers without leaving the Citadel unguarded (Burgoyne 1987: 85). According to Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 55, 281) the Citadel had subsequently fallen into neglect and had not been rebuilt. When, therefore, the Ottomans began their reconstruction project in the Citadel, it was being revived after a long period of disuse, and new arrangements were needed.

Van Berchem (see below) published four inscriptions which point to the restorations implemented in the Citadel by order of Sultan Sulaiman I. One fundamental step towards the reconstruction of the defence system was the building in 938/1531 of a new entrance facing east. According to its foundation inscription, it was ordered by the sultan who again is

described as 'Sulaiman al-Thani', as he had been in the inscription on Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2). He is further described in it as the 'source of security' (*manba' al-amn*) (van Berchem 1922: 146-9, no. 45; Walls and Abu'l Hajj 1980: 9, no. 45; Meinecke 1988: 263).

Meinecke (1988: 263) concluded that a mosque was also constructed in 939/1532-3 in the south west tower of the Citadel. He cited van Berchem (1922: 164-5 no. 52) among many other secondary sources; but the inscription concerns the erection of a *minbar*, for the mosque had already been constructed during the Mamluk period, as I have described above. It is correct that a new mosque was constructed, but it was located on the east side of the Citadel, immediately between the moat and the main eastern entrance of the Citadel. This mosque, known as 'the Summer Mosque' (cat. no. 27) is undated, although a circular medallion carrying the name of Sultan Sulaiman is located above the *mihrab* (van Berchem 1922: 149, no. 46; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 9, no. 46). The Summer Mosque is an open prayer *musalla* and was already by 1151/1643-4 being called *Masjid al-Saif* on an inscription plaque recording restoration work undertaken by the *agha* of the Janissaries, the Khassaki 'Ali Agha.

Another undated medallion, also edited by van Berchem (1922: 149-50, no. 47), carried the name of Sultan Sulaiman as well and indicated the construction of a wall in front of the moat. The inscription was buried in 1898 when the moat was filled in (Walls and Abu'l Hajj 1980: 9, no. 47). The layout and the context of these two medallions are strikingly similar to Mamluk blazons which led Meinecke (1988: 263) to the presumption 'that the medallions suggested that through this restoration the Sultan (Sulaiman) had entered upon the inheritance of his Mamluk predecessors'.

One of the elements of the site that dates to the Ottoman period is the minaret (cat. no. 26) rising close to the Citadel mosque. It is not dated, but has a cylindrical shaft decorated with a billet and roll moulding which, as Meinecke has suggested (1988: 263), would seem to indicate that the minaret was the work of the same building teams who since 930/1524 had worked elsewhere for the sultan in Jerusalem. Meinecke therefore concluded that it was possible to date the minaret too to the period of Sulaiman. But since the minaret was restored by Muhammad Pasha in 1065/1655, it is hard to determine whether the mouldings are a result of these restoration works or whether they belonged to the construction phase. (For a detailed discussion see below, under Minarets, and cat. no. 26.)

Cohen (1990: 36), basing his remarks on Sijill 1: 400 dated 938/1531, has shown that preliminary security precautions had already been taken in the Citadel by the Ottoman authorities during the later phases of the construction of the walls, before the implementation of

²⁷ These consisted of 64 janissaries, 5 gunners, 12 guards on the gates of the city, 2 guards in the Citadel, 10 solders for administrative tasks, 1 prison guard, 1 carpenter, 1 man responsible for the moat and the water channel, and 1 man responsible for the aqueduct. The administrative team was made up of the Commander of the Citadel (*dizdar*), his deputy (*kathuda*), clerk (*katib*), an *imam* and *mu'adhdhin*. It seems that the strength of the fortress declined in the middle of the 17th century for it then numbered only 90 guards, according to an official register summarised by Heyd (1960: 190), which is preserved in the Turkish State Archives (no. 5219). For a comparison with other forces in Palestine and neighbouring districts, see Heyd 1960: 190, Appendix iii.

²⁸ The Citadel has been described and analysed in detail by Johns (1936: 127-31; 1950: 121-90). See also van Berchem (1922: 129-68); Burgoyne (1987: 85); Meinecke (1988: 262-3); Cohen (1990: 35-41) and Chapter 32 by Hawari in this volume.

orders by Sultan Sulaiman. According to the *sijill* record, the buildings inside the Citadel as well as the outer wall had been inspected by the master builders of the city. It had become evident that masonry had fallen from the outer wall in the part facing the street near the moat. The master builders had also noted that the mortar filling the joints in the masonry contained a high portion of *tin* (potter's clay); they recommended, therefore, that in order to strengthen the wall the stones should be dismantled and re-assembled, but using a mortar with a lower proportion of sand and a higher one of lime.

The *sijills* record reveals further interesting information, not quoted by Cohen, on the names and origins of the master builders who investigated the site in the Citadel. They turn out to have been al-Mu'allim al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Halabi (a master builder from Aleppo); al-Mu'allim Muhammad ibn al-Hamawi al-Shami (a master builder from Hama, 'the Syrian'), and al-Mu'allim Husain ibn Nammar al-Muqaddasi (a master builder from Jerusalem). The names confirm the supposition by Meinecke as to the identity of the teams sent to work in Jerusalem, and also shed new light on the local contribution in the construction projects. From another record in *Sijill* 2: 6 dated 12 Rabi' II 938/23 November 1531, one learns that *mafkar al-akabir* Muhammad Beg was *al-mushid*²⁹ (the supervisor) of the construction work undertaken in the Citadel.

Cohen (1990: 36) pointed to another phase of restoration executed in the Citadel immediately prior to the culmination of the walls project. It is recorded in *Sijill* 14: 561 dated 948/1542, and details a total cost of 15,000 *akçe*.

Repairs to the Citadel continued to be one of the priorities of the Ottoman authorities. From time to time maintenance and repair work was undertaken there. The *sijill* (89: 120) dated to the end of Dhu 'l-Hijja 1017/5 April 1609 relates that Salih Agha, the commandant of the Citadel, had come to the Shari'a court and had reported to the *qadi* that the Citadel was in need of restoration. The areas mentioned by Salih included the cresting (*shurafat*), the roofs of the storage rooms, the banner (*'alim*) of the minaret of the *masjid*, the vestibule and the Citadel gate. The *qadi* then commissioned 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the chief architect, and a group of other Muslim nobles to make an estimate of the cost. 'Abd al-Muhsin reported back to the court that the estimate came to a total of 300 *sultani*, equal to 12,500 *qit'a misriyya*. A report was then drawn up, to be submitted to whomsoever it concerned. Later in 1144/1731-2 a restoration to the glacis (*rabad*) was carried out under Sultan Mahmud I. The inscription recording this, edited by van Berchem (1922: 156, no. 49) was buried in 1898 when the moat was filled in.

²⁹ This post is probably similar to the *shad* in the Mamluk period. For his responsibilities, see Behrens-Abouseif (1995a: 293-309).

The Water Supply

Inscriptions on the *sabils* record that the provision of water for the Holy City of Jerusalem was a further important project carried out by order of Sultan Sulaiman. Safeguarding the water supply to the city has been vital throughout the long history of the city, which until recently depended primarily on the collection of rainwater into cisterns. By law, every house had to be provided with at least one if not two of these. Securing the water supply to the Haram in particular, however, as well as to other parts of the city, is not only a secular necessity, but also a religious duty, for water is essential for the ablutions which precede each of the five daily prayers which Muslims have to perform. Sulaiman, in restoring the water supply, would thus appear in the eyes of his subjects as a pious sultan who cared not only for the Holy City but also for its faithful citizens.

The water project comprised the restoration of the Qanat al-Sabil,³⁰ the repair of the reservoir of Birkat al-Sultan, the construction of nine *sabils* (public fountains acting as water outlets), and the extension of the water canal within the Old City. Six of the nine *sabils* attributed to Sultan Sulaiman have been identified and are still standing. Three others, mentioned in the records, remain to be identified, though they were probably located within the Haram area. Qanat al-Sabil ran through pottery pipes (partly covered in earth) from the water reservoirs of al-Maraji' and Aritas (located south of Jerusalem near Bethlehem, and later renamed after Sultan Sulaiman) till it reached the Haram through Bab al-Silsila. A few metres before entering the Haram, at the Daraj al-'Ain junction, it branched north to feed three of the six *sabils* and to provide water for Hammam al-Sultan, *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan.

The first *sabil* to be constructed was Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4), dated 10 Muharram 943/29 June 1536; it is located outside the city on the road to Hebron, 700m downhill from Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate). It was to be the only *sabil* and only the second Ottoman structure built

³⁰ Qanat al-Sabil was one of the main sources of water for Jerusalem from the time of its construction until the present day. There was a special *waqf* for the *qanat* dedicated to its maintenance and security. The Jerusalem *sijills* (23: 357, 508, 526; 24: 114) record the transactions of the *waqf*. From time to time, the canal was deliberately breached in order to water the land through which it passed, according to *Sijill* 27: 317 and *Sijill* 30: 427. The result was to cut the water supply to Jerusalem. The Ottoman authority acted on occasion to restore the canal. For more details regarding the history of the canal in different periods, see Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 59, 99, 285, 330); van Berchem and his bibliography (1923: 243, 343, 240, 243-4, 338, 341); al-'Arif (1947: 100); Mazar (1976: 79-84); al-Imam (1976: 183-4, and his rich notes); al-Husaini (1982: 115-19); al-'Asali (1982 141-162); Salama and Zilberman (1986: 91-106); al-'Asali (1989: 112 in which he publishes *Sijill* nos. 196, 287); Singer (1994: 102-4). For a map of this canal, see Mazar (1976: 83), and Bahat (1980: 118).

outside the walls. The *sabil* is free-standing and consists for the main part of a recessed niche surmounted by a chevron-pointed arch. The arch is contained within a rectangular wall. A trough to contain water, now hidden because of the raised level of the modern road, previously stood at the foot of the *sabil*. A subsidiary channel from Qanat al-Sabil, the remains of which are still visible a few metres to the west, used to feed the fountain with water.

Sabil Tariq al-Wad (cat. no. 5, dated 1 Rajab 943/14 December 1536) was the second fountain built by order of Sultan Sulaiman. It is located within the city, in the southern section of al-Wad Road near the Suq al-Qattanin, in a crowded trading area close to the principal entrance to the Haram. The *sabil* was built to a design similar to that of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, the main difference being the inclusion of Crusader architectural features in the fabric. A period of six months separated the construction of these two fountains. This period in all probability represented the time needed to extend the Qanat al-Sabil to reach the Haram area of the city, as Meinecke (1988: 264) has implied, for it took only three weeks to build the next *sabil*.

Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6, dated 22 Rajab 943/4 January 1537), was the third fountain construction, and was located a few metres in front of the eponymous Haram gate opposite the Tankiziyya Madrasa. It comprises a tall recessed niche with a trough to contain the water in the lower part of the recess. It is also similar in design to the other *sabils*.

Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8), mentioned above under the Haram heading, and Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), which has also already been discussed as one of the monuments of Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, were both built after Sabil Bab al-Silsila. A period of one month elapsed between the building of Sabil Bab al-‘Atm and Sabil Bab al-Nazir.

The last *sabil* built to the order of Sulaiman was that of Bab Sitti Maryam (cat. no. 9), located to the north of Tariq al-Mujahidin, about 10m west of Bab al-Asbat (St Stephen’s Gate). It is situated at a focal point, for it is close to the only open gate in the walls of Jerusalem allowing access from the east, and it is at the start of the road which crosses the Old City from east to west. The fountain is a single-unit structure, consisting of the usual recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch, which is supported by a stone pillar on either side of the opening. A subsidiary underground channel from Qanat al-Sabil used to provide both it and the Hammam Sitti Maryam with water. The inscription on the Sabil Sitti Maryam is no longer extant, but its identification as belonging to the Ottoman period is secured by a *waqfiyya* in the *sijills* dated 948/1541–2, and the formal comparisons made by van Berchem (1923: 417–18) between it and the other *sabils* indicate that it can be safely ascribed to Sultan Sulaiman.

According to the *sijills* (Husaini 1982: 115) Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was the person in charge (*al-mubashir*) of the water supply project. In a special formal meeting held in the Dome of the Chain on the Sakhra terrace in the presence of Ja‘far Beg, *katib* of the noble provinces in Syria, and Salih Efendi ibn al-Qazwini, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash attested that he had repaired the nine *sabils*, and further that he had made them *waqf* in the name of Sultan Sulaiman (see cat. no. 1 under ‘Endowment’ for details and discussion).

In any case, the *sabils* project as a whole was executed in a very short time—10 Muharram 943–2 Ramadan 943/29 June 1536–12 February 1537. Meinecke (1988: 264–5) attributes this remarkably short period to the recycling of old building materials, that is, the use of Crusader debris. However, other contributory factors must also have been the importance of the water supply to the city, and the many master builders available who were in a position to undertake such a complicated project in so short a span of time. To judge by the style of the *sabils*, it seems that at least two teams were involved in the building work, for the fountains can be divided into two stylistic groups. The first group includes Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, Sabil Bab al-‘Atm, and Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam. They are on the whole simple, constructed with original, Islamic architectural materials. The second group, on the other hand, which comprises Sabil al-Wad, Sabil Bab al-Silsila, and Sabil Bab al-Nazir, contains both Islamic and Crusader materials. It would be true to say that in general the examples of this second group are more elegant than the first. That there was an abundance of master builders in Jerusalem in the first half of the 16th century is understandable in view of the extensive architectural activity there, and perhaps particularly because of the walls project. Meinecke (1988: 265), who was basing his analysis on architectural comparisons, presumed correctly that teams of workers had been imported into Jerusalem from Syria (Damascus and Aleppo) to work on the royal commission. An entry in the *sijill* has been discovered which shows that Bairam Jawish, whose biography is detailed under the section on the founder in catalogue no. 11, went especially to Egypt to bring back master builders to work on the walls. Many records in the *sijill* relate to transactions with master builders. Their *nisbas*³¹ betray the

³¹ Even if the *nisba* does not always tell the whole truth—for example, it may relate to a man’s forebears—the fact that most sophisticated crafts were kept within the same family means that it can supply important information. The association of Jerusalem with the Ibn Nammar family, whose building activities continued over a period of almost two centuries through five generations (see below under ‘Ibn Nammar Family’), is based on a single document (*Sijill* 1: 400). Without this entry it would be difficult to confirm their attribution to Jerusalem.

origin of their families if not necessarily of the builders themselves (for details see below).

No comment on Sulaiman's water supply project would be complete without noting the appropriateness of the choice of the location of the *sabils*. There can be no doubt that the person responsible for selecting the sites was fully aware of the movement of human traffic inside the Holy City—and aware too of the streams of visitors. The majority of the sites for the fountains are clustered around the major entrances of the Haram and in this way they served as many people as possible.

The Wall Project

While the water project was still in progress but close to finishing, the Ottoman officials in Jerusalem were busily preparing the infrastructure for another major work of construction. The project was intended to encompass the Old City with a defensive wall. The wall was not, of course, an Ottoman innovation, for the city had had a defensive system of sorts since its foundation and this had continued into the medieval period (see Wightman 1993). The earlier city wall, which had been in part built and in part renewed by Salah al-Din, who worked personally on its construction (Asfahani 1903: 302) after he retook Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 587/1191, was partly dismantled after three decades by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa³² in 616/1219 (Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 402) and for a second time in 624/1227 (Meinecke 1988: 265).

Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 90, 92) reports two attempts to restore the walls of Jerusalem in the Mamluk period. The first was in 695/1295 by Kitbugha (694-96/1294-97) who repaired the east side which abuts the cemetery and constitutes the wall of the Haram, and the second by Muhammad ibn Qala'un, who reigned three times and who repaired the south side near Mihrab Da'ud in 709/1301 during his third period of power (709-41/1309-40). Despite these attempts the city remained without an effective defensive wall for three centuries. Any section of an earlier wall that had survived was in a ruined state, as was noted by some travellers (see al-Imam 1976: 165). The situation continued until Sultan Sulaiman ordered the reconstruction. It is safe to say that the present walls incorporate a good deal of the earlier constructions.

What was the motivation behind Sultan Sulaiman's decision to tackle so many building works in Jerusalem, but in particular the renovation of the walls? Before an answer is attempted, it should be borne in mind that such an immense project was usually motivated not by

one specific reason, but by a group of integrated reasons. It is also important to keep the wall project in perspective. It should not be separated from the rest of the Ottoman work in the city. Seen in this context the work on the walls falls into its historical perspective.

Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 74), who visited Jerusalem in Ramadan 1082/January 1672, attributed the remarkable commitment to Jerusalem by Sultan Sulaiman to an instruction from the Prophet Muhammad. Evliya Çelebi relates that the Prophet appeared to Sulaiman during one of the 'blessed nights' and asked that he do a number of charitable acts—embellish Mecca and Medina, provide the Sanctuary of Jerusalem with a water-basin, embellish the Rock of Jerusalem, fortify the Citadel of Jerusalem, send money annually to the dervishes and rebuild the Holy City. Evliya Çelebi's interpretation may well reflect the official attitude to, as well the 17th-century public perception of, the reasons for the sultan's good works, and is thus probably not an historically accurate account, as Meinecke (1988: 258) noted. But it clearly implies religious fervour.

Since Jerusalem was located on the edge of the desert, the home of many nomadic tribes, and had been vulnerable for some time to Bedouin³³ attack, it could be argued that Sulaiman's motivation was primarily one of defence (van Berchem 1922: 443-4). However, Meinecke (1988: 265) interpreted the construction in a more long-term historical way, as an attempt to ensure that al-Quds should 'regain its long-lost autonomy as a city.' Cohen's analysis (1989: 468-9) was more elaborate. He touched on the economic impact of the walls, seeing them as a precaution against possible and well-concealed Christian plans to renew their grip on the holy places, and the desire of the Ottomans to demonstrate to their Muslim subjects the difference between themselves and the previous Mamluk rule.

Whatever the motive or—more accurately—the motives behind the wall project, it certainly represented the largest and most imposing project executed in the city during the Ottoman period. Its impact is second only to that of the Dome of the Rock, leaving such important monuments as the Holy Sepulchre and the Wailing Wall in relative obscurity, as Cohen (1989: 467) noted.

The walls of Jerusalem surpass those of other Islamic cities such as Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, or Aleppo in two respects—first, the walls are still almost intact; and second, they are preserved in their original form, whereas only fragments remain of the other walls, which are earlier

³² It is worth noting that al-Mu'azzam 'Isa contributed to the construction of the walls before he dismantled part of them. Recent excavations have revealed two inscriptions that bear the name of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. These relate to the foundation of the Ayyubid sector of the walls. For the first of these, see Broshi (1976: 78), and for the second, see Sharon (1977: 179-93).

³³ For the role of the Bedouin in the Ottoman period in Palestine see Heyd (1960: 79-89), Sharon (1975: 11-30). It is, however, worth mentioning that neither Heyd nor Sharon point to any raid of the Bedouin on Jerusalem before the construction of the wall, and so this as a contributory factor should be accepted with some reservation.

in date. While the walls of Acre (Akko) are completely preserved, they are of relatively recent date, being built in the time of Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar (1148-1219/1735-1804).

Despite the importance of the Jerusalem walls, to date there has been no detailed architectural study of them.³⁴ The recent book written by Wightman (1993) is confined to the periods preceding the Ottomans. It is not within the scope of the present study to present more than these preliminary introductory notes. A brief survey of the historical information contained in recent publications on the wall project follows.

The walls, as Meinecke (1988: 266) notes, were built in the Ayyubid and Mamluk style, and in this way can be compared to the walls of Damascus and Aleppo. The work included the construction of a wall extending about 4km in length, cut by seven gates—of which the Damascus Gate (Bab al-‘Amud) is the most imposing—and two main corner towers with slit openings. The wall incorporates some of the earlier construction—the east and the south east walls of the Haram, and the remnants of the Citadel in the west. It is clear, not just stylistically but also in layout and general lines, that the Ottoman work followed the earlier scheme of the Ayyubid wall. It is explicit from the *sijill* (12: 92) that before constructing parts of the wall, the masons uncovered the ancient foundations of the earlier wall, and the new courses were laid above them.

The scheme was ordered by Sultan Sulaiman, a fact made clear by the foundation inscriptions still extant on gates and the towers of the wall. Van Berchem (1922: 443-4) based his deductions as to the different stages of construction on these inscriptions, including when the project started and when it ended. The first stage was built in 944/1537-8 and included the north and the north west sides, together with Bab al-Zahra (Herod's Gate). Three inscriptions belong to this phase. The first is on the middle tower of the eastern part of the north wall (van Berchem 1922: 437, no. 119); the second (van Berchem 1922: 438, no. 120) is found above Bab al-‘Amud (Damascus Gate); and the third (van Berchem 1922: 438, no. 121) is on Burj al-Laqlaq (Stork Tower) on the north east corner of the wall. In the following year—that is in 945/1538-9—the work of the second stage was continued on the eastern side, from the north east corner up to Bab al-Asbat (St

Stephen's Gate), and, even further to the south, to the north-eastern corner of the Haram (van Berchem 1922: 439, no. 122). At the same time, work continued on the northern part of the west side towards the Citadel. Four inscriptions give the year 945/1538-9 as a preliminary completion date and are preserved on various sites, marking the work on the western section. One (Johns 1950: 172, n. 45, Walls and Abu'l Hajj 1980: 29, no. LIV, see also 31, n. 23) is found on the northernmost extremity of the wall, and one on the southernmost tower (van Berchem 1922: 439, no. 123); and two others (van Berchem 1922: 439-40, nos. 124, 125) are set into the western gate, known as the Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate). The final phase covered the south side of the wall, and four inscriptions edited by van Berchem testify that the work was completed in 947/1540-1. Two inscriptions are located (van Berchem 1922: 441-2, nos. 126, 127) above Bab al-Nabi Da'ud (Zion Gate), one (van Berchem 1922: 442, no. 128) at the south-eastern corner of Burj Kibrit (Sulphur Tower), and the last (van Berchem 1922: 442-3, no. 129) on the southern gate called the Bab al-Maghariba.

As the inscriptions demonstrate, the whole project was completed during the years 944-947/1537-41. It was indeed, as Cohen (1989: 469) notes, a remarkably short period for such an immense undertaking. Cohen goes on to say that 'one may assume that overall construction took substantially longer: preparatory stages were most probably initiated earlier than mid-1538, whereas final touches were very likely applied long after the winter of 1540.' Cohen later (1990: 34) cited *Sijill* 14: 144 as proof of his earlier assumption, and indicates that the work on the wall project continued until the end of Ramadan 948/middle of January 1542.

Even if the final completion of the project took a few more months, it was still a short period for such a complicated task. It must have helped that many places inside Jerusalem—and probably outside the city as well—were in a ruinous condition, for the debris from them was in all probability reused in the construction of the wall. It can be assumed that almost every local master builder, as well as almost every beast of burden, was summoned to contribute their labour to the project, and to bring stones from the surrounding areas. It only needs a preliminary observation of the wall to conclude that different sources of masonry were used in the construction. The masonry is of various sizes, the larger blocks being used in the lower courses, and the stones are of varying tones. They also show different dressing techniques and varied decorative and architectural detailing, which must indicate that several teams of builders contributed to the task of erecting the walls.

Meinecke (1988: 266) compared the vaults in the gates of Bab al-‘Amud, Bab Sitti Maryam and Bab al-Khalil with some late Mamluk gate construction in Aleppo

³⁴ A brief survey of the historical information contained in recent publications on the wall project are found in van Berchem (1922: 443-4); al-‘Arif (1961: 303-4); Najm *et al.* (1983: 342-59); Meinecke (1988: 265-6); *PI* (1984 3: 517-19); Cohen (1989: 467-77; 1990: 32-5), Ghosheh (1992). It is worth noting that there is also a very short note on the walls in *EI* (Grabar 1986: 344). Although Ben-Dov (1983: 85-120), who was writing in Hebrew and was then translated into English (1990: 12-35), devoted to the Ottoman city walls a chapter which includes many photographs and plans not previously published, he does not give descriptions of architectural or decorative features, nor is there any comparison with similar features elsewhere.

and Cairo, deducing that rather than building teams from the central Ottoman region being commissioned to erect this monumental city wall, Syrian or Cairene builders were employed. Meinecke was partly right in his inference for Cohen (1990: 33), basing himself on Sijill 14: 144, has pointed to the inclusion of al-Mu'allim Darwish al-Halabi (the master builder from Aleppo). Al-Mu'allim Darwish played a major role in the wall project, for he was assistant to the person in overall charge of the construction. Relying on the *sijill* evidence (see above), it is possible to conclude that other builders from Syria were employed on the wall project (for a complete list see below under 'Non-Local Builders'). As has already been stated above (and see cat. no. 11 under 'Founder'), another important entry in the *sijills* records that Bairam Jawish went to Egypt to bring back master builders to work on the wall. But one should not underestimate the local contribution in this or any other architectural project. For a fuller discussion on the master builders and their Jerusalem origins in the 16th century, see below under 'Master Builders and Skilled Craftsmen'.

Until fairly recently, nothing was known about the official in charge of the entire project or about the identity of the master builders. Al-'Arif (1961: 307) and al-'Asali (1981: 325), both without citing supporting references, state that Bairam Jawish had been appointed the supervisor of the work on the walls by Sultan Sulaiman. As shown above, Bairam did indeed have some involvement in the project, but he never had overall responsibility. Meinecke (1988: 266) assumed that Muhammad Beg, the governor of Gaza and al-Quds, who constructed a *mihrab* on the Dome of the Rock terrace (cat. no. 10) was the chief overseer builder of the project. But finally Cohen (1989: 470-3), relying on the *sijill* evidence, proved that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was in charge of providing funds for the whole project. Following this breakthrough, in 1990 Cohen (1990: 34) was able to expand his conclusions, again relying on information in the *sijills*, to show that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was the official responsible for the whole project, that is, he was in charge of both the financial and administrative aspects.

Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, whose name frequently appears in the *sijills* (10: 16; 12: 922; 12: 905 and see cat. no. 4 under 'Endowment') bore the titles *al-amin 'ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya* (the superintendent of taxes) and *al-amin 'ala sur bait al-maqdis* (the superintendent of the wall of Jerusalem). He was certainly a man of considerable capabilities who, through his supervision of many vital projects,³⁵ contributed a great deal to the development of Jerusalem. The scattered records found in the *sijills* suggest that Muhammad al-Naqqash was assisted by both technical and administrative

experts in the handling of the day-to-day business of the projects. Sijill 12: 905, a record known to Cohen (1989: 476, n. 13), and Sijill 12: 830 relate that detailed books were kept on both the income and expenditure of the project.³⁶ There were many clerks (*yaziji katib 'ala 'imarat al-sur*) responsible for these books. When Khair al-Din Çelebi ibn al-Jamali Yusuf, one of the scribes involved in the wall project in 944/1537-8 (Sijill 7: 151), departed on the *hajj* and sold his right to the post on 18 Jumada II 947/20 October 1540 (Sijill 12: 905), Muhammad al-Naqqash appointed Taj al-Din Khalifa as his replacement and the books were then deposited with the new *yaziji*. Sijill 10: 444, 445, dated 21 Shawwal 945/12 March 1538, mentions Ya'qub ibn Shams al-Din as another *yaziji* working on the project.

In addition to Darwish al-Halabi, the master builder from Aleppo mentioned above, who acted as an assistant to Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the author has discovered a reference in the *sijills* (12: 922) on 14 Jumada I 947/16 September 1540, to another assistant, again a master builder but this time one who had financial responsibilities. This record mentions that 'it was proven in the council of the religious court that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the superintendent of the wall, had authorised *al-mu'allim* (the master builder) Muslih al-Din ibn 'Abdullah al-Rumi *al-qanarwati* (specialist in water channels) to collect the revenue of the villages of Bethlehem and Bait Jala outside Jerusalem in addition to the revenue of Qanat al-Sabil'. The entry is important, for it sheds light on the origins of Muslih al-Din, showing he was a Rumi (Turk), and also gives us his *laqab* (*al-qanarwati*) which identifies his speciality.

A further interesting entry is found in Sijill 12: 92 in a record dated 19 Muharram 946/6 June 1539. It provides us with the name of another master builder working on the walls, as well as data relating to the formation of one of the teams present at the site. The entry states that a ceramic pipe (*qadus*) filled with copper coins dating from the period of previous sultans had been found while the workers were exposing the wall foundations. The location of the site was close to the slaughter-house in the Jewish neighbourhood (the south side), and the discovery had taken place in the presence of the authorised supervisors (*al-mu'tamadin al-waqifin*), Sinan and Paqais the Janissaries in Syria, and other workers, the master builder Husain ibn Nammar, the chief of the builders, and Ya'qub al-Yaziji. This time the master builder was a local

³⁵ For further details on his involvement in architecture and aspects of his personal life, see cat. no. 4 under 'Endowment', and Cohen 1989: 470-3.

³⁶ Unfortunately, so far no information has been discovered in the Jerusalem *sijills* on the financial aspects of building the wall. However, some records were found by me with respect to the master builder. Cohen (1989: 471) has stated that he has not yet come across any relevant data in the central archives of Istanbul, where such books are kept.

person from Jerusalem, for Sijill 1: 400 gives his complete name as Husain ibn Nammar al-Muqaddasi. The money was delivered to the court by Husain ibn Nammar accompanied by Ya'qub al-Yaziji.

Outside the Old City

A few records found in the *sijills* point to Ottoman activity in the suburbs of the Old City. The first, Sijill 23: 168 dated 26 Safar 957/16 March 1550, is an agreement between Hamza Çelebi and Husain ibn Nammar the master builder, to restore the Maqam of 'Azr (Lazarus) in Bethany, which is located to the east of city. The second entry, Sijill 28: 294 dated 4 Jumada I 961/4 April 1554, records permission granted by the *qadi* to the inspector of the *turba* (mausoleum) of al-Shaikh Ahmad al-Thauri. The monument was located to the west of the city and, on the request of the inspector, following a joint visit by both men, he was allowed to restore it. The third record (Sijill 48: 127) reveals that Maqam Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, on the Mount of Olives to the east of the Old City, was restored in 972/1564-5 by the two master builders, Mahmud ibn Ramadan and Mahmud ibn Nammar. The stones for the restoration were brought by Ibn Sulaiman from an adjacent village, al-Tur. Ibn Sulaiman was contracted by the two master builder to deliver the required masonry. Though the record in Sijill 78: 544 is about a dispute over the quality of lime and no further details are given, it can be determined from it that Maqam Nabi Musa, which is located near Jericho, was restored by the master builder 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar in the year 1016/1607. The *sijills* also record restorations to Maqam al-Nabi Yunus (at Halhul, north of Hebron—Sijill 79: 383; 84: 548), and Maqam al-Nabi Lot (at Bani Nu'aim, east of Hebron) and Maqam al-Nabi Musa (Sijill 84: 548).

The Development of the Ottoman City, 1010-1247/1600-1831

The second phase of architectural development in Ottoman Jerusalem extends from the beginning of the 17th century until 1831. It is characterised in general by small-scale individual monuments rather than the imposing projects already described. Most of the construction and restoration initiatives, with very few exceptions, were taken by local governors and dignitaries rather than by the sultans or other prominent figures of the Ottoman empire. The general principles of the second phase, however, were those of the earlier, 16th-century work. New building and repair work was concentrated in two main areas—the Haram al-Sharif itself, and a few sites close by within the city walls.

The Haram—individual buildings

The Haram continued to attract the major architectural work of the city but this later period saw the lower esplanade of the Haram share with the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock the sites for the monuments, in contrast to the earlier phase, which had seen just two *sabils* constructed within the larger esplanade area. The newly-named Khalwa Bairam Pasha, an attribution which has only now been revealed by the *sijill* evidence (cat. no. 34, dated 1038/1628), was the first monument to be constructed after Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya (see cat. no. 25). Almost a quarter of century separated the two buildings. The *khalwa* is located at the western edge of the Sakhra terrace between the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), and the Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram (cat. no. 51). It closely resembles the other *khalwas* found in the Haram in that it consists of two storeys. It is particularly interesting to discover that the Chief Architect of Jerusalem, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, was the builder of the project. In point of fact, Bairam Pasha did not himself construct the *khalwa* but rather bought it from Mustafa Agha. The *khalwa* has no foundation inscription, but it is clear from the *sijill* (115: 721) that it was constructed shortly before 1038/1638-9.

It emerges from the *sijill* records (113: 248) that Bairam Pasha was responsible for other restoration and repair work in the Haram al-Sharif (see below and cat. no. 34 of the catalogue). From the foundation inscription of Sabil Sha'lan (cat. no. 36, restored 1037/1627-8), and the Sijill 113: 248, it is clear that Bairam Pasha can be credited with the sponsorship of the second cycle of restoration on the fountain. It was first constructed by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (613/1216-7), and then restored at the time of Barsbai (832/1429). It is located in the north western section of the Haram esplanade near the north western colonnade which leads to the Dome of the Rock terrace. The *sabil* is known by the name of al-Shaikh Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman ibn Sha'lan, who held the post of *al-siqaya* in 1098/1686-7, rather than being named after either the first patron or one of the later restorers.³⁷

³⁷ It is a common feature in Jerusalem to find monuments given a new name which differs radically from the original. For example, the Ayyubid domed edifice for Qur'anic recitation is now known as the Qubbat Musa (647/1249-50) instead of Qubbat al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub after the founder; Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48) is more commonly known as Sabil al-Shaikh Budair; Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin (cat. no. 43) is named after al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili, and the *mastaba* and *mihrab* of Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 47) is universally known as Mastabat wa Mihrab al-Tin after the fig-tree which used to give it shade, rather than by the name of its founder or restorer. Indeed, when the DIA and the BSAJ began their survey of the Ottoman sites, this was found to be the case for most of the monuments in Jerusalem. Many others were known by the name of the current occupant rather than either by their historical name or by that of their founder.

The next building to be erected in the Haram was the Mihrab of 'Ali Pasha (cat. no. 37, 1047/1637-8). Its construction marked the beginning of the fashion for small, modest monuments which were to become such a feature of the Haram in this period. The *mihrab* is of simple masonry and is at the southern end of a rectangular stone *mastaba* which was constructed at the same time. Located within the Haram esplanade, it lies about 10m north east of Bab al-Qattanin. An inscription plaque gives the date and the name of the founder. Open prayer *mastabas*, with or without a *mihrab*, were a feature of the esplanade long before the era of the Ottomans. There are many references to them in the historical sources, but the Mihrab 'Ali Pasha is the first example to survive from the Ottoman period. It was, however, followed both by a few dated examples of *mastabas* and *mihrabs* and by many undated ones (for details see cat. no. 55).

Yusuf Agha, who according to the *sijill* records (183: 225) seems to have been the governor of Jerusalem in 1092/1681, had previously been *agha* in Istanbul, if the foundation inscription has been properly understood. He was the patron of two small domes which share both a date and name of the master builder. The first, (cat. no. 38, 1092/1681), called al-Qubbat Yusuf, is situated at the south side of the Sakhra terrace, and the second, (cat. no. 39, 1092/1681), called al-Qubbat Yusuf Agha, is located at the south of the Haram esplanade between the Islamic Museum and Jami' al-Aqsa. The reason for the discrepancy in name, despite the fact that they were founded by the same patron, is due to a mistaken attribution of the first dome by certain scholars to Yusuf Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi. The commentators were influenced by a reused inscription plaque which carries the name of Salah al-Din, but they could not have deciphered it fully, for, rather than any reference to the *qubba*, it documents the bridging of a ditch and the rebuilding of a wall. The author has attempted to elucidate the situation and has solved the issue of date, but why Yusuf Agha constructed two domes—in two different styles using different architectural elements—remains an open question, despite suggestions which have been advanced in explanation (see cat. nos. 38-9).

In the late 17th century there was already a building between Hujrat Muhammad Agha to the east (cat. no. 20), and Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24) in the western section of the north side of the Dome of the Rock terrace. Nothing has been published about the earlier development of the site, which is presumably Ottoman. Arslan Pasha, who was governor of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Gaza and *amir al-hajj al-shami* (the Amir of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan), restored this building in 1109/1697, and it has accordingly been designated the 'Odat Arslan' (cat. no. 41) by the present writer, taking the *sijill* reference (198: 109) as authority. Odat Arslan, like most of the other *khalwas* on the Haram, is not described in any published

historical account. But the discovery of the *waqfiyya* in the *sijill* record makes it reasonable to fix the date of its restoration to the last decade of the 17th century. The *oda* has a similar layout to that of most of the *khalwas* on the Haram, but its external appearance is deeply influenced by the Hujrat Muhammad Agha.

Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42, undated, probably after 1017/1608-9) is located at the eastern border of the Haram between Bab al-Asbat and Bab al-Rahma wa'l-Tauba (the Golden Gate). The building is unique in Ottoman Jerusalem for two reasons: (a) it is built in a remote area in the Haram abutting the eastern wall, which also constitutes part of the city wall, and (b) it consists of two parts, one of which—originally an outcrop of bedrock—has been cut and shaped to form a remarkably large cenotaph. Further puzzles arise from the fact that so far it is not known exactly by whom, when, or why it was built. An attempt to answer these question is to be found under catalogue entry no. 42.

Another problematic architectural development was carried out on the Sakhra terrace by Muhammad, governor of Jerusalem, in 1112/1700-1. It is referred to without evidence as 'Masjid al-Nabi' by modern writers; the inscription plaque carries the name 'Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin' (Prophet Muhammad), and is the name which is suggested here though the *sijills* refer to it as al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya after al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili (for more details, see cat. no. 43). The *qubba* is a free-standing monument situated between Qubbat al-Mi'raj and the north-west colonnade. From its inscription panel one can infer that some sort of domed structure was on the site before the present edifice was rebuilt. The architectural coherence of the present building leads to the conclusion that it is the result of a complete reconstruction rather than a minor restoration as the inscription would suggest. The *qubba* is made up of two parts, the lower one being an underground vault with *mihrab* and reused architectural elements, which suggests that it was one of the *ziyara* sites. The upper part is made up of one chamber covered with a shallow dome, and there is a *mihrab* in the south wall.

The next structure, Sabil al-Husaini (cat. no. 45, 1137/1728), built on the south-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, abuts the northern façade of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya. The *sabil* is no longer standing but architectural traces allow a possible reconstruction to be proposed. A foundation inscription attached to the upper section of the south side of the *sabil* gives the date of the construction as 1137/1724-5, and the name of the founder as Hasan the son of al-Dani al-Husaini. According to the relevant *sijill*, the founder was a famous *qadi* in Jerusalem, and his full name appears in the records as al-Sa'id Hasan Efendi Zada al-Husaini. His name denotes that he was from the family of the Prophet Muhammad, and this connection explains the purpose of the building,

which, beside providing water for the Haram visitor, acted as a memorial to al-Husain ibn 'Ali, the son of Fatima and thus the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. The layout of the *sabil* closely resembles that of the fountain of Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48).

Sabil al-Husaini concludes the individual Ottoman constructions which have been identified on the Sakhra terrace. There are three other small *khalwas* that defy identification which are located on the west side of the terrace. Here they have been given names that reflect either their current function or position. They are: (1) Khalwat Sadanat (custodian) al-Haram (cat. no. 51), which stands between Khalwat Bairam and the beginning of the steps which lead up to the Western Colonnade; (2) Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin (cat. no. 52), which is located between the Western Colonnade and the South-Western Khalwa; and (3) the South-Western Khalwa (cat. no. 53), which abuts the north side of the South-Western Colonnade. It is not known when or by whom these three *khalwas* were built. However, a pilgrim's account would seem to suggest that they were all built around the year 1222/1870. The *khalwas* are very simple, being almost featureless.

With respect to the other constructions on the Haram esplanade, there are five further monuments that deserve a mention, in addition to a group of undated *mihirabs* and *mastabas* (cat. no. 55). The first in chronological order is a cell known as 'Khalwat al-Dajani' (cat. no. 46, 1138/1728). The identification of this *khalwa* relies solely on a foundation inscription, but unfortunately it is not fully secure because there is some justification for believing that the inscription was attached to the monument only some time earlier this century. However, the authenticity of the inscription itself, as well as the identity of the founder whose name appears in it, are beyond doubt. For this reason the *khalwa* is included as one of the monuments relevant to this study. The *khalwa* is located to the west of the Dome of the Rock terrace on the level of the Haram esplanade, between the West Colonnade and the South Western Colonnade. It consists of a single rectangular prayer chamber, with a *mihrab* niche on the *qibla* side. From the *sijill* evidence it is known that the founder was a famous scholar in Jerusalem in the 18th century.

The next work to be undertaken in the Haram was the restoration by Ahmad Qullari of a *mihrab* and *mastaba* opposite Bab al-Silsila, south of Sabil Qasim Pasha, at the site known as the Musallat Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 46, 1174/1760-1). The identification of this work is assured by the inscription panel which still exists on site above the *mihrab* niche.

Mustafa Agha, a governor of Jerusalem (1144-65/1731-51), contributed to the Haram development by constructing a small, handsome *sabil* (cat. no. 48, 1153/1740-1), better known in recent references as 'Sabil

al-Shaikh Budair'. Because there is no firm reason for doing so, however, it is here named after its founder. It is reason enough, in the view of the writer, that Mustafa should be given due credit for his elegant little building. It is situated within the Haram esplanade, about 20m south east of Bab al-Nazir. A well-designed foundation inscription on site, as well as a short *waqfiyya* in the relevant *sijill*, gives the date and the identity of the founder and provides other essential information. The fountain consists of a square base, four façades, and a small dome supported on three arches and a wall. The arches spring from four small columns decorated with geometrical and floral motifs.

The Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (cat. no. 50, 1233/1817-18) was the last Ottoman structure built in the Haram, and it is both the first and the last monument to be commissioned by an Ottoman sultan after the imposing projects of Sultan Sulaiman in the 16th century. Although the structure was erected by order of Sultan Mahmud and under the supervision of the vizier al-Hajj Sulaiman, governor of Sidon and Tripoli, the architectural form of the *iwan* is simple and undecorated. In its unadorned modesty it seems to reflect neither the order of the sultan nor the titles of the founder and the supervisor, being, rather, closer to the architectural language of the Palestinian vernacular than the style prevalent in the Ottoman city. This can be taken as a clear reflection of the decline both in quantity and quality of the architectural work in Jerusalem in the second half of the 17th century. It conforms indeed with the prevailing political and administrative conditions in the Ottoman empire as a whole at the time. The *iwan* is located in the northern end of the Haram precinct, about 20m south of Bab al-'Atm. The description of *iwan* is given in the foundation inscription, reflecting its single-unit structure. Four huge piers at the corners support four tall, pointed arches, which in turn support a dome. The original purpose of the *iwan* is not clear.

The Restorations in the Haram

In addition to the individual monuments constructed in the Haram, restoration activities continued, patronised by figures such as local governors, as well as under the orders of some of the sultans. This category of work encompassed the Dome of the Rock, the Jami' al-Aqsa, the Haram area, the Citadel, the water supply, and so on. None of these projects can compare with the earlier works which had been executed by order of Sultan Sulaiman, for they were limited both in scope and in number. Once again, the principal references to this renovatory activity until the present have depended on the foundation inscriptions collected and edited by van Berchem (see above).

Not all the restorations were carried out in the Haram by external initiative; some were implemented locally. It is disclosed by Sijill 100: 436 dated 20 Safar 1029/26 January 1620 that Muhammad Agha, the inspector of the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock *waqf*, reported to 'Umar Efendi ibn Ibrahim, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, that the interior of the wooden ceiling of the western side of al-Masjid (al-Jami') al-Aqsa was damaged. He put the deterioration of the wood and medallions down to the lengthy period which had elapsed without proper maintenance, and to serious leaks which had resulted from the heavy rains. An inspection was ordered by the *qadi* who commissioned 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammār the chief architect in Jerusalem, and the carpenter al-Mu'allim Ibrahim ibn Musa. It was decided that the damage should be repaired and the costs covered from income of the *waqf*.

It appears, that in the first half of the 17th century, securing and maintaining the lead sheets of the Dome of the Rock and al-Masjid (al-Jami') al-Aqsa was a constant worry to the extent that a special post was established. Sijill 113: 322 dated 13 Rabi' II 1037/22 December 1627 records that Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Shaduf had replaced al-Shaikh Salih al-Kilari in the post of maintenance engineer for the lead sheets of the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqsa Mosque, and Jami' al-Maghariba. The reason for the change is given in the record as due to the fact that al-Shaikh Salih al-Kilari had not been properly qualified and had been unable to undertake the necessary work. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Shaduf was duly allocated 4 'uthmani per day from the *waqf* income of the Haram.

A major repair was undertaken after Bairam Pasha, the vizier of Egypt, donated money for charitable deeds on 1 Rabi' I 1037/10 November 1627 (Sijill 113: 248) or, more specifically, for the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa and for the *maqam* of Hebron (see details in cat. no. 34, and Appendix I, no. 34/2 for the Arabic text and an English summary). The *sijill* in question explains that when Ahmad Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, received a letter from Bairam Pasha after his donation had already been delivered to Jerusalem, he held a meeting in the religious court to discuss what was needed in the way of repairs to the Aqsa mosque so that the money from Bairam's donation could be spent appropriately. Among those present at the meeting were 'Abd al-Muhsin, the master builder in Jerusalem the Noble, Ahmad Agha, the representative of Bairam Pasha, and Shahin Çelebi, the scribe of the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock *waqf*. It was reported at the meeting that water was penetrating the lead sheets covering the three aisles of the door of al-Jami' al-Aqsa. It was decided to maintain the lead sheets but it was impossible to repair them *in situ* as the holes were too large. There was, therefore, no way of restoring these

sheets except by dismantling them completely and casting them again. When the sheets were taken down, each sheet was weighed separately and it was found that the weight of the individual sheets varied between ten, eight and seven Jerusalem *ratls*, whereas the new sheet weighed seventeen and a half *ratls*. The casting was undertaken by the masters Ibrahim and Yusuf, sons of al-Mu'allim Sadaqa al-Ghazzi, both of whom had been given authorisation from the *qadi* to do the work.

A second repair financed by Bairam's donation was the rebuilding of seven bays of the western portico which abutted Bab al-Nazir. The proceedings of the *sijill* (113: 448), dated 9 Jumada al-Thani 1037/15 February 1628, show that al-Hajj Mustafa ibn 'Abdullah had agreed in the religious court to undertake the rebuilding of these bays in return for 600 *ghirsh asadi*. He further undertook to tie the new construction into the already extant building, and to vault the bays in perfect alignment with the adjacent portico provided that he was freed of the responsibility of covering the cost of timber (*akhshab*), firewood (*hatab*), and *qusurmil*.

Qanat al-Sabil was another of the foundations which was in constant need of repair, and therefore records of its restoration appear from time to time. Al-Husaini (1982: 113-5) has published a lengthy *waqfiyya* which deals with work sponsored by Husain Pasha, governor of Gaza, at the beginning of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1067/11 August 1657. The work was designed to augment the waters of Qanat al-Sabil by guiding the spring from the village of Artas into Qanat al-Sabil. The undertaking cost 2,000 *ghirsh asadi*, apart from the construction materials such as lime and stone, and was done by al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi known as al-Masri. Mahmud, 'Umar, and 'Ali, master builders in Jerusalem, undertook to help the contractor by providing him with master builders and workers. Al-'Arif (1961: 307) states that the Qanat al-Sabil was restored in 1067/1656 and again in 1077/1666.

Another long record concerning the repair of Qanat al-Sabil is published by al-'Asali (1989: 112-13). It is registered in the proceedings of the year 1106/1694-5 in Sijill 196: 287. Mustafa Efendi, then *qadi* of Jerusalem and previously the *qadi* 'askar (army judge), decided to repair the water channel, and to pay for the work from his own money after the *qanat* had fallen into disrepair, with the consequence that the water normally supplied by it had been interrupted for four years. It was reported that the disruption to the supply of water had caused great distress to the worshippers at al-Aqsa Mosque, for there was no water for ablutions.

Al-'Asali (1989a: 116-7) published a document recorded in Sijill 166: 135 dated 1105/1693-4, concerning the rebuilding of the south-eastern corner of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. It informs us that Muhammad Agha, the *dizdar* (commander) of the Citadel in Jerusalem, came to the

religious court with a group of Muslims and reported that part of the wall of al-Masjid al-Aqsa, where the Mahd 'Isa (Jesus' Cradle) is to be found, had fallen down. The *qadi* commissioned a group consisting of 'Ali al-Nammari, the chief architect of al-Aqsa Mosque, Hibat Allah Çelebi, the chief architect of Jerusalem the Noble, and others to make an inspection and to prepare an estimate of the expenditure needed for the rebuilding. The cost of the work reached 1,300 *ghirsh asadi*.

Sultan Mahmud II (1223-55/1808-39) also contributed to the maintenance of the Haram. He ordered a major programme of restoration to the Dome of the Rock. It included the restoration of the marble of the exterior of the outer octagon in 1233/1817-18 and the restoration of the outer octagon's tiles in 1232-34/1817-19. Al-'Asali (1989b: 219-20) states that these restorations continued for twenty-one months at a cost of 4,000 bags (*sic*, of coins). The work was overseen by the governor of Sidon and Tripoli, Sulaiman Pasha, on the orders of Sultan Mahmud II, in 1233-4/1817-18 (van Berchem 1927: 348-52). Mustafa 'Ali Efendi played a major role in the replacement of the ceramic tiles of the Dome of the Rock. Van Berchem (1927: 353-5) has edited no less than nine panels bearing his name.

Other individual buildings within the Old City of Jerusalem

Only five monuments were constructed in the Old City outside the enclosure of Haram al-Sharif in the two hundred and thirty years from 1600-1831, compared with the seventeen monuments constructed in the previous hundred years. This is another indication of the decline in architectural activity compared to the earlier period. Two of the five constructions were Sufi *zawiya*s, two were *sabils*, and one was a large secular house.

Al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya (cat. no. 33, 1025/1630) was the third Sufi *zawiya* to be established in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, following the establishment of Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (cat. no. 3), and Zawiya al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19). Al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya is situated on a corner site very close to the Haram, a few metres north of one of the gates, Bab al-Ghawanima. Four *waqf* documents in the *sijills* identify the *zawiya* as belonging to the Ottoman period, and various inscription panels support this identification. The full name of the founder appears in the *sijill* as Sufi 'Uthman Agha ibn 'Abd al-Mu'in. He was the chief door-keeper (*ra'is al-bawwabin*) to the grand vizier (*sadr 'azam*) Ibrahim Pasha. The *zawiya* has been subject to more fundamental alterations and additions than any other building considered here, making its architecture very difficult to unravel.

Situated north west of Bab al-Ghawanima, al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35, 1043/1633) is a neighbour of al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya, which borders it to the north. The *zawiya*, which is now universally known as al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya, in contradiction to its foundation inscription and *waqfiyya*, is one of the largest complexes constructed in Jerusalem in later Ottoman times. It was founded by Muhammad Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem, who was one of the most famous patrons of the city's pious institutions. Unlike the mutilated Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya, al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya has been preserved almost intact, for the architectural elements are in complete agreement with the detailed description given in the *waqfiyya* recently discovered by the author. The document is one of the fullest of the Ottoman period, as important in its way as the *waqfiyyas* of the Khassaki Sultan and Bairam Jawish, for it sheds light on many aspects of the *zawiya* not found in other contemporary sources. Both al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya and al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya are without a minaret, unlike the earlier Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya and Zawiya al-Maulawiyya—probably because they are both situated so close to the Haram that a separate call to prayer was considered unnecessary.

Sabil al-Shurbaji (cat. no. 40, 1097/1685-6), again a small, modest structure, is another prime example of the characteristic development of the period. It is located at the southern end of the inner square of Damascus Gate, at the point where the two main streets of the city running north-south (al-Wad and Khan al-Zait) converge. As a public fountain, it can thus be seen to fill the gap left by the 16th-century *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman. According to the foundation inscription panel, the evidence of which is supported by a *waqfiyya*, the *sabil* was founded in 1097/1685-6 by 'Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji. The fountain consists of a single square room covered by a shallow dome. A recessed niche with a double window opens in the north façade to allow water to be distributed to thirsty passers-by.

Almost three decades separated the construction of Sabil al-Shurbaji and Sabil al-Khalidi (cat. no. 44, 1125/1713), the next dated monument to be built in the Old City. The layout of Sabil al-Khalidi is identical to Sabil al-Shurbaji. There is, however, no foundation inscription, although a space has been left either for a dedicatory or an ornamental plaque. The *sabil* is firmly dated and identified by a *waqf* document recorded in the *sijills*, which gives the name of the founder as San'allah ibn Khalil Efendi al-Khalidi. The fountain is located on the north side of Tariq Bab al-Silsila immediately east to Daraj al-'Ain street. The structure is very simple, for it was converted from a shop.

Dar al-'Izz (cat. no. 49, 1205/1790-91) was the last major construction in the Old City in the Ottoman period. It is located to the east of Tariq al-Wad between Maktab Bairam Jawish to the south and the junction of the Via

Dolorosa to the north. The site has difficulties similar to those of Khalwat al-Dajani. However, here the inscription itself seems to be in its original location, but there are problems relating to both the façade and the interior. The façade has suffered many changes and additions, the various phases of construction being indicated by long, multiple break-lines in the masonry. The interior too has been dramatically changed for it has long been used as a residential house. As a result, it is now lacking either architectural or decorative features. The monument is included here, however, because of the interesting context of the inscription which, sadly, does not include the name of the founder.

Architecture and Architects in Ottoman Jerusalem 922-1009/1516-1600

Introduction

After the decline in building work in Jerusalem at the end of the Mamluk period, and a slow start in the early years of Ottoman rule, new projects began to proliferate from the second decade of the 16th century. In addition to the major restoration projects and new buildings described in the previous section, there was a sustained momentum to maintain and to repair the Mamluk buildings. The records of this activity are scattered at random throughout the proceedings—the *sijills*—of the Shari'a court in Jerusalem.

The construction work, whether on a new building or on the restoration of an older one, demanded the concerted efforts of a variety of local (and sometimes Ottoman imperial) institutions. Funds had to be raised to cover the cost of building materials; the organisation of both skilled and unskilled workers had to be arranged, and a number of regulations were required to systematise the whole process. In other words, three conditions had to be met before building work could proceed—finance, an organised workforce, and official permission.

The aim of this section is to shed light on the role played by the different individuals and institutions involved in this process. The court authority and its role in various aspects of the work will be examined, as well as the activities of the master builders and the craftsmen. The section will investigate the building materials used, where they were acquired and at what price, the administrative aspects of the operation, and so on. The study relies entirely on unpublished material in the Jerusalem *sijills*. These records provide a wealth of primary evidence that was generally unavailable for earlier periods in the history of the city, and was but rarely mentioned in contemporary historical sources. Among other material, the *sijill* records

include inspection documents (*kashf*) for the buildings. These were reports on the condition of a building made by an expert (a master builder) which were presented to the Shari'a court to enable the *qadi* to make an informed decision on the necessity for work to be undertaken. The *sijills* also contain detailed financial accounts (*bayan sarf*) of the expenditure on certain repairs. These include the overall cost of the work and the individual prices for building materials such as lime, stone, *qusurmil*, nails, and timber; the wages of workers and master builders are also recorded, and sometimes information like the daily expenditure or the number of workers on site on a specific day. Also found in the *sijills* are documents granting permission to carry out certain restorations (*idhunat*), various transactions over building materials, and valuable information on the master builders themselves—their duties, titles, positions, and whether they were local residents or brought in to do the work from elsewhere.

Sources of Finance

Ottoman Jerusalem did not have a specific state institution with a special budget allocated for construction and repair projects. But because of the religious significance of the city, there was a substantial income from *waqfs*, some of which had been set up in the Mamluk period. The income from the *waqfs* provided the main source of finance for the maintenance and repair of those Ottoman or pre-Ottoman buildings which were endowed. The *waqf* of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, for example, was for a long period the best known and the largest in Palestine.³⁸

Research undertaken for this study has revealed that, for almost every institution constructed in Jerusalem in the 16th century, a *waqf* was set up by the founder. In particular, a *waqf* was endowed for monuments whose function required a certain level of expenditure.³⁹ The various *waqfs* and the income dedicated to each monument are given in detail in the relevant catalogue entries under 'endowment'; this information will not, therefore, be repeated here.

In addition to the *waqf* income, sums of money

³⁸ For general information on the Palestinian *waqfs* of Gaza, al-Quds al-Sharif (Jerusalem), Safad, and Nablus according to the 16th-century Ottoman Tahrir Register, see Ispirli and Tamimi (1982).

³⁹ There were some exceptions to this general rule, for example the three monumental domes (cat. nos. 10, 30, and 31), three small *khalwas* (cat. nos. 14, 16, and 17), one *sabil* (cat. no. 2), and an undated mosque (cat. no. 32). However, neither the domes nor that particular *sabil* had a function which required specific expenditure, and any repairs to them were covered by the Haram *waqf*. It is possible that a *waqf* for the three *khalwas* may yet emerge from the *sijills*. The mosque is unlikely to date from the 16th century. For further details, see the catalogue entry for each monument.

were dispatched to Jerusalem from time to time for specific projects. The money was sent either from the imperial treasury in Istanbul or, in response to orders from the sultan, from the province of Damascus. One order (Heyd 1960: 147) records that in 976/1568 2,000 *floris* were donated by Roxelana, the wife of Sultan Sulaiman, to repair a ruined water-conduit. Another 200 gold pieces were paid in 987/1579 by the *daftardar* of Damascus to Da'ud, the master builder of Damascus, who had repaired the lead of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque (Heyd 1960: 157). Sijill 80: 100 contains the information that Sultan Muhammad Khan sent 300 *sultani* in 1007/1598 to cover the cost of rebuilding the Bab al-Asbat Minaret.

Not all revenues for construction were received from the capital or from the province of Damascus. Part of the city wall project, for example, was also funded from local revenue. Cohen (1989: 472) found a document in Sijill 6 which includes information on aspects of the system used to finance this particular project. It reveals that 791,435 *para*, collected in taxes from various parts of Palestine and Syria in 1536-38, were diverted to meet the expenses of rebuilding the walls. Gaza's share was about 70,000 *para*, that of Nablus just over 122,000 *para*, while Jerusalem and Ramla between them contributed some 10 per cent of the total. Sijills 10: 16, 17, 18, 444 and 12: 830 contain the records of a discrepancy in the monies received by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the superintendent of the wall project, from Hasan ibn 'Ali, *al-amin 'ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya bidawahi al-Ramla* (the superintendent of the imperial revenues in the suburbs of Ramla). The poll tax⁴⁰ (*jizya*), another source of finance for construction and repairs of *waqf* properties, was under the control and disposal of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (Cohen 1989: 473).

The role of the Court in the construction process

The records of the *sijills* show that the Jerusalem Shari'a court played a vital role in controlling many issues related to buildings and their maintenance. It was the authority to which complaints were submitted, by which permission for repairs was granted and accounts of expenditures ratified. The authority also received requests for an official inspection of buildings, and settled disputes. The *qadi* of the court handled personally almost every aspect of the construction procedure, even down to the appointment of the master builders and other positions related to the work in hand.

Anyone who had a case concerning construction work, whether or not he held an official position, and

irrespective of whether he was a Muslim or a non-Muslim citizen, could address the court. The *qadi* then usually ordered an investigation, which normally relied on a site inspection (*kashf*) by a nominated group of people. After the team had reported back with their findings, the *qadi* pronounced his decision, which usually concurred with the findings of the experts.

Inspections

The inspection (*kashf*) was an essential part of the procedure, whatever the matter in hand being presented to the court, whether it was in the form of a complaint, or a request for permission to undertake work, or some other business. The inspection team was made up of a variety of people, whose number and specialisation varied according to who had asked for the inspection, and on the importance of the site under discussion.

Inspection of buildings in Ottoman Jerusalem were often carried out by a master builder (*mi'marbashi*), occasionally in the presence of the *qadi* himself, but more often in that of his clerk; if the property to be inspected was endowed, then the supervisor of the relevant *waqf* was also present. A group of the interested faithful frequently attended the inspection; for example Zawiyat al-Maghariba and the Madrasa al-'Afdaliyya (Sijill 25: 152) were inspected solely by *ahl al-khair* (people of charity), and it was on the basis of their report that the *qadi* permitted Shaikh Ahmad al-Masmudi to restore the two sites. These Muslims are described in the *sijill* as '*udul* (people with an honourable record), *tuqa* (pious), or *ahl al-khair* (people of charity) as mentioned above; sometimes, if they were professionals, they are described as *ahl al-khibra* (the experts) (Sijill 21: 264).

When a sultanic order (Sijill 39: 30-1) was received in Jerusalem in 967/1559-60 to expand the kitchen of Khassaki Sultan, Qitas Beg (then governor of Jerusalem), the *qadi*, Sinan Khalifa, the *shaikh* of al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), Husain ibn Nammar, chief master builder in Jerusalem, and the representative of Turghud Agha, the caretaker of al-'Imara al-'Amira, as well as many other Muslim dignitaries, made an investigation. On one rare occasion, the governor of Jerusalem, Ja'far Beg, went to the court and asked the *qadi* to inspect the east side of the city wall, south of al-Sirat (Sijill 73: 472). The governor was among those on the inspection team, and permission was granted in 1005/1596-7 to replace displaced stones.

Another case, Sijill 79: 475, dated 1007/1098-9, concerned the *qadi* of Jerusalem being ordered to instruct the caretaker of al-'Imara al-'Amira to build a mill in the complex. The *qadi* himself, Wali Beg, the caretaker, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the chief architect, and many other Muslims inspected the site before deciding on

⁴⁰ For details of this tax, its expenditures, and the involvement of *waqf* institutions in the Ottoman system of collecting the poll tax in late 18th-century Jerusalem, see Peri (1990: 287-97).

a proper location.

Sometimes more than one master builder was involved in the inspection. The Ashrafiyya Madrasa (Sijill 30: 384) was investigated in 962/1554-5 by Husain ibn Nammar and his brother 'Ubaid (see below under 'Local master builders'). It was agreed in 973/1565-6 (Sijill 48: 165) between the two master builders, Muhammad ibn Ramadan and Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar, that they would inspect the buildings together, for they shared the post of master builder of Jerusalem between them. When the wall of the citadel was inspected in 938/1531-2, the team was made up of three famous master builders. Two identical cases are found in the *sijills*. The first, Sijill 12: 910 dated 947/1540, shows that the Madrasa Hanafiyya (which is no longer extant) was inspected by three master builders; the second record concerns the inspection of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (for details, see cat. no. 19).

Complaints

There can be no doubt that one of the main tasks of the Shari'a court was to settle disputes, and to hear complaints and cases brought before it by the inhabitants of the city. Although the records of these cases in the *sijills* are comparatively rare, particularly in relation to inspection or ratification documents, those that have been found give an idea of the type of business brought before the court by people seeking a ruling. The records show that claims were presented to the court either by the *subashi* (representing the state) against certain citizens, or by citizens themselves against their fellows. This second type of case was motivated by a wish to maintain the rights of the claimant against some violation by the defendant, or to preserve the public interest. The complaints cover many different aspects—a water leakage, an unsafe wall or house, new fenestration, and so on.

A record in Sijill 5: 1, dated 26 Shawwal 941/30 April 1535, shows that Shaikh Abu 'l-Ful, the chief of the Khawalida neighbourhood, had come to the court and complained that the wall of Dair (Convent) Fara'un, a residence belonging to the Ethiopian denomination, was unsafe, and if no measures were taken to repair it, damage would be done to the convent itself as well as to its neighbours, and this would lead to looting. The inspection team reported to the *qadi* that they had found many of the stones displaced. They said that if the wall were to be rebuilt, the safety of the neighbours and the passers-by would be ensured. The *qadi* in consequence ordered two Ethiopian monks to rebuild the wall.

On 22 Ramadan 952/27 November 1545 (Sijill 17: 349), the residents of Ribat Mansuri lodged a complaint against the owner of the upper floor (*tabaqa*) above the *ribat* that their property had been penetrated by water. Sijill

17: 354 shows that the inspector of the *ribat* had concurred in the complaint, which had been extended to include the fact that the whole upper floor was in such a dilapidated condition that it might collapse on the passers-by and residents. Following the inspection, the *qadi* ordered the owners of the upper level, Amina and her brother Yusuf, to dismantle it completely, and to pay for any costs.

Fenestration was another cause of conflict between neighbours, as becomes apparent from scattered records in the *sijills*. According to Sijill 45: 55, Fatima al-Rauda came to the court in the middle of Jumada I 971/31 December 1563 protesting against the opening of new windows by Ahmad al-Rumi. She claimed that she was being abused by these windows, presumably meaning that her property was overlooked by them and her privacy invaded. A similar case is documented in Sijill 69: 79, when Khalil ibn Ahmad al-Masri, on 13 Safar 977/28 July 1569, demanded that the window overlooking his house in al-Qattanin quarter should be blocked up. He claimed that the window had been opened up by his neighbour, Yusuf ibn 'Abd Allah. Some cases were rejected by the *qadi*, as appears from the petition of Hanna and Jirjis ibn Fadila against Binan al-Nasraniyya (the Christian). Hanna and Jirjis alleged that Binan's windows were causing them harm, and demanded that they should be blocked up. The *qadi*, basing his decision on the findings of the inspection team, turned down the request of the brothers because the windows in question were not part of a renovation, but had been there for a long time previously.

People appeared before the Shari'a court in Jerusalem in order to obtain a document proving that they had been damaged by some incident. It is likely that they wanted the court to pronounce their rivals responsible for any damage caused to them. On 13 Rabi' I 993/15 March 1585, 'Abd al-Karim al-Jaludi went to the court (Sijill 64: 246) reporting that water was leaking from the house above into a lower floor. He asked that the court be notified of the incident. In another interesting record (Sijill 69: 79), 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Shihab informed the court on 26 Rajab 977/4 January 1570, that the motion of the neighbouring mill had caused part of the wall of his house to fall down. A somewhat similar claim is found in Sijill 46: 97 dated 16 Jumada I 972/20 December 1564; in this case, it is the mill that was damaged by a wall falling on it.

A complaint on behalf of the general public is noted in Sijill 30: 302 dated 24 Ramadan 962/12 August 1555. It records that Najm al-Din, a merchant of Jerusalem, declared that injury had been caused to the walls and to the Muslim citizens of Jerusalem. The damage was the result of the behaviour of a group of traders who employed people to remove earth from soap factories (*turab al-masabin*) and to dump it both inside and outside the walls of the city. The *qadi* himself visited the site with a group of Muslims and noted the quantity of earth. After

being questioned by the *qadi*, Musa al-Tarrab (who had transferred the earth) and his son Sharaf al-Din acknowledged that they were responsible for the accumulation of earth.

In one unusual case, dated the beginning of Dhu 'l-Hijja 1007/25 June 1599 (Sijill 80: 106), the petitioner, Darwish Biyallah, preferred to address the governor of Jerusalem rather than the *qadi*, apparently thereby hoping to receive a more favourable verdict. The governor, Farrukh Katkhuda, forwarded the petition to the council of the *qadi*, 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi, but sent his representative, Yunus al-Tarjuman, to attend the hearing. The case was against two brothers, Ibrahim and Ilyas (sons of Jirjis the Coptic Christian), who were builders in Jerusalem. Yunus informed the court that Darwish Biyallah had already reported to the *subashi* of Jerusalem, Jamshid Agha, on the collapse of part of the kitchen in the brothers' house on his *hakura* (vegetable garden), and that he had drawn their attention to the necessity of rebuilding the damaged section. The house was a *waqf* endowed for the benefit of the Coptic Christians in Jerusalem. Since the two brothers had ignored the request by Darwish and the house had still not been repaired, Yunus asked that an inspection be arranged. The *qadi* sent his clerk, the writer of the *sijill* document, Ghashm ibn Makiyya, together with 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master builder, and a group of other Muslims, as well as Yunus al-Tarjuman, to undertake the inspection. While they were reporting their findings to the court, Sulaiman ibn Ishaq al-Hadad arrived and informed the court that there was a large crack in the wall of his house, which was constructed above the vestibule overlooking the house in question. The inspection team returned and again inspected the site; their recommendation was that two *dhira'* should be removed from the wall of Sulaiman's house, and that the wall should be supported by two corbel stones to prevent any further collapse. The *qadi* approved the rebuilding of the wall of the kitchen, as well as the reduction in height and the reinforcement of Sulaiman's house. For the complete Arabic text and an English summary see Appendix I, no. 44.

The *subashi* played the role of formal intermediary between disputing parties. He was kept fully informed about the complaint brought by Yunus al-Tarjuman described above. Another *subashi*, named Sinan, attended the hearings of the case of Ribat al-Mansuri in the court, also already described. It is obvious that the role of the *subashi* was to inspect any violation of the law and to report to the *qadi*. He tended to be on the side of public interest. Bali, the *subashi* of the city of Jerusalem, in 977/1569-70 (according to Sijill 52: 43) arrested Khalil ibn 'Abd al-Qadir and Riham ibn Ibrahim al-Ba'labakki, accusing them of tampering with the city walls.

Jamshid Agha again appears as the champion of

public interest in Sijill 80: 106 dated 4 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1007/28 June 1599. This record reveals that Jamshid Agha, who was responsible for *al-khass al-sharif* (the imperial domain revenue), had come to the court with Ibrahim ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani, bringing four beasts laden with stones. Jamshid accused Ibrahim of stealing the stones from the lands of *al-khass al-sharif*, and from the summer houses belonging to a Muslim which were outside the walls of Jerusalem the Noble. Ibrahim rejected the accusation, saying that the source of his stone was the Wadi al-Qatamun, which is located to the west of Jerusalem. Jamshid asked the *qadi* to order an inspection to investigate the source of the stone, and the *qadi* commissioned Lutf Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad, the court usher (*muhdir*), to undertake an inspection of the site. Lutf Allah reported back to the court that the stones were indeed brought from an ancient Roman wall located near Wadi al-Qatamun. The complete Arabic text with English summary is to found in Appendix I, no. 45.

The same *subashi* Jamshid (Sijill 80: 72) reported on 14 Shawwal 1007/10 May 1599 to the *qadi* of Jerusalem, 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi, that water from the channel which fed Hammam al-Sultan (*waqf* of al-'Imara al-'Amira) was contaminated by sewage from the Madrasa al-Qastumriyya (which is no longer extant). He requested that the *qadi* investigate the matter, for Muslims were being harmed. The *qadi* commissioned Mahmud Agha, the court usher (*muhdir*), Muhammad al-Ghazzi, the clerk of the court and the scribe of the record, together with 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the chief architect of Jerusalem the Noble, and a group of other Muslims, to undertake the inspection. They reported their findings back to the court, saying that some of the *qawadis* (pottery pipes) of the latrines were broken. 'Abd al-Muhsin recommended rebuilding the channel above the latrine pipes. The full Arabic text is provided in Appendix I, no. 46 with an English summary.

Permission to Undertake Restoration and Ratification of Expenditure

In addition to the inspection of sites and estimates of cost, the Shari'a court in Ottoman Jerusalem was authorised to issue permits for restoration to *waqf* properties, and for non-Muslim premises. To conform with the conditions of the legal deeds (*waqfiyyas*), all financial transactions of the *waqf* properties had to be ratified and confirmed by the *qadi*. It was thus inevitable that any *waqf* inspector had to co-operate closely with the court before taking any action which involved expenditure. The *sijills* of Jerusalem contain many financial documents with reference to *waqf* properties. These bear various names and have different wordings, but all were intended to serve a single purpose,

namely to legalise and confirm the transactions.

Many of these documents begin with the words *bayan ma sarafahu* . . . ('statement of expenditure paid by ...'), followed by the name of the inspector of the *waqf*. *Thubt* (proof), *ta'rif shar'i* (legal notification), and *idhn* (permit) are other terms used to denote financial payment for *waqf* repairs. In some cases the master builder undertaking the repairs came to the court and attested that the inspector of the *waqf* had spent a certain sum of money, and that he had either been notified of the expenditure or had spent the money in person (Sijill 13: 51; 13: 352). In certain cases, another master builder confirmed the testimony of the master builder who had been contracted to carry out the restoration (Sijill 5: 810).

The information contained in the documents also varies. Some are so detailed that they include the daily payments, the quantity of materials used, and the source from which the building materials had been either transported or purchased. Other documents are much shorter and give only the total cost of a repair. Sijills 17: 551 and 19: 263 specify the reason for certain restoration work as being an earthquake; another *sijill* (10: 206) gives the reason as heavy rainfall, and yet another (Sijill 7: 346) as water leakage. A further reason which led to permission for repairs being granted was an extended period of neglect and the ruined state of a *waqf* property, so that it was in danger of collapse (Sijills 5: 326; 13: 482). Sometimes inspectors and persons in charge of a *waqf* came to the court when there was not enough cash in hand to cover the cost of repairs. They then sought the court's authority to spend money from their private income, and to consider the sum as a debt against any future income of the *waqf*. One example of this practice (Sijills 7: 435; 14: 151) was by Bairam Jawish when he undertook repairs to the Madrasa Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) on 16 Shawwal 944/18 March 1538. Ibrahim ibn 'Abd Allah al-Malitani, *shaikh* of the Maltaniyya group, restored a *haush* (Sijill 27: 407) on similar terms, as did 'Abd al-Baqi, the inspector of the *waqf* of al-Aqsa mosque, when he borrowed oil from the representative of Ahmad Pasha to illuminate the Mosque of al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock (Sijill 80: 28). The Arabic wording and English summary for the first and the last documents are found in Appendix I, nos. 22/2 and 28/1.

In other cases, the court allowed the inspector to sell specified *waqf* property to cover certain expenses incurred in the repairs, or because a particular part of the property was no longer of use (*yas'ub al-intifa' mihu*). Five hundred stones from the Dar Ibn al-Sa'r (Sijill 1: 57) were sold for 500 *halabiyya* (silver coins) in 937/1530-1 because the property was considered beyond repair. 'Abd Allah Çelebi ibn 'Ali al-Khalwati was permitted (Sijill 22: 235) on 4 Rajab 956/29 July 1549 to sell stones belonging to al-Bimaristan al-Salahi' to cover the expenditure needed for repair work. The inspector of Dar al-Hadith, Darwish 'Ali,

on 959/1551-2 asked the *qadi*'s permission to auction the debris (*anqad*) from the site, for there was no revenue and the site needed to be repaired (Sijill 25: 385). In Sijill 30: 170 dated 10 Rajab 962/31 May 1555, the *qadi* is reported as allowing the sale of the ruins of al-Bimaristan al-Salahiyya to go ahead, after he had personally inspected the site with a group of *ahl al-khibra* (experts), and had been convinced that the dome, the *mihrab*, and the vault were in a ruined state. He was clearly anxious that the debris might be stolen. Sijill 30: 204 records that it had been agreed between the inspector of *waqf* al-Dirkah, situated in the Nasara neighbourhood, and the caretaker of al-'Imara al-'Amira, Farhad Çelebi, that the debris and foundations of the upper part of the site were to be purchased at a specified price. Further cases are recorded in Sijills 59: 182; 69: 367; 76: 49; and 88: 346.

Other methods of financing restoration to, and maintenance of, property under certain circumstances were *istibdal* (the exchange of *waqf* property for another property), *ijara tauila* (a long-term lease), and *khulu* (key-money, or advance money paid by the tenant of a dilapidated *waqf* to be used for repairs). Of these, I have encountered only a single case of *ijara tauila* in the records of monuments dating to the 16th century. It is the *ijara* of Ahmad Pasha leasing a plot of land belonging to the Aqsa Mosque, located in the Haram al-Sharif, for a period of sixty years to enable him to build two cells on it (cat. nos. 22 and 23). These various methods were, however, used frequently in the periods following the 16th century, and in the long run had a negative affect on the efficacy of the *waqf* system.⁴¹

Non-Muslim Subjects

The non-Muslim residents of Ottoman Jerusalem, that is the Christians and Jews (*ahl al-dhimma*), came to the Shar'ia court for varying reasons. They were considered 'protected subjects' and their rights and relations within the Muslim community, and with the authorities, were decided according to Muslim Shari'a law. According to the regulations controlling construction, non-Muslims were not allowed to construct, rebuild, or repair any of their premises without a prior permit from the *qadi*. This means that Christians and Jews⁴² frequented the court to obtain the proper approval.

⁴¹ For details on these and the role they played in the dismemberment of the *waqfs* of Jerusalem, see Baer 1990: 299-332.

⁴² Cohen has published a number of books and articles, mainly on Jewish life in Jerusalem in the 16th century, based on these records. For a short bibliography, see his recent book (Cohen 1994: 10). I do not know of any published study on the Christian communities of Jerusalem based on the records in the *sijills*.

Throughout my research into the *sijills*, I came across many records that concerned construction work by non-Muslim subjects. These constitute a small part of the numerous records pertaining to these communities which cover not only construction but also other day-to-day matters. The few listed below cast some light on the construction business, but further study would without doubt widen our knowledge of these issues and would enable a list of religious properties and Holy Places of the non-Muslim communities in Ottoman Jerusalem to be compiled.

One of the many Christians who came to the Shari'a court to request permission to restore their houses was Yusuf ibn Manuli al-Rahib (the monk), according to Sijill 3: 207 dated 20 Muharram 940/11 August 1533. After the site had been inspected, Yusuf ibn Manuli was granted permission to renovate his house but was allowed neither to enlarge it nor to make it smaller. Permits for restoration work were also issued to a number of others: Ya'qub ibn Yuhana for a house and a stable (Sijill 46: 46), Ghabrian the Copt (Sijill 31: 52), Mikha'il ibn Buni for a *waqf* house (Sijill 46: 252), 'Isa al-Nasrani (Sijill 45: 86), Khalil Qandalaft (Sijill 62: 2), Mikha'il al-Sabbani (the soap-maker) (Sijill 62: 4), 'Isa and Khalil (Sijill 62: 204), 'Abd al-Masih al-Nasrani al-Habashi (the Ethiopian, Sijill 69: 51), who was spokesman of the Christian *waqf*—apparently the Ethiopian *waqf* (*al-mutakallim 'ala waqf al-Nasara*)—and Shalih ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani (Sijill 69: 220).

As well as the dwelling houses, the monasteries and the churches of various Christian communities in Ottoman Jerusalem were restored, and some were permitted to build extensions. The same process was followed for these works—request, inspection and authorisation. The applications to the Shari'a court were presented by the monks or the heads of the community instead of by individuals, as was the case with the Muslim community. Jirmanus ibn Qustantin, the *batrak* (patriarch) of the Greek Orthodox church (*al-Rum*) was allowed to execute restorations in two monasteries. The first (Sijill 22: 187) was the reconstruction of a wall for a convent inside the Old City of Jerusalem. The wall was rebuilt by the master builder, Husain ibn Nammar, on 12 Jumada I 956/8 June 1549. The second restoration was the repair of the gate of Mar Ilyas (Elijah) Monastery, which is located to the east of the road running between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The repairs were carried out on 11 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 969/13 July 1562. It is also interesting to note that in Sijill 20: 57, dated 13 Jumada I 962/5 April 1555, the same Jirmanus had endowed as *waqf* a house and an oil-press located in al-Nasara neighbourhood for the benefit of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and, according to a particular stipulation, after the Holy Sepulchre for the benefit of the Dome of the Rock.

Fragun Biltsata al-Ifranji (the European) was granted permission (Sijill 96: 303) to build an oven inside

the *iwan* in al-'Amud Convent in 997/1588-9. The Coptic Church was inspected on 29 Sha'ban 992/5 September 1584, according to Sijill 14: 107, in response to an application presented by Ibrahim al-Nasrani, the spokesman for the Copts in Jerusalem.

Not all the requests were presented by men, for Sijill 30: 55 shows that a Georgian nun, Sait bint 'Abd Allah al-Nasraniyya al-Karjiyya, together with the monks of Dair al-Musallaba (the Monastery of the Cross), asked for permission to construct an oil-press to produce oil (*sir*), an oven to bake sesame seed, and basins for the *tahina* (sesame paste). She was permitted to do so, following an inspection of the site by a group of Muslims headed by Muhammad al-Nasiri, the *muhdirbashi*. She appealed for permission to undertake two further repairs to the walls of two monasteries, which was also duly awarded her. The first of these is named as Dair al-Tufaha (the Apple Monastery), located in the neighbourhood of al-Nasara (Sijill 30: 56), facing the Khanqah al-Salahiyya al-Sughra (the small), and the restoration is specified as being to its eastern wall. The second monastery was in the Risha district (Sijill 30: 57).

Sometimes the Christian monasteries were inspected on the initiative of the local authorities in response to an order from Istanbul. The Monastery of Zion (Dair Sahyun) was inspected in 958/1551 by the *qadi*, Ahmad Nassuh, to ascertain that there had been no innovation inside the monastery and that it contained no weapons (Sijill 24: 491).⁴³ The order to do so came from Istanbul to Biri Pasha, governor of al-Sham (Syria), and to Shams al-Din Khalifa, the *qadi* of al-Sham, who passed it on to Jerusalem. The inspection uncovered no new buildings, and the monastery was found to accord with its original plan.

Other Responsibilities of the Court

The court was held responsible for another aspect of maintenance. It had to control and to register the progress of work, as well as the use of construction materials and the number of workers on site at different times. Sijill 39: 62, dated 5 Rabi' I 967/5 December 1559, shows that Muhyi al-Din Khalifa ibn al-Hajj Husain, the legal representative of Bairam Jawish, who was in charge of Auqaf al-Misriyyin in Jerusalem, had come to the court and asked 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, to inspect the workers and the materials used in the *khan* of Bab

⁴³ For further information on and interpretation of the various inspections and steps taken against the Franciscans on Mount Zion by the Ottomans, see Darraj (1968: 9-31). An analysis counter to that of Darraj is to be found in Cohen (1986: 147-57), although both studies are based on the documents. See also cat. no. 1.

al-Qattanin. The *qadi* commissioned his clerk, Isma‘il al-Shafi‘i, to go to the site, and, after he had completed his inspection, reported that ‘on Tuesday there had been seven workers (*fu‘ul*), one master builder, one *mujarifi* (a man who used a shovel); and on Wednesday it was as on Tuesday.’ The materials used in these two days were:

Item	Cost in paras
50 <i>qufaf</i> (leather baskets) of lime	35
50 <i>qufaf</i> of <i>qusurmil</i>	10
Ropes and sweepers (<i>makanis</i>)	14
Six donkeys to transfer the lime and the <i>qusurmil</i>	12
Four <i>qufaf</i>	4
Food for the workers	10
Total	paras 85

For the Arabic text and English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 11/10.

The Construction Process

Collection, Sources, and Prices of Building Materials

Some of the principal materials that were used in the construction process, such as lime, were produced locally, while others, like iron and lead, were imported or sent from other parts of the Ottoman provinces. A good deal of material, such as marble and masonry, was collected from ruined buildings. Ottoman Jerusalem architecture in the 16th century, as will be apparent from the descriptions of its public monuments (for details see cat. nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 30, 31), made use of re-cycled material as part of the fabric embedded into the structure of the buildings. This implies an active circulation of used materials throughout the century.⁴⁴ The Shari‘a court participated indirectly in making some of the construction materials available for re-use in the local market through its approval of the sale of some of the fabric of certain *waqf* properties. The *sijills* include many records of the sale of such recycled building materials. A few cases have already been cited above with reference to stone and debris, and below, under the section dealing with stone, further cases will be discussed.

Lime

According to the *sijills*, lime was produced in kilns in

villages scattered around Jerusalem. It was bought either directly from people at the site of the kilns or from retail middlemen in the city. In some cases it was bought from the villages with the proviso that the vendors would be responsible for its transfer to the construction site. The abundance of the transaction documents registered in the *sijills* that concern lime suggest that it was an important source of income for certain people and places, especially when great projects like the restoration of the walls were in progress. The villages producing the lime were al-Ram (north of Jerusalem), al-Jib or Jib al-Fukhkhar (north west of Jerusalem), Lifta (west of Jerusalem), Dair Ya-Sin (west of Jerusalem), Bait Lahm (Bethlehem), Bait Jala (west of Bethlehem), Bait Mazmil, Bait Hanina (north of Jerusalem), Umm Tuba (south of Jerusalem), ‘Ain Karim (west of Jerusalem), and Burqa. Most of the transactions recorded in the *sijills* are to do with finance—the suppliers requesting the cost of lime from the purchasers, or the purchasers demanding that the suppliers provide them with the stipulated quantity of the lime on time, in the event of a serious delay.

The information contained in these records makes it possible to find out the price of lime, its quality, the master builders who were involved in ordering the required amount, and the names of the carriers. Lime was sold in Jerusalem by the *qintar* (*Sijills* 10: 65; 13: 58; 30: 16, 45, 358; 66: 312), and the price of its carriage was also according to the *qintar* or camel-load (*himl*). The price of lime varies from *sijill* to *sijill*,⁴⁵ according to both quality and date. It was 25 *halabiyya* (silver coins) if purchased at the village (*Sijill* 13: 58) and 55 *halabiyya* if it had to be transferred to the construction site, that is to Jerusalem. Relying on this particular record, which is dated 10 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 947/8 March 1541, it thus appears that the cost of transfer added thirty *halabiyya* to the basic price of lime.

Al-Hajj ‘Ala’ (*Sijill* 12: 400), representative of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the superintendent of the construction work on the walls, contracted a company of lime-carriers from Bait Hanina and al-Jib village to convey lime from their villages to Jerusalem for 20 *halabiyya* per camel-load. The carriers attested in the Shari‘a court, on 2 Rabi‘ II 947/6 August 1540, that they were satisfied with the price for the five coming months, and they held themselves jointly responsible for the contract. Forty camels were hired to undertake the task of transferring the lime to Jerusalem.

There is a discrepancy of 10 *halabiyya* between these prices for transfer of the lime, though there was only seven months between the two agreements. The reason for

⁴⁴ This practice is also noted in other projects undertaken in the 16th century, (though this chapter does not deal with them in detail), such as the wall project and the citadel restoration. It continued after the 16th century as shown by Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38), Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin (cat. no. 43), and Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud (cat. no. 50).

⁴⁵ It is difficult to determine the average price of lime, for there are conflicting prices in the documents. In one document (*Sijill* 8: 144) the price for a *qintar* of lime is given variously as 12, 28, 30, and 60 *‘uhmani* respectively.

this difference is probably due to the fact that while the first transaction was private, the second related to a state project. Normally, the wages paid to workers on a state project were lower than those paid privately.

The price of low-quality lime was almost half that for a good grade. Ibrahim al-Yaziji (Sijill 1: 399), the clerk of al-‘Imara al-Sharifa (the Noble Building), came to the court on 27 Muharram 937/20 September 1530, bringing two baskets (*zanbil*) of lime with him. The first basket contained *jir mutaghayyir* (literally ‘changeable’, ‘volatile’, but here meaning ‘low quality-lime’), and, in the second basket, *jir muhkam tayyib* (the best-quality lime). Ibrahim al-Yaziji pointed out that the price of the former was less than that of the latter, and if his supplier brought lime of the lower quality he would pay him only at the rate of 8 ‘*uthmani* per *qintar*.

It seems that one of the reasons for the low quality of lime was faulty production on site. ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem, came to the council of the court on 13 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1016/30 March 1608 (Sijill 87: 544) and reported that he had contracted Mansur ibn Makhluf, Khalil ibn Hannun, and Khusrau ibn Salama, all of whom were Christians from Bethlehem, to build a kiln (*lattan*) near the Maqam Nabi Musa at a cost of 22 *ghirsh*. ‘Abd al-Muhsin claimed that the limemakers heated the material in the kiln for only a few days (which was inadequate) and that they then covered it before it was completely ready. When water was poured on ill-prepared lime, only part of the material was amalgamated while the rest remained as sediment. After a long, complicated and argumentative hearing, Muslims acting as intermediaries between the two parties reached a compromise, and it was agreed that the defendants would build ‘Abd al-Muhsin a new kiln, provided that he would compensate them with a further 10 *ghirsh*.

Stone

Although Palestine throughout its history has been famous for the quality of its masonry, and the traditions of stone-cutting and dressing still continue up to the present day, to date no record in the *sijills*—or indeed in any other source—has been found that gives information on the location of the stone-quarry used for the Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem. The lack of concrete evidence, however, neither proves nor disproves the existence of active local quarries in the vicinity of the city at this period. It is best in the meantime to leave the issue open in the hope that further evidence will emerge, and to concentrate here on the employment of re-used stones.

As already explained above, the circulation of re-used stone and debris was common practice in Ottoman Jerusalem, to judge by the proceedings recorded in the *sijills*. The stones were sold either by a private owner (Sijill

69: 367; 76: 49), or by inspectors of a *waqf* property, provided that prior approval had been obtained from the Shari‘a court. The purchasers whose names appear in the records were either master builders, like Ahmad ibn Khalil al-Shumais and Ahmad ibn Salim al-Kharshi (Sijill 1: 57), Husain ibn Nammar (Sijill 1: 143), Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar (Sijill 69: 367) and his brother Khalil (Sijill 66: 629), or governors, like Sinan Beg Amir Liwa’ al-Quds (Sijill 17: 158), or governors’ representatives, like Yahya ibn Hasan al-Sufi on behalf of Governor Farrukh Beg (Sijill 84: 18). There are also incidents where they were also caretakers of *waqfs* as, for example, Farhad Çelebi, the caretaker of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira or the Khassaki Sultan (Sijill 30: 204; 30: 170). The inspectors of the *waqf* were permitted to sell the stone because the *waqf* property was considered to be in a ruinous state, and there was a fear that the stone might be stolen. In some cases, the money from the sale was used to restore other parts of the *waqf*, as was the case when the *qadi* in 1007/1598-9 allowed the purchase of the stones of a mosque located in al-Nasara quarter (Sijill 79: 444), and *qusurmil* was bought with the money paid for the stones. The governors and their agents bought the stones to use them in new construction work. The master builders were representatives for their clients, or else they purchased the stones for the purpose of trade or as an investment. In some cases they were required to be present at the site for the purpose of valuation and pricing (Sijill 1: 53).

It is possible by eye alone to identify stones from a particular building constructed before the Ottoman period which were re-used within an Ottoman structure. One example can be seen in the building of the bakery of the Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15), which contains a number of stones from the Ashrafiyya Madrasa.⁴⁶ Sijill 30: 204 gives more definite evidence with reference to this for it shows that on 19 Rajab 962/9 February 1555 the stones and debris, which had been purchased by Farhad Çelebi, the caretaker of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan) from the inspector of *waqf* al-Dirkah in al-Nasara neighbourhood, were to be used for the construction of the two bathhouses in Wadi al-Tawahin (al-Wad road). These bathhouses no longer exist but they were endowed as *waqf* for the Khassaki Sultan complex. A similar case, recorded in Sijill 30: 170 dated 10 Rajab 962/31 May 1555, shows that when the same Farhad Çelebi bought through his representative the old stone from the Bimaristan al-Salahiyya, he paid for it from the revenue of Khassaki Sultan. This would suggest that the stone was purchased for re-use in certain sections of the complex which were then under construction. A

⁴⁶ This observation is based on the calligraphic style of the inscriptions still visible on the individual stones, and on their size, colour, and decoration. It seems that the stones were collected from the Ashrafiyya after it had been damaged in a disaster, probably an earthquake.

further clue is to be found in Sijill 84: 18 dated 13 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1011/24 May 1603. The record is a legal declaration to the council of the *qadi* Mahmud Efendi, by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Fakhuri, who attested that while he was sound in body and mind he had sold to Farrukh Beg, governor of Jerusalem, one thousand stones from Zawiyat al-Dirkah, located in Jerusalem, for the price of six 'large' *ghirsh*. The reason stated for the purchase was that they were to build the *khalwa* (chamber) situated on the east side of the Sakhra terrace. Since there is only one structure on the eastern side of the terrace—the Madrasa Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25)—and since the cell was built within two years of the purchase of the stone, it seems likely that the stone bought by Farrukh Beg was intended for use by Ahmad Pasha, and that the Ahmadiyya was constructed of re-used stones. For the Arabic text and English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 25/2.

The stones were sold individually. In Sijill 1: 57 each of the stones from Dar Ibn al-Sa'r was sold for one *halabiyya dirham*. One-third of the stones of a summer residence (Sijill 10: 46) were sold for 667 *halabiyya* on 17 Jumada I 945/11 October 1538. In some records, the variety of stone was specified, as in Sijill 1: 53, which mentions three types of stone: dressed (*al-ahjar al-manhuta*), hard, undressed (*al-ahjar al-silab al-ghashim*), and heat-resistant flagstones (*al-balat al-'aqad al-nari*).

Some of the recycled stone was brought from outside the Old City, which was ringed by summer residences (*qusur*) (Sijills 1: 53; 10: 46). The debris from some of these palatial houses could reach as many as 2,500–3,000 stones. The trade in re-cycled stone was not confined to material from Islamic sites; it is to be expected that those of other periods—Roman or Crusader—were also robbed. In Sijill 80: 106 one case, mentioned above, records antique Roman masonry collected for trading purposes from the Wadi al-Qatamun by Ibrahim ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani. The detailing of some monuments makes use of Crusader architectural elements as, for example, in the structure of some of the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman (see above).

The scarcity of building material meant that a patron was forced to arrange its transportation from an existing building to the new construction site. 'Ali Agha (Sijill 113: 74), the caretaker of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa, acknowledged on 15 Ramadan 1037/19 May 1628, that he had stripped (*qala'*) 56 *balata* (flagstones) off the roof of the eastern portico of the mosque. Ahmad Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, gave his approval, and the flagstones were used to pave the Mastabat al-Jauza, which so far remains unidentified but is described as being located 'within the Masjid al-Aqsa' (the Haram al-Sharif). It is known from Sijill 83: 51, dated at the end of Jumada I 1010/26 November 1601, that Ahmad Pasha had contracted 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master

builder of the Aqsa Mosque, either to build or rebuild (*'imarat*) this *mastaba* for ten gold *sultani*. The *mastaba* had to wait almost twenty-five years before it was paved, and this raises the question of whether this delay was due to the scarcity of paving stones. It seems that this must have been the case, if in the end it was worth stripping the stones from the roof of the Aqsa Mosque in order to provide paving for the *mastaba*.

Another extraordinary case that demonstrates the scarcity of building materials occurred in respect to the wall project. Cohen (1986: 151, based on the record in Sijill 14: 196) shows that under pressure from Istanbul, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the superintendent of the project, who was attempting to accelerate the progress of construction near Mount Zion, dismantled a number of rooms belonging to the Franciscan Convent while they were still in use. Later, the Franciscans were allowed to rebuild these rooms after they had complained about it to the *qadi*. This demonstrates once again the lack of building stone in the city at the time.

Marble

Wilkinson (1987: 4) states: 'Thus about seventy years before the Hijra (i.e. AD 550), the Roman quarries, which had exported marble, among other places, to Palestine, were all closed. If marble were needed for the magnificent sanctuaries to be built by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik it had to be taken from existing ruins or buildings'. Long before the Ottoman period then, marble was in secondary use, and it was common to move it from one site to another.

The use of marble in the monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem was necessarily limited, for the fact that it was no longer imported into the area and had not been for some time made it expensive. Evidence of the scarcity of marble can be noted in: (1) only three of the twenty-five *mihirabs* described here use marble columns to support and decorate their niches; (2) one column of the four which support the domed portico of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22) is of stone, though Ahmad Pasha was very rich (for his biography see cat. no. 22); and (3) the builders of Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), and Odat Arslan (cat. no. 41) both used stone instead of marble for the columns. Moreover, some of the shafts of marble columns were reduced in size to conform to their bases, which shows that they are in secondary use (cat. no. 10). Occasionally the columns were damaged, and instead of replacing the flawed areas with new sections, the columns were encircled with metal rings, once again proving the limits to the availability of marble within the city (cat. nos. 10, 30, and 31).

However, despite this situation—or perhaps even because of it—marble was used for the lintels, sills,

columns, capitals and some floors of the Ottoman buildings, although it is true that some of these features were constructed of fragments. Much of the marble used in the fabric of the buildings comprises small pieces used in limited quantities. It is found, for example, used for the small recessed panel niche for the water outlet in the *sabils* (cat. nos. 2, and 5), for the cylindrical shafts of columns (cat. nos. 10, 22, 30, 31, 37, and 48), for decorative and inscription panels set into elevations (cat. nos. 11 and 30), for lintels (cat. nos. 11, 13, 22, and 24), for sills (cat. nos. 22 and 25), and in floor pavements (cat. nos. 10, 12, 31, and 37). Red, black or grey marble was used for these features.

One *sijill* specifies two colours of marble—black and white—when Bairam Jawish contracted with his builders to pave the floors of the bathhouses for Khassaki Sultan (Sijill 31: 110, al-‘Asali 1989: 98-9). Two types of paving stones (*balat*) are also mentioned: the first is black and white marble (*balat rukham aswad wa abyad*), and the second is polished or unpolished *mizi* flagstones (*balat mizi majli* or *min ghair jali*).

Only a few records in the *sijills* have been found that deal with transactions over marble. The first (Sijill 17: 195) is a record of the granting of permission to Khair al-Din al-Aikuri, the inspector of al-Madrasa al-Karimiyya, to sell fifty-six pieces of marble which were then in the *madrasa*. The sale was authorised following an inspection by two master builders, who drew a distinction between the broken and the intact marble slabs. The second (Sijill 27: 269, 270) apparently also concerns a sale, although it had not been approved by the *qadi*, and the marble was therefore delivered back to the store in the presence of a master builder. The very fact that such care was taken over the handling of marble at the time demonstrates its extreme scarcity.

Qusurmil

Qusurmil, which is a mix of ash (*ramad*) and hydrated lime (*mutfa*), was one of the key substances used in the construction process. It is mentioned repeatedly in the *sijills* with reference to repairs to roofs, which would suggest that its main function was to prevent water leaks. *Qusurmil* was purchased by the load, and was often tinted red (*humra*) (Sijill 2: 41, 238).

Other materials

The *sijills* list other raw materials, some of which were used in the construction of specialised buildings, such as mills, soap-factories, oil-presses and bakeries. These materials included gypsum (*jibs*), soil (*turab*, pl. *atriba*), red soil (*turab ahmar*)—all used in the construction of bakeries and a soap-factory; sand (*raml*, pl. *rimal*)—used for a pottery

workshop; bricks (*tub*) for a soap-factory; fired bricks (*tub mashwi*) for bathhouses; *jabbsh*, which were undressed irregular blocks of stone of medium size, used to face walls, foundations, and floors to add strength to the structure; and blocks of baked *jabbsh* (*nari*) which, being heat-resistant, were used in bakeries, bathhouses and soap-factories (Sijills 4: 19; 6: 49). Other secondary materials are often mentioned in the construction process. These are *huwar* (highly refined red soil), salt (*milh*, pl. *amlah*) which was used to roast (*tahmir*) the lime and also used in the furnace (*bait al-nar*) of a bakery to insulate it and keep the paving from overheating; *salab* (according to al-‘Asali 1989: 131 these were ropes made from the bark of trees); *kittan* (linen fibre, see Sijill 6: 157), and cotton (Sijill 8: 155).

Metals and wood

Metal was widely used in a variety of ways. It all had to be imported into Jerusalem from other provinces of the Ottoman empire, in the same way as other materials that were unavailable in Palestine. These were sent in direct response to orders from the sultan, either following his initiation of some particular cycle of restoration or in response to a request from the governor of a fortress.¹⁰ Iron, steel, lead, copper, wood, and marble were all dispatched to Jerusalem for continuing repairs to the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman (Heyd 1960: 156). An order sent from Istanbul to the *daftardar* of Damascus and the *beglerbeg* of Tripoli in Syria, dated Shawwal 987/November-December 1579, asked them to forward the lead, which had been sent from Istanbul to Tripoli for the repairs to the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque, and the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. The metal was to be transported to Jerusalem and delivered to Da’ud the master builder, who had been entrusted with the repair work (Heyd 1960: 157).

Lead provided vital protection against penetration by water or rain, and was therefore used to clad the Dome of the Rock, Jami’ al-Aqsa, and the summit of minarets. Most of the other roofs of the Ottoman buildings in the city and around the Haram area were covered with stone slabs. Lead as well as copper was also used in the repair and restoration of soap-factories and oil-presses. Lead was sold by the *qintar*, and the lead sheets were carefully weighed after recasting to ensure against fraud. In Ottoman Jerusalem local experts, Ibrahim and Yusuf, two masters

⁴⁷ Lead was dispatched to other parts of Palestine as well as to Jerusalem. The fortress of Bait Jibrin received two *qintars* on 20 Rajab 959/12 July 1552, and five *qintars* were sent in 976/1568 to the fortress of Gaza (see Heyd 1960: 115-6, and 116, n. 5).

from Gaza, who were the sons of the master Sadaqa al-Gazzi, melted down and recast lead, as recorded in Sijill 113: 439. On another occasion (Heyd 1960: 157), an expert was brought in from elsewhere to do the necessary work, probably because he could be hired for a lower wage.

It is most likely that lead was not easily to be had in the local market, and if available at all it would have been expensive. This explains why lead was the only building material excluded from the contract which was agreed between a consortium of three master builders and the inspector of the Masjid al-Aqsa for the rebuilding of Bab al-Asbat Minaret (Sijill 80: 100). The inspector, 'Abd al-Baqi, agreed to provide the lead (one *qintar*) from the *waqf* for the restoration of the minaret. This, taken alongside the other reports, would suggest that either that amount of metal was purchased especially for the purpose, or that a certain quantity of lead was kept in the stores of the Haram for repair work.

On the binding of Sijill 48, dated 973/1565-6, there is inscribed a note which reports that the lead sheets and the store of al-Aqsa had been checked by the *daftardar* of Aleppo, who had requested the inspection. Heyd (1960: 156), summarising an order dated 984/1576 sent to the *qadi* of Jerusalem from Istanbul, shows that different materials, to be used for repairs on the Aqsa Mosque, had been stored in Jerusalem, most probably in the Haram stores. Sijill 78: 51 records that gypsum, steel, and copper were taken from the store of al-Aqsa in 1005/1596-7. A sheet of lead had also been found in the store of al-Aqsa (Sijill 113: 439) from the repairs executed by order of Sultan Murad Khan.

Previously we included information on the restoration of lead at the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. At one time two named individuals were appointed to the position of 'lead restorer', and were to be paid from the revenue of the *waqf* of al-Aqsa. The fact that it was necessary to employ two men to do the work would indicate that the lead cladding was in constant need of maintenance.

Various items made of iron were used in the construction process—nails (*mismar*, pl. *masamir*), wedges (*dusra*, pl. *dusar*), latches (*dabba*, pl. *dibab*), hinges (*mufassala*, pl. *mufassalat*), and locks (*sukkara*, pl. *sakakir*). Nails were sold by the *ratl*, *uqiyya*, and even individually. On occasion, they were heated before use until the heads became red-hot to ensure easy penetration into the wood or iron (Sijill 8: 130).

Wood was needed on every construction site, whether to be used for a new edifice or for restoration. It was used both for carpentry and for firewood. In particular, wood was used for window frames, doors, and balconies. The circular coffers, beams, and ribs of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque were made from wood. Minarets also used wood for the canopy of the

mu'adhdhin's gallery. Scaffolding too was built of wood. Wood as a raw material appears frequently in the *sijills* with other materials needed in restoration work. It was purchased by the plank (*alwah*, pl. *lauh*) and in pieces. Sijill 100: 436 records that the *rawabit* (tie-beams) and the *jamat* (openings for lighting in the roofs) of the Aqsa Mosque ceiling, which had been damaged by heavy rainfall and the penetration of water, were repaired by the master carpenter, Musa ibn Ibrahim, and that the cost was covered from the revenue of the Aqsa *waqf*. The *sijills* also contain the names of a substantial number of carpenters, who will be listed in the following section. Wood was imported from abroad, as already mentioned, but firewood for heating purposes was probably collected locally.

Master Builders and Skilled Craftsmen

The information contained in the documents of the Jerusalem *sijills* concerning master builders is multi-layered. Much of the material is not found in any other source. The records show the nature of the relationship between Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, and Jerusalem, a small provincial city, whose religious importance was a key factor in the architectural projects sponsored there by the Ottoman authorities. The documents help to clarify the role played by local master builders in the development of the city. It has even been possible to work out the genealogy of a particular local family which contributed to the architecture of the city for more than two centuries. The documents also contain information on master builders brought into the city to work on specific projects, which both confirms the visual impression of the architecture itself and explains the similarities between certain architectural elements seen in Jerusalem and those to be found elsewhere.

Many Arabic as well as a few Turkish terms were used by the scribes of the *sijills* to describe the function of the men who undertook the building work. *Al-mu'allim* ('the master') is the most common term to appear in the *sijills*, and is used to indicate a practical involvement in the construction of a building. It appears before the name of the person in the form of an epithet, while after the name, the description *al-mi'mar* ('the builder') in Jerusalem the Noble—or in one case (Sijill 20: 256) *al-banna'* ('the builder')—is added to denote a master builder. If the *mu'allim* was a stone-cutter, his name would be followed by the term *al-hajjar* (Sijills 12: 124; 18: 448; 21: 235; 21: 148; 24: 264; 59: 387; 66: 178; 80: 178). There is one record (Sijill 12: 922) which names a *qanawati* (one who sets up water installations). *Mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* ('the master of the builders') or *mi'marbashi* ('the chief builder') was added to the name if that man was the chief builder or architect, or was in the designated post of *mi'marbashi*. The

master builders who worked on the Jerusalem wall project were called *mu'allimin maulana al-sultan* ('the master builders of our master the sultan'), or *mu'allim al-sultan bi'l-sur* ('the sultan's master builder on the wall') if given a separate reference. In one case (Sijill 43: 164), the term *ustadh* ('master') was given to the builder, and *usta* is also noted in one other citation (Sijill 31: 86).

The duties of the master builder in particular (and builders in general), according to the information contained in the *sijills*, included the inspection of buildings in order to be able to report back on their condition (for example as to whether they needed restoration or not), estimating the cost of repairs, and determining any weakness in the building that might point to the possibility of danger. The master builders undertook various jobs in the building process, such as paving floors (Sijills 17: 220; 31: 110), demolishing a dilapidated structure (Sijills 17: 440; 20: 98), and removing rubbish from the site (Sijill 16: 214). Other functions relating to construction work included the sale and purchase of building materials (Sijill 2: 47), and the evaluation of an estate (Sijill 12: 910) and of building materials. Another function was to adjudicate on the boundaries of a construction, as was the case (Sijill 24: 353) when the court heard a complaint brought against 'Abd al-Qadir, the son of the citadel deputy, who was ordered to build according to the instructions of Husain ibn Nammar to prevent damage to the property of Khalil al-Bitar. In another case (Sijill 16: 204), the court warned a group of farmers not to plant within the boundaries delineated by Muslih al-Din al-Mi'mar, and if they did not obey, they would be forced to pay a certain sum of money as a fine to the Maqam al-Nabi Musa (near Jericho). The farmers were also ordered to clear an area which they had already planted, otherwise they would be punished. In the last two cases, the master builder was undertaking a task similar to that performed by the modern-day surveyor.

The *sijills* refer to designated posts attached to the construction and maintenance of specific complexes. Some of these were involved in the maintenance of the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque, like 'the post to restore the roof of the Dome of the Rock' (*wazifat tarmim sath al-sakhra al-musharafa*). This position was occupied (Sijill 76: 350) at one time in 1003/1594-5 by a man called Salih ibn Ibrahim. Another post was to sweep the grass, dust, and gravel from the platform of the Noble Rock (*wazifat kans al-hashish*). The post (Sijill 80: 59) was given to al-Mu'allim Husni al-Samanudi al-Najjar (the carpenter), following the death of his father, on 11 Shawwal 1007/7 May 1599 at a wage of one *qit'a* per day. A similar post to pull out grass (*wazifat qal' al-hashish*) is noted in Sijill 151: 362, but this time the grass to be removed grew between the tiles which covered the Dome of the Rock. The position was filled by al-Mu'allim 'Ali ibn Karim al-Din, known as Ibn Nammar. He was allocated two *'uthmani* per day from the *waqf* of the

Masjid al-Aqsa, and the authorities in Istanbul (*al-sadaqat al-sultaniyya*) granted him another two *'uthmani*. Members of the same Ibn Nammar family shared another post, according to Sijill 151: 452. This was to restore the tiles of the Dome of the Rock (*wazifat marmajiyat qashani al-sakhra*). Previously the post had been occupied by al-Mu'allim Fakhr al-Din ibn Khalil ibn Nammar, who had sold (*tafarraḡh*) three parts of the five of his right to the position to two of his relatives, 'Umar ibn Hasan ibn Nammar and 'Ali ibn Karim al-Din ibn Nammar.

According to Sijill 24: 523 dated 17 Rajab 958/21 July 1551, Muhammad ibn Qasim was *mi'marbashi* for the Khashi building, which so far has not been identified (*'ala 'amal al-khashi*). Another designated post was held by Murad ibn Ibrahim al-Nasrani who occupied the position⁴⁸ of 'the builder (*al-mi'mar 'ala*) of Qanat al-Sabil' (Sijill 43: 501). He was allocated one *'uthmani* daily and a sack of wheat annually from the *waqf* of the *qanat*. The Nabi Da'ud complex also used to have its own designated builder (Sijill 43: 164). A man called Muhammad ibn Ghanim ibn Nammar al-Mi'mar was one of the builders appointed to the position in Jumada I 969/January-February 1562, when he was assigned two *'uthmani* daily from the *waqf* income of the complex. Sijill 121: 231 includes the information that Shaikh Abu Bakr ibn Da'ud was appointed to that particular position for one *'uthmani* daily to be paid from the *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan.

The most important post listed in the *sijills* for a master builder was the *mi'marbashi* (the chief builder) of Jerusalem the Noble, or *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* (the master of the builders). This position was occupied over the years by a group of prominent men. The earliest reference to the post occurs in Sijill 2: 85 dated 3 Ramadan 938/10 April 1532, when it was occupied by al-Mu'allim Khair ibn Nammar, *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*. Husain ibn Nammar, his brother, also held the post in 3 Safar 952/16 April 1545 according to Sijill 16: 426. When Rajab ibn Bali, *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya*, asked for leave to go to Mecca to perform the *hajj* on 18 Ramadan 959/7 September 1552, the *qadi* granted him the necessary permit and appointed Husain ibn Nammar and Murad al-Nasrani, the builders, as his deputies (Sijill 25: 628). On 10 Muharram 973/7 August 1565 (Sijill 48: 165), the position of *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* was shared equally between Muhammad ibn Ramadan and Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar. According to Sijill 79: 280, it seems that some time before Muharram 1007/August-September 1598, Mahmud held the position on his own, because when he asked the *qadi* for permission to perform the *hajj* and was granted leave, Mahmud

⁴⁸ It emerges from an order summarised by Heyd 1960: 146 that Qanat al-Sabil had its own inspector, clerk, rent-collector, watchman, and supervisor (*mushidd*), but no *mi'mari* was mentioned in the order dated 959/1552.

deputised his son, 'Abd al-Muhsin the master builder, to replace him in the post of *mi'marbashi* of Jerusalem the Noble. 'Abd al-Muhsin also held 'the post of the restorer of al-Masjid al-Aqsa' (*wazifat al-ta'mir wa al-tarmim bi'l-Masjid al-Aqsa*; Sijill 77: 453). This last post seems previously to have been one of the responsibilities of the *mi'marbashi* of Jerusalem, for it does not appear in any earlier record. But both the posts held by 'Abd al-Muhsin were occupied in 1105/1693-4 by two builders of the Ibn Nammar family (Sijill 166: 135; al-'Asali 1989: 116).

From the information discussed above relating to the terms on which the builders were employed and the sort of activities undertaken by them, it would seem that none of the terms or activities correspond to the role of the architect as it is understood today. Although there is no suggestion that the master builders in Ottoman Jerusalem designed a structure, the ample information about their contribution implies that their knowledge was greater than that of an ordinary builder, though their expertise was less than that of a *muhandis* (engineer or architect).

With reference to the administrative level, from the notes gathered from the *sijills* it is clear that state projects involved some sort of financial and administrative supervision. Through the control of the court, as already mentioned, there was usually someone who made sure that the workers on site were doing their job, and that the materials used were duly registered and documented. In some cases the absence of the supervisory clerk caused the work to be halted, and a new clerk had to be appointed to replace him (Sijill 24: 523). One of the most famous supervisors was Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, who was the superintendent of the Jerusalem wall project, as well as in charge of the work on the water supply and the six *sabils*. The information given in the previous section as well as that contained here clarifies his role; he was assisted by clerks, tax collectors, and representatives entrusted with various tasks.

In the private or *waqf* sector, the owner or the *nazir* controlled the progress of work, and checked that the job was being done according to the stipulations agreed between the two parties. In one contract recorded in the *sijills* (5: 28) which concerned the repair of Madrasa Manjakiyya, the master builder Ahmad al-Kharshi guaranteed his work for a period of twenty years from the time of the repair. On another occasion, a number of builders who had constructed a water canal guaranteed to undertake any necessary repairs at no additional charge up to a period of three years (Sijill 31: 110; al-'Asali 1989, 99). 'Ubaid ibn Nammar on one occasion (Sijill 39: 50) undertook to repair any faulty *qusurmil* without further charge. In more than one case, it is stipulated that the master builder contracted to undertake the work should do so himself, which might suggest that some master builders were in the habit of subcontracting the work to other teams who would do the job at a lower price, allowing the first

man to pocket the difference. It is, however, odd to see that Husain ibn Nammar, the famous master builder, agreed to a provision which specified that he personally had to remove rubbish, dung, and earth from a site (Sijill 16: 214). Provision of food for the workers on site seems always to have been the responsibility of the patron, for the cost was normally included among the expenditures listed in the documents.

The *sijills* include a large number of names of master builders and builders, together with the details of their contracts. This adds considerably to the limited data available on the subject, in particular by providing more solid ground for research than the speculation and theorising which has characterised discussions in the past. The information gives firm support to the previous suggestions of the transfer of architectural influences, and the movement of craftsmen, between Jerusalem and other Islamic cities in Syria, Egypt, and the Ottoman empire, in particular the capital, Istanbul. It is particularly fortunate that the majority of the master builders described as coming from outside Jerusalem appear in the *sijills* with the names of their cities of origin. This fact has made it possible to differentiate between two main groups of master builders—incomers and locals.

Incoming (non-local) Master Builders

The idea of inviting skilled builders from elsewhere to construct sophisticated buildings in Jerusalem is a well-established fact for a number of buildings constructed in the Mamluk period (see Burgoyne 1987: 97). For the Ottoman period, too, it is well known that work on the Khassaki Sultan complex and the repair of the lead of the Aqsa Mosque, for example, were both undertaken by expert builders dispatched from Damascus; the building materials necessary for the contract were also sent from Damascus (see Heyd 1960: 143 n. 1, 157). The significance of the material in the *sijills* relating to master builders from outside the city lies in part in the information given on the wealth, number, and diversity of their cities of origin.

Table 36.1 shows that seventeen builders from outside Jerusalem were active in the city in the 16th century. Twelve of them came from Syria, seven of whom were from Aleppo, three from Antioch, one from Hama, and one from Damascus. Five of them were Turks, although only one of these has his city of origin identified—Istanbul. With reference to the titles held by the builders, Table 36.1 shows that three (nos. 4, 14, 15) were called 'builders on the wall' (*al-mi'mar bi'l-sur*), six others (nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17) are merely identified by the *laqab al-mi'mar* (builder), four (nos. 1, 9, 10, 11) were called *mu'allim* (master), one (no. 12) was named *mi'marbashi* (chief builder), one (no. 13) was called *ustadh* (master), one (no. 2) bears the title the 'sultan's master on the wall' (*mu'allim*

Table 36.1 List of Non-Local Builders in Jerusalem

Name	Province/City	Title	Work
1 Husain ibn Naf'	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mu'allim</i> (master)	trading in stones, and estates (Sijill 2: 40, 47)
2 Darwish al-Halabi	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mu'allim al-sultan bi'l-sur</i>	the Jerusalem wall (Sijill 13: 212), inspection of al-Taziyya (Sijill 14: 144)
3 Muhammad ibn Mansur	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder)	inspecting the citadel (Sijill 1: 400), repair to al-Tailuniyya (Sijill 13: 352).
4 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Jammal	Syria/Aleppo	<i>al-mi'mar bi'l-sur</i>	on the wall (Sijill 12: 16), removal of the Bimaristan rubbish (Sijill 20: 98)
5 Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Qadir	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder)	purchase of a house (Sijill 28: 24)
6 Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder)	various activities (Sijills 16: 163; 17: 24; 28: 140; 31: 52)
7 'Abd al-Qadir ibn 'Abd Allah	Syria/Aleppo	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder)	purchase of a house in Aleppo from his brother (Sijill 28: 380)
8 Muhammad al-Hamawi	Syria/Hama	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder)	inspecting the citadel (Sijill 1: 400)
9 Muhammad ibn Ibrahim	Syria/Antioch	<i>mu'allim</i> (master)	restoration to Khan al-Qattanin (Sijill 6: 354)
10 Rajab ibn Yahya	Syria/Antioch	<i>mu'allim</i> (master)	witness to a financial transaction (Sijill 5: 81)
11 Ghars al-Din	Syria/Antioch	<i>mu'allim</i> (master)	restoration to Khan al-Ghadiriyya (Sijill 5: 81)
12 Da'ud ³⁵	Syria/Damascus	<i>mi'marbashi</i> of Damascus	restoration of the lead of the Dome of the Rock
13 Muhammad ibn Mustafa	Turkey/Istanbul	<i>ustadh</i> (master)	construction of a water canal (Sijill 31: 110)
14 Muslih al-Din al-Rumi	Turkey/?	<i>al-mi'mar bi'l-sur, qanawati</i>	assistant to Muhammad al-Naqqash (see below)
15 Husain ibn Muhammad al-Rumi	Turkey/?	<i>al-mi'mar bi'l-sur, mu'allim al-sultan</i>	stone-cutter on the Jerusalem wall (Sijill 12: 891)
16 Fadl al-Sharaf al-Rumi	Turkey/?	<i>mu'allim al-sultan</i>	inspection and pricing (Sijill 12: 910)
17 'Ali ibn Sayyidi al-Rumi	Turkey/?	<i>mi'mar</i> (builder), <i>usta</i> (expert)	construction for Bairam Jawish (Sijill 31: 86)

al-sultan bi'l-sur), and the last (no. 16) is called the 'sultan's master' (*mu'allim maulana al-sultan*).

Darwish al-Halabi was the best known of the builders from outside the city and the one most often employed. He acquired three different titles: 'the sultan's master builder on the wall of Jerusalem' (*mu'allim al-sultan bi sur al-Quds*), 'the master of the builders of the city of Aleppo the protected' (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyya bi Halab al-mahmiyya*) and 'master of the builders of the city Jerusalem the Noble' (*mu'allim al-mi'mariyya bi'l-Quds al-sharif*). He was one of three masters named as being in the employ of Sultan Sulaiman (*mu'allimin maulana al-sultan*), and in all made a considerable contribution to the architectural development of Jerusalem. With two other master builders, he inspected Madrasa Hanafiyya (no longer extant), assessed the value of the house of Ibn Tawusa (Sijill 12: 910), and above all acted as the assistant of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, who was superintendent of the wall and water supply projects for many years (Sijill 14: 144; Cohen 1990: 33).

Another master builder who was deeply involved in Jerusalem's development was Muslih al-Din ibn 'Abd Allah al-Rumi al-Qanawati. He was also one of the assistants of Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, for he was authorised to collect the Bethlehem revenues (Sijill 12: 922). A financial transaction is to be found in Sijill 16: 535

showing that Muslih al-Din had received the revenue of the 'ushr of Mar Ilyas (between Jerusalem and Bethlehem). Muslih's contributions were not only financial, however, but also on a technical level. On 16 Shawwal 944/18 March 1538, at the request of Bairam Jawish, he inspected Madrasa Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) and estimated the cost of its repairs (Sijill 7: 435). As mentioned above, he also surveyed a plot of land near Maqam Nabi Musa. From his final *laqab*, *al-qanawati* ('he who sets up a water installation') and his close association with Muhammad al-Naqqash, seems likely that he was involved in the water supply project. Sijill 16: 296, dated 26 Dhu'l-Hijja 951/10 March 1545, includes a financial account, presented by Muslih al-Din, with reference to the expenses incurred in the repair of a pool connected with the water channel serving Jerusalem.

Al-Hajj Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah al-Halabi al-Mi'mar appears in *sijill* records (16: 351; 28: 116; 31: 52) as a working builder, but mainly in the private sector. Sijill 28: 380 reports that he had sold a house in Aleppo to his brother on his mother's side, 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Ramadan the builder.

The other builders listed in Table 36.1 above had different levels of involvement, some with lower profiles than others. The builders who carried the title 'the sultan's master' or 'the sultan's master on the wall' were apparently sent to Jerusalem in response to direct orders from Sultan Sulaiman, while others, with no honorific title, may have come to Jerusalem on their own initiative to look for work. It is worth noting that certain Syrian master builders, such as Muhammad al-Hamawi and Muhammad ibn Mansur

³⁵ According to Heyd (1960: 157), who based his view on an order dating to Shawwal 987/December 1579, which was dispatched to the *defterdar* of Damascus and the *beglerbeg* of Tripoli in Syria.

al-Halabi (Sijill 1: 400), are recorded as being in Jerusalem almost ten years before the wall project began, when the first steps were being taken in the restoration of the Citadel. Certainly the wall project must have been a great draw, to judge by the number of builders in Jerusalem. It should be remembered too that the majority of these craftsmen stayed on in Jerusalem after the completion of the walls. Some of them seem to have contributed to the construction of the Khassaki Sultan complex, although no specific record has yet emerged to give concrete confirmation to this assumption. There are records which prove that two of the non-local master builders were involved in the construction of the two bathhouses and the water canal belonging to the *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan. Sijill 31: 110 dated 28 Shawwal 961/26 September 1554, which was published by al-‘Asali (1989: 99), mentioned that Yusuf ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Halabi was one of the three craftsmen who were contracted by Bairam Jawish to pave the floor of the bathhouses. This *sijill* also refers to a Muhammad ibn Mustafa al-Istanbuli, who took part in on the installation of a water canal which extended from Sabil Bab al-Nazir to the cistern of the two bathhouses of Khassaki Sultan.

Although there is an entry in Sijill 12: 360, dated 18 Rabi‘ I 947/23 July 1540, that states clearly that Bairam Jawish went to Egypt to arrange for master builders (*mi‘mariyya*) for the wall project, no record in the *sijills* has been found which gives the name of an Egyptian master builder. There are, however, two records (Sijill 12: 122, 245) which concern two Egyptian porters (*‘attal*) who worked on the wall project. As the records in the *sijill* registers are random and primarily either document a dispute or a particular court matter to be used for future reference, the non-appearance of Egyptian names is not necessarily a proof that no Egyptian master builders worked in Jerusalem.

Sinan,⁵⁰ the Grand Architect

It is not possible to leave the subject of non-local builders working in 16th-century Jerusalem without a passing reference to two pieces of information concerning the master architect Sinan and his association with the Jerusalem projects. In *Tuhfetü ‘l-Mi‘marin* (dated to the 1590s, after the death of Sinan which was probably in 1587 or 1588), the latest of three manuscripts dealing with Sinan’s work, three buildings in Jerusalem are listed as his. These are the restoration of the Dome (of the Rock), the Madrasa of the Dome of the Rock, and the ‘Imara of the Dome of the Rock (Kuran 1987: 283, nos. 402-4). These

are not, however, mentioned in the two earlier manuscripts (*Tezkiretü ‘l-Bünyan*, dated 992/1584, and *Tezkiretü ‘l-Ebniye*, dated 994/1586) as Meinecke has already noted (1988: 281, n. 101). The other reference is by Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 75) who maintained that Sultan Sulaiman dispatched Qoja Sinan to Jerusalem with building materials and instructions to carry out restorations in the Holy City.

Despite these two accounts, both of which are later than the life of the great Ottoman architect, it is very unlikely that Sinan contributed to the architectural development of Jerusalem, and several reasons may be adduced for this.

(1) The odd names of the structures mentioned above—the *madrasa* and *imara* attributed to the Dome of the Rock—have no parallels in the sources, nor do they exist today.

(2) If these structures really were the work of Sinan in Jerusalem, why were they not mentioned in the earlier two manuscripts? Kuran (1987: 27) notes that the last manuscript was probably compiled in the 1590s after Sinan’s death, for in it there are a number of buildings which were too late for Sinan to have designed or supervised. Kuran gives as examples the Melek Ahmad Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakir (dated 1590) and the Mosque and Türbe of Nişancı Mehmet Pasha among other buildings.

(3) The construction of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira in Jerusalem started soon after 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552, and the work continued for two to three years. In the 1550s Sinan was kept fully occupied in building the Süleymaniyye complex in Istanbul, which was finally completed on 21 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 964/15 October 1557, and the comparable complex in Damascus, which was completed in 962/1554-5. It therefore seems likely that someone else was given the commission to build in Jerusalem for Khassaki Hürrem. A *firman* survives to support this hypothesis. It was despatched from Istanbul to the governor of Damascus, ordering him to send a master builder and materials for the building of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (see cat. no. 15 under ‘Date’).

(4) The name of Sinan has so far not emerged in the *sijills* of Jerusalem. This is particularly striking when more than sixty master builders, both local and imported, are listed there.

(5) None of the Ottoman monuments of the city reflect the classic Ottoman architectural tradition or the style of Sinan (for details, see the concluding remarks).

With regard to the comments of Evliya Çelebi, the prime problem is that he was writing too late. Kuran (1987: 27) has noted that Evliya Çelebi has not been the only commentator to attribute to Sinan buildings and structures which are not mentioned in 16th-century manuscripts, for many other later scholars have continued to do so.

⁵⁰ On Sinan, see Stratton (1972), Kuran (1987), and Goodwin (1993).

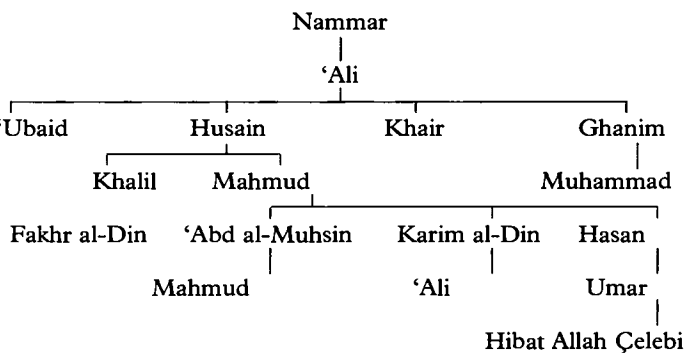
Local Master Builders

Nothing has been published so far on the local builders of Ottoman Jerusalem. Little is known about earlier periods, in particular the Mamluk period, and what has been written depends mainly on speculation, suggestion, and on circumstantial evidence (see Burgoyne 1987: 98). The information preserved in the *sijills* on the local master builders in the Ottoman period is, therefore, of great significance. It is noticeable that, apart from a few master builders, the high-level posts and architectural projects in Ottoman Jerusalem were both controlled and monopolised by a single family—namely that of Ibn Nammar.

The Ibn Nammar Family*

Table 36.2 shows the genealogy of the Ibn Nammar family. Husain ibn ‘Ali was the first master builder who began the tradition of the family involvement in architecture. The family is represented by five

Table 36.2 The Family Tree of ‘Ali ibn Nammar



generations who, without interruption for almost two centuries, lived and worked in the city. There follows a detailed study of the members of the family as they feature in the Jerusalem *sijills*.

The First Generation of the Ibn Nammar Family

Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn Nammar

Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn Nammar, as his full name appears in

* The name of the family is here given as ‘Nammar’, although there are no diacritical points in the *sijills* to aid vocalisation, particularly in the early documents. The reason for this decision rests on one document (Sijill 187:169) dating to the year 1096/1685, regarding Hibat Allah Çelebi, son of al-Hajj ‘Umar al-Nammari. Here the *nisba* ‘Nammari’ is written with clear vocalisation. The form has therefore been back-dated on the assumption that all the *n-m-r* are from one family. [Editorial note: This form of the name has been applied universally throughout the volume; see in particular the chapters by Atallah and ‘al-Alami.]

Sijill 12: 704; 17: 115 (although he is described as ‘al-Muqaddasi’ [from Jerusalem] in Sijill 1: 400), was the head of the Ibn Nammar family, and the greatest local master builder in Ottoman Jerusalem in the 16th century. His many titles reflect his rank. As early as 938/1531-2, he was considered one of the experts (*min ahl al-khibra*) in architectural matters (Sijill 1: 400). He was indeed called *al-mu‘allim al-ajal* (‘the greatest master’) in many of the records (Sijills 12: 92; 12: 759; 13: 178), and sometime his name is preceded by the adjectival phrase *badr al-din*, meaning literary the ‘full-moon of the faith’. Among his epithets are to be found *mu‘allim al-mi‘mariyya bi’l-Quds* (‘the master of the builders in Jerusalem’), *al-mu‘allim al-sultan bi’l-Quds* (‘the sultan’s master in Jerusalem’), and *mi‘marbashi* (‘master builder’).

Husain’s architectural activities spanned some three decades, starting at the beginning of 938/1531-2 and ending in 967/1559-60, to judge by the proceedings of the *sijill*. In the course of his career, he contributed to many construction projects. The wall project was one of them. It is even possible to pinpoint the section of wall he built (Sijill 12: 92). It was in the south, near the abattoir in the Jewish quarter, between the Dung and Zion Gates. Husain was the contractor who extended the soup-kitchen of Khassaki Sultan, and solved the problem of smoke emissions by constructing the three tall chimneys still standing today. Husain, with other builders from outside Jerusalem—Mansur al-Halabi and Muhammad al-Hamawi al-Shami—was one of the team which jointly inspected the wall of Jerusalem’s Citadel (Sijill 1: 400). He was also part of the inspection team for the Madrasa Hanafiyya, in the company of Darwish al-Halabi and Fadl al-Sharaf al-Rumi (Sijill 12: 910). He headed a company formed by Muhammad ibn Mustafa al-Istanbuli and Murad al-Nasrani to construct a canal to provide water for the bathhouses of the Khassaki Sultan *waqf*. In addition, Husain carried out various other inspections and estimates as well as undertaking many restoration contracts. His activities were not confined to architecture alone. He traded in soap (Sijill 16: 368, 369; 25: 6), property (Sijill 16: 520; 16: 330; 17: 115; 27: 487), and lime (Sijill 10:120). Other financial transactions of his are recorded (Sijills 20: 3; 20: 352; 30: 394). Once Husain acted as witness on a contract to pave the two new bathhouses of the *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan (Sijill 31:110, al-‘Asali 1989: 98), which was agreed between a group of builders who included his sons, Khalil and Mahmud, as well as Yusuf al-Halabi, Diyab ibn Ramadan, Hanna ibn Da’ud al-Nasrani, ‘Aun ibn Musa al-Nasrani and Bairam Jawish. Apparently Husain’s sons received their training from their father. Table 37.3 below shows Husain’s major architectural activities as recorded in the *sijills*.

‘Ubaid ibn ‘Ali ibn Nammar

‘Ubaid was another of the sons of ‘Ali ibn Nammar who

Table 36.3 Husain ibn Nammar—Architectural Activity

No.	Site	Sijill, Page	Year	Notes
1	Citadel walls	1: 400	938/1531-2	inspection (with others)
2	Zawiya Wafa'iyya	5:84	942/1535-6	restoration. 1,800 'uthmani
3	City wall	12: 92	946/1539-40	construction work
4	Madrassa Hanafiyya	12: 759	947/1540-1	estimate: 8,000 'uthmani
5	House of ibn Tawusa	12: 910	947/1540-1	house evaluation
6	Khan al-Fahm	13: 178	948/1541-2	estimate: 3,750 'uthmani
7	Aqsa ablution facilities	13: 179	948/1541-2	estimate: 7,000 'uthmani
8	Soap factory	16: 214	951/1544-5	removal of rubbish
9	Iwan pavement	17: 220	952/1545-6	purchase of pavement
10	Madrassa Taziyya	18: 628	954/1547-8	restoration
11	Ethiopian Convent	19: 225	954/1547-8	restoration of a wall
12	Madrassa Jauhariyya	19: 111	954/1547-8	restoration after earthquake
13	Inspection of a tannery	20: 329	955/1548	no damage found
14	Dar al-Hadith	22: 135	956/1549	inspection and estimate
15	Maqam 'Azar, Bethany	23: 168	957/1550	outside Jerusalem
16	Anonymous house	23: 619	957/1550	inspection
17	Madrassa Jauhariyya	24: 307	958/1551	contract with inspection
18	Investigation of a complaint	24: 353	958/1551	
19	Group of houses	25: 405; 521	959/1551-2	contract with Bairam Jawish and the <i>qadi</i>
20	Madrassa Ashrafiyya	30: 384	962/1554-5	estimate and restoration
21	Construction of canal	31: 384	963/1555-6	with two builders

was active in the building trade. His name appears in Sijill 19: 405 as 'Ubaid ibn 'Ali al-shahir bi ibn Nammar al-mi'mar bi'l-Quds al-sharif ('Ubaid ibn 'Ali known as Ibn Nammar the builder in Jerusalem the Noble). His works included the repair of Khan al-Ghadiriyya (Sijill 39: 50), Madrasa Hanafiyya (Sijill 19: 405), and a canal that had become filled with earth (Sijill 27: 55), and he also demolished a sleeping chamber (Sijill 17: 440). He co-operated with his brother Husain on contracts for the repair of the Ashrafiyya (Sijill 30: 384), and worked closely with Ahmad al-Kharshi, a local builder, in restoring a number of houses (Sijill 16: 411; 16: 426). Like Husain, his name appears in the *sijills* (17: 19; 28: 384) in connection with transactions other than building work.

Khair ibn Nammar and Ghanim ibn Nammar

Sijill 2: 85 dated 3 Ramadan 938/9 April 1532 includes an entry under the name of Khair ibn Nammar *mu'allim al-mi'mariyya* (master of the builders). The record shows that Khair had contracted with a group of people from Bait Jala and Bethlehem for the removal of earth and debris from a site near Bab al-Maghariba within the Masjid al-Aqsa (Haram al-Sharif) for a period of three months at a fee of 2,750 'uthmani.

Ghanim is recorded once as restoring a house (Sijill 10:120), and another time (Sijill 15: 552) he is described as 'a builder' when he inspected a wall. His son, Muhammad ibn Ghanim ibn Nammar, was on 9 Jumada I 969/15 January 1562 appointed a builder in Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud (Sijill 43: 164) at a wage of two 'uthmani per day. It is not clear from the *sijills* discovered so far if Khair and Ghanim were the direct sons of Nammar, or whether their father was the 'Ali ibn Nammar who was the father of Husain and 'Ubaid. Most probably the father of Khair and Ghanim was 'Ali, and they were thus the brothers, and not

the uncles, of Husain and 'Ubaid, for this would correspond with their probable lifespan.

The Second Generation of Ibn Nammar Family

Khalil ibn Husain and Muhammad ibn Ghanim

The second generation of the builders of the Ibn Nammar family is represented by the sons of Husain ibn Nammar, Khalil and Mahmud, and by Ghanim ibn Nammar's son, Muhammad. A single record has been found naming Muhammad ibn Ghanim. It concerns his appointment to the post of the *mi'mari* of Maqam Nabi Da'ud. Two documents were found with a reference to Khalil ibn Husain ibn Nammar, both relating to his architectural work. One concerns his contribution to paving the floor of the bathhouses of the *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan in 963/1555-6 (Sijill 31: 110, al-'Asali 1989: 98), and the other records a purchase of stones by him in 993/1585-6 (Sijill 66: 629). The length of time between the two references implies that Khalil must have been an active builder, despite the absence of records in the *sijills*. It is of course possible that not all records have yet come to light.

Mahmud ibn Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar

Most of the construction work of Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar was carried out in the last quarter of the 16th century, a period when most of the large-scale projects of Ottoman Jerusalem had either been completed or were in their final phase. By this time, therefore, construction work in the city had largely been reduced to fulfilling local needs. It was only in the late 16th and early 17th century that major building work began again with the construction of the cells around the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock

(see the list of these dated *khalwas* in the catalogue).

From the documents found in the *sijills*, it seems that Mahmud began his activities in 963/1555-6 by working with a number of other builders in paving the bathhouses of Khassaki Sultan (Sijill 31: 110; al-'Asali 1989: 98). His brother Khalil was another member of the consortium. His epithet, the builder (*al-mi'mari*), was repeated in Sijill 48: 165 dated 973/1565-6, when he and a man called Muhammad ibn Ramadan shared equally in the post of the master builder of Jerusalem. During the time they held the position jointly, they restored in 972/1564-5 the Maqam Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya on the Mount of Olives (Sijill 48: 127). When Mahmud inspected Madrasa Salahiyya on 977/1569-70, his title in the *sijill* had been changed to the *mi'marbashi* (the master builder) of Jerusalem. The inspection is described as being detailed (*wa kashafuha kashfan shafiya* (Sijill 53: 270). Mahmud was also responsible for the inspection of Madrasa Mawardiyya in 1005/1596-7 (Sijill 77: 537; for details of his report see cat. no. 28, and for the Arabic text and English summary see Appendix I, no. 28/2).

At the approach of the 17th century, 'Abd al-Muhsin, the son of Mahmud, was already trained and prepared gradually to take over his father's position. On 28 Muharram 1007/31 August 1598, while Mahmud was away on the *hajj*, the *qadi* gave permission for 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud to fill the post during his father's absence.

Sijill 84: 111 contains a *waqfiyya* registered under the name of *usta* (expert) Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar, the *mi'marbashi* of Jerusalem. It is for the benefit of his family, described as three master builders, *usta* 'Abd al-Muhsin, *usta* Karim al-Din, and *usta* Hasan, as well as two daughters, Ruqayya and Fatima. From the list⁵¹ of properties mentioned in the *waqfiyya*, it would appear at the time that the financial situation of Mahmud was strong.

The Third Generation of the Ibn Nammar Family

'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Nammar

'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud represents the third generation of the Ibn Nammar family. In his way, he was as great a builder as his grandfather, Husain ibn Nammar, had been before him. In the various records of the *sijills*, he

appears with many different titles and epithets, all of which indicate his rank and standing in Jerusalem's architectural sphere. 'Abd al-Muhsin is called master (*ustadh*, *mu'allim*), expert (*usta*), the chief builder of Jerusalem the Noble (*mi'marbashi al-Quds al-sharif*), and the chief of the builders in Jerusalem the Noble (*ra'is al-mi'mariyya bi'l-Quds al-sharif*). His main work was carried out at the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, at a time when the patronage of Ahmad Pasha resulted in many important architectural projects in the Haram, and other restoration work was being sponsored by Bairam Pasha. The period and the work of 'Abd al-Muhsin constitute a time of transition between the zenith of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem—the restoration of the Citadel, the water supply project, Jerusalem's walls, the work of Bairam Jawish and the Khassaki Sultan complex—and the decline in the second half of the 17th century.

'Abd al-Muhsin, in his capacity as *mi'marbashi* of Jerusalem, attended many court hearings and public inspections with reference to construction projects in the city. He appeared in 1007/1598-9 as a witness when the complex of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15) was inspected with the purpose of locating a suitable site for the construction of a mill (Sijill 79: 475). He was among those who were present in the Shari'a court (Sijill 113: 436) when Bairam's donation was discussed in 1037/1627-8. He came to the court once again when he asked the *qadi* to allow him to construct a special *khalwa* on the south side of the Dome of the Rock terrace in which he could keep his tools and equipment (Sijill 77: 453). On that occasion, he was allowed to do so by the *qadi* at a cost of 30 *sultani* which was paid out of the funds of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa.

Table 36.4 below shows most of 'Abd al-Muhsin's works as revealed in the *sijill* of Jerusalem.

Table 36.4 shows that 'Abd al-Muhsin inspected many sites, estimated the cost of certain repairs, restored significant monuments such as the minaret of Bab al-Asbat and the Maqam Nabi Musa, and above all was responsible for the construction of a cell for Bairam, his own cell (which can no longer be identified), the Mastabat al-Jauza, and the reconstruction of Khalwa Junbalatiyya.

The information contained in the *sijills* makes it possible to identify the work of 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, for the buildings are still extant today. The *sijills* are entirely clear in attributing three constructions in particular to 'Abd al-Muhsin. These are: Khalwat Bairam, dated some time before 21 Rabi' II 1038/19 November 1628 (Sijill 115: 721; for the complete Arabic text and English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 34/1, and see also cat. no. 22); Khalwa Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24; Sijill 83: 51), and the Minaret of Bab al-Asbat (Sijill 80: 106, see also Appendix I, no. 3/3 and cat. no. 3). In addition to these works, which can be directly attributed from the

⁵¹ The list of the estates mentioned in the *waqfiyya* includes a two-floored house in al-Sharf neighbourhood, 17 *qirat* out of 24 of the house which was adjacent to this house, 18 *qirat* out of 24 of the orchard located in Bait Jammal village (west of Jerusalem), the whole orchard known as Karim al-Shaikh located in the same village, the whole orchard in al-Baq'a outside Jerusalem, the whole orchard on the land belonging to al-Salahiyya, and another orchard on the same land.

Table 36.4 The work of ‘Abd al-Muhsin in Jerusalem as revealed by the *sijills*

No.	Name of Site	Sijill/Page	Date	Work
1	Anonymous cell, south of the Haram platform	77: 243 & 77: 453	1005/1596-7	cell construction in the Haram to keep tools and equipment
2	Water canal in al-Wad road	80: 72	1007/1598-9	inspection and restoration of contaminated water canal
3	Bab al-Asbat Minaret	80: 100	1007/1598-9	rebuilding the shaft and the pinnacle with other builders
4	House of Jirjis	80: 106	1007/1598-9	inspection of the house and recommendations
5	Junbalatiyya Cell	83: 51	1010/1601-2	reconstruction of the cell
6	Mastabat al-Jauza	83: 51	1010/1601-2	construction for ten <i>sultani</i>
7	Maqam Nabi Musa (Jericho)	87: 544	1016/ 1607-8	restoration of the <i>maqam</i>
8	Citadel, Jerusalem	89: 120	1017/1608-9	inspection and estimate cost of 300 <i>sultani</i>
9	Aqsa Mosque	100: 436	1029/1619-20	inspection of the timber of the ceiling with Ibrahim ibn Musa
10	Bairam’s <i>khalwa</i>	115: 721	before 1038/1638-9	construction of the whole cell

documents, information in the *sijills* and visual comparisons suggest that three other *khalwas*, which were sponsored by Ahmad Pasha (cat. nos. 22, 23, and 25), as well as the Hujra of Islam Beg (cat. no. 21)—all of which are located on the Dome of the Rock esplanade—should in all probability be assigned to the workshop of ‘Abd al-Muhsin. This question will be discussed further below under ‘*Khalwas*’.

The Fourth Generation of the Ibn Nammar Family

‘Umar and ‘Ali ibn Nammar

Although Karim al-Din and Hasan, brothers of ‘Abd al-Muhsin and sons of Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar, were both builders according to Sijill 84: 111, no record has been found which would enable any of their work to be identified. The information skips a generation, however, for a few entries have been discovered relating to their sons, ‘Umar ibn Hasan ibn Mahmud and ‘Ali ibn Karim al-Din ibn Mahmud (see the family tree above).

‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Karim was better known as al-Hajj ‘Ali, and, according to Sijill 183: 226, he had the title of ‘the Builder of the Noble Mosque’ (*mi’mar al-masjid al-sharif*). Sijill 183: 225 reveals that he was the caretaker of the *waqf* of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, as well as the *waqf* of the Great Mosque at Hebron. In addition he acted as a legal agent for Yusuf Agha when two plots of land outside (*bi zahir*) Jerusalem were endowed by Yusuf Agha as *waqf*. The construction work of Hajj ‘Ali is represented by two small monumental domes in the Haram al-Sharif, both built on the instructions of Yusuf Agha in 1092/1681 (van Berchem 1925: 31, 32, 192). Hajj ‘Ali also inspected the south wall of al-Aqsa with his nephew, Hibbat Allah ibn ‘Umar ibn Hasan (see below).

Sijill 151: 452 dated 1066/1655-56 records the appointment of ‘Umar and ‘Ali to the post of ‘restorer of tiles of the Dome of the Rock’ (*wazifat marmajiyat qashani al-sakhra*). The two men replaced Fakhr al-Din, their father’s uncle, as already explained above. Al-Husaini (1982: 115) published a citation without giving the *sijill*

number. It reveals that when Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazzi undertook to repair the Qanat al-Sabil in 1067/1656-7, three other master builders in Jerusalem, al-Mu‘allim Mahmud, al-Mu‘allim ‘Ali and al-Mu‘allim ‘Umar, promised to help Muhammad by providing him with builders and workers who were free to work on the project. The builder named as al-Mu‘allim Mahmud was probably the son of ‘Abd al-Muhsin and called after his grandfather, and was thus also a member of the Ibn Nammar family who, traditionally occupied the post of builder.

The Fifth (and last) Generation of the Ibn Nammar Family

Hibat Allah Çelebi ibn ‘Umar ibn Hasan ibn Nammar

Al-‘Asali (1989: 116) published a document from Sijill 166: 135 dated 1105/1693-4 which deals with a repair to the wall of Jerusalem near the Mahd ‘Isa at the south-eastern corner of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. The site was inspected by a team of Muslim notables in the company of two master builders. The names of these builders are given as al-Hajj ‘Ali al-Nammari, the master builder of al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and Hibat Allah Çelebi, the master builder of Jerusalem the Noble. No further details are given in the document as to their identity. In our researches into the *sijills*, further evidence has been unearthed in the form of a *waqfiyya* dated 1109/1697-8 (Sijill 198: 85) under the name of Hibat Allah Çelebi. Here the full name is given as Hibat Allah Çelebi, the son of al-Hajj ‘Umar the builder. This evidence shows that Hibat Allah was a representative of the fifth generation of the Ibn Nammar family.

Other Local Builders from outside Jerusalem

In addition to the master builders of the Ibn Nammar family, there are a few other local builders whose names appear in the proceedings of the *sijills*. They are divided

into two groups—builders from cities other than Jerusalem, and Christian builders from Jerusalem itself. Of the first group, three names are noted—al-Mu'allim Abu 'l-Jud Da'na al-Khalili (from Hebron), who, according to Sijill 3: 323, repaired a house in the Sharaf neighbourhood; al-Mu'allim Yahya ibn Salim al-Mi'mar al-Ramli (from Ramla), who repaired an oil press (Sijill 13: 36), witnessed the financial report of a restoration (Sijill 8: 133), and worked on the repair of Madrasa al-Sharkasiyya (Sijill 13: 552); and finally, Yusuf and his brother Ibrahim, the sons of Sadaqa al-Ghazzi (from Gaza). These last two men were lead specialists (Sijill 113: 439). They stripped the lead from the roof of the Aqsa Mosque in 1037/1627-8 and, after it had been recast, replaced it back in position.

The proceedings of Jerusalem's *sijills* include a few names of Christian builders,⁵² described there by the *laqab* al-Nasrani ('the Christian'). Frequently the name of the religious community is also given. Information on their building activities is, however, sparse, for most names were registered in connection with financial matters. The most famous and skilled Christian builder recorded in the *sijill* was a man called al-Ustadh Murad al-Nasrani al-Armani al-Mi'mari (master Murad the Christian, the Armenian builder). When Rajab ibn Bali, the master builder of Jerusalem, left Jerusalem to perform the *hajj* on 18 Ramadan 959/7 September 1552, Murad and Husain ibn Nammar together replaced him in the post of master builder of Jerusalem. Murad appears again for he also held an important position at the beginning of 970/30 August 1562 (Sijill 43: 501) when he was *al-mi'mar 'ala* (the builder of) Qanat al-Sabil, the canal which provided water to the fountains and city of Jerusalem. He was one member of a company of builders who were contracted by Bairam Jawish (Sijill 31: 110) to install a water system for the bathhouses of Khassaki Sultan *waqf*. The work carried out by Murad indicates that he had a good knowledge of hydraulics.

'Aun ibn Musa and Hanna ibn Da'ud were both Christian builders who contributed to the paving of the bathhouses of Khassaki Sultan (Sijill 31: 110; al-'Asali 1989: 98). Other Christian builders whose names are recorded were Jirjis ibn Hasan the builder (Sijill 16, 404), Ibrahim ibn Yusuf the mason (*al-banna'*) whose name frequently appears in the *sijills* (20: 248; 20: 256; 20: 398; 20: 535), Tadrus ibn Musa the stone-cutter (Sijill 24: 464), and Ibrahim ibn Jirjis the Copt, who traded in antique stone, as mentioned above under the section dealing with building materials (Sijill 80: 106). Ilyas, the son of Jirjis and

the brother of Ibrahim, was another Christian builder in Jerusalem at the time (Sijill 80: 106). Other craftsmen specified as Christian were a *najjar* (carpenter) named Sulaiman ibn Khalil (Sijill 13: 89), and a *nahhat* (stone dresser; Sijill 6: 157).

Unidentified Builders

The *sijill* records contain a number of names of builders who cannot be further identified as to belonging to a specific region or city, or even race. The majority were probably local builders and, to judge by the entries, their work seems to have been of a fairly mundane nature and generally for a private contractor.

A number of builders in this category were involved more than the others in the construction business; they include individuals such as Rajab ibn Bali and Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah. The former occupied the post of *mi'mar bashi* of Jerusalem in the sixth decade of the 16th century (Sijill 25: 628), when he was the testator (*wasy*) of the orphan children of Muslih al-Din (Sijill 20: 54), the renowned Turkish master builder in the city who has already been discussed. This fact might imply that Rajab ibn Bali too came from outside Jerusalem. The name of Rajab appears again in the *sijills* associated with a financial transaction (Sijills 18: 466; 25: 183; 24: 360). Muhammad ibn Ramadan shared the post of the chief of builders (*ra'is al-mi'mariyya*) in 973/1565-6 with Mahmud ibn Husain (Sijill 22: 340) when he inspected a house in the Christian quarter, and he collaborated with 'Ubaid ibn Nammar in inspecting a canal that had become filled with earth. Table 36.5 below gives the basic information available on the rest of these builders.

Other Crafts and Workers

Various categories of workers and craftsmen were involved in the construction process, not all of them recorded in the *sijills*, but this cannot be taken to mean that they played no part in the contracted work. In addition to the *mi'mar* or *mi'mari* (builder), the *banna'* (mason) the *hajjar* (stone cutter), and the *qanawati* (who set up water installations)—all of whom have already been mentioned above—the *sijills* contain references to other crafts as well—the *nahhat* (stone dresser; Sijill 6: 157; 13: 268), the *muballat* (floor-paver; Sijill 31: 111), the *saqqal* (scaffolder; Sijill 4: 35), the *naqqash* (painter/decorator; Sijill 8: 155), and the *haddad* (blacksmith; Sijill 12: 490).

The carpenter (*najjar*) is also mentioned in restoration projects in connection with work on doors, and window-locks and latches. A selection of the many names appearing in the *sijill* as carpenters includes Muhammad al-Halhuli (from a town near Hebron, Sijill 12: 306), al-Rumi

⁵² In my research into the *sijills*, I did not encounter in the period under discussion evidence of any Jewish master builder, although recently Cohen *et al.* (1996: 346) have pointed out that the court at a later date permitted Shu'a ibn Yahuda, a Jewish master builder, to repair a house belonging to a Muslim *waqf* in 1200/1786 (Sijill 122: 266).

al-Najjar (Sijill 5: 95), al-Hajj 'Ali al-Najjar (Sijill 6: 279), Salim ibn Khalil (Sijill 16: 275), Shihab al-Din ibn Nasir al-Din, the *shaikh* of the carpenters (Sijill 27: 64), and the master Ibrahim ibn Musa (Sijill 100: 436), who inspected the woodwork of the Aqsa Mosque and replaced damaged sections of it in 1029/1619-20.

Many unskilled workers (*fu'ul*) too were used in the construction process. They are defined according to their job, such as *al-karabili* (or *gharabili*), the man who sieved the soil (*turab*), Sijill 1: 337; 2: 238; 4: 422; 10: 81); *al-jabbal*, the man who mixed the mortar (Sijill 10: 81); *al-jabbash*, the man who plugged the joints of walls and foundations with medium-sized, undressed stones (Sijill 7: 177; 10: 81); *al-tayyan*, the mortar-carrier (Sijill 8: 144), and *al-mujarifi*, the man who cleared earth with a hoe (Sijill 13: 352).

Besides the craftsmen and the unskilled workers, others were employed in auxiliary work within the building

trade. These included the *saqqa*' (water-carrier, Sijill 6: 354), and the *tarrab* (Sijill 30: 302), or *atal* (Sijill 12: 122; 12: 245), the porters who moved materials such as lime and stones, and who disposed of earth and dung.

The Guilds

'Atallah (1991 1; 1992 2) does not include information on construction guilds either in his two-volume publication devoted to the guilds in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period or in his doctoral thesis, nor has any relevant material been found by me. Although two disputes are recorded in the *sijills* about matters related to the building trade, both were solved in the Shari'a court without reference to the guild or to the *shaikh* of the *mi'mariyin*, if the post ever existed. The first dispute on record was between 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammār and a group of Christian craftsmen over a lime-

Table 36.5 Unidentified Master Builders in Ottoman Jerusalem

No.	Name	Sijill/Page	Date	Site and act
1	Ahmad al-Kharshi	2: 40	938/1531-2	purchase of stones
	Ahmad al-Kharshi	5: 28	941/1534-5	restoration of Madrasa Manjakiyya
	Ahmad al-Kharshi	16: 426	952/1545-6	construction of house
2	Muhammad and his son Abu Bakr	2: 264	937/1530-1	inspection of anonymous house. The cost: 600 'uthmani
3	Ahmad al-Hamidi and his nephew Sabr	4: 71	940/1533-4	restoration of an oven
4	'Abd al-Rahman Ta'il	5: 35	941/1534-5	restoration of Zawiyat Ya'qub al-'Ajami
5	Muhammad ibn al-Tarsha	6: 354	943/1536-7	estimate Khan al-Qattanin
	Muhammad ibn al-Tarsha	16: 238	951/1544-5	construction of a house
6	Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Abu Faq'ish	7: 350	944/1537-8	removal of latrines and new wooden doors
7	Muhammad ibn al-Shumais	10: 81	943/1536-7	restoration of a house
8	Shihab al-Din ibn Qadial-Salt and his brother Mahmud	10: 120	942/1535-6	restoration of a house
9	Al-Hajj Isma'il	10: 439	—	Khan al-Ja'ili
10	'Ali ibn Wishah	10: 81	943/1536-7	restoration of a house
	'Ali ibn Wishah	12: 496	947/1540-1	Maqam Hamad
	'Ali ibn Wishah	13: 36	947/1540-1	restoration of oil-press
11	Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah	12: 97	946/1539-40	restoration of a house
	Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah	18: 618	954/1547-8	restoration of Ribat Hamawi
	Mahmud ibn 'Abd Allah	18: 620	954/1547-8	restoration of shops
12	Musa ibn Abi 'l-Khair	13: 51	947/1540-1	restoration of Ribat Mansuri
13	Khatab ibn Musa	17: 303	952/1545-6	financial transaction
14	Khalifa ibn 'Uthman	18: 445	953/1546-7	stone-cutter; financial record
15	Hamza al-Mi'mar	18: 513	953/1546-7	testator for the orphans of Muslih al-Din
16	Ibrahim ibn al-'Arab	21: 338	955/1548-9	repairs to house, <i>waqf</i> of Turba Kilaniyya
17	Da'ud al-Mi'mar	21: 630	956/1549	—
18	'Ali ibn al-Mi'mar	21: 148	955/1548-9	purchasing a house at Bab Hitta
19	Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Hajjar (stone-cutter)	21: 1481	955/1548-9	selling a house at Bab Hitta
20	Qasim ibn 'Abd Allah	22: 526	956/1549	warranty
21	Muhammad ibn Qasim	24: 523	958/1551	<i>mi'marbashi</i> of al-Kashi building
22	Diyab ibn Ramadan	30: 110	963/1555-6	with others, paving bathhouses
23	'Ali al-Hajjar	59: 320	988/1580-1	inspection of a house
	'Ali al-Hajjar (stone-cutter and builder)	66: 178	994/1585-6	contract to build dais in front of Qubbat Sulaiman
	'Ali al-Hajjar	80: 100	1007/1598-9	rebuilding the Bab al-Asbat Minaret with 'Abd al-Muhsin
24	Muhammad known as Khalaf al-Mi'mar	80: 100	1007/1598-9	rebuilding the Bab al-Asbat Minaret with 'Abd al-Muhsin

kiln and the quality of lime produced there (Sijill 87: 544). The case came to the court, and was later solved through the mediation of an ordinary Muslim citizen. The second case was brought by Murad al-Nasrani al-Armani, the master builder of Qanat al-Sabil, who appealed to the court when the inspector of the *waqf*, ‘Abd al-Qadir Çelebi, refused to pay Murad his daily wage and his share of the annual wheat allocation. The *qadi* ordered the inspector to pay Murad according to the diploma in his possession (Sijill 43: 501). Apart from these two cases, the *sijill* records covered by this chapter would seem to indicate that on the whole master builders and craftsmen co-operated. In many construction projects, the builders worked as a team; they also used to ratify agreements and act as witnesses for each other as to the level of expenses incurred on certain restoration and repair contracts, and they jointly inspected sites.

Tools

There is little evidence in the *sijills* relating to the tools used in the construction process. This is understandable, for the purpose of the *sijill* was not solely to be concerned with construction work, as was the case in the work of the architect Da’ud in his *risala mi‘mariyya* (see Crane 1987). It will be remembered that ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar requested the *qadi*’s permission to erect a special cell in the Haram al-Sharif in which to keep his tools. In Sijill 78: 532, there is an undated note inscribed on the binding of the proceedings for the year 1005/1596-7. It states that ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar ‘the master builder of Jerusalem’ had returned to al-Aqsa store four *ikraikat* (shovels), ropes, and three *shawraqif* (axes). The implication of this note is that the Haram had its own tools, for these were registered officially as being in the custody of ‘Abd al-Muhsin until their safe return by him. The *sijills* also include mention of other simple tools, such as *quffa* (basket) and *majbad*

(clamp), *mizan* (scale), and *bakara* (pulley block; Sijill 8: 155).

Building-Types: Architectural and Decorative Features

Types of Buildings

Introduction

During both the first (922-1010/1517-1600) and the second periods (1010-1247/1600-1831) of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem, buildings were erected with a variety of different functions and styles. The catalogue of buildings includes detailed descriptions of all the standing buildings which belong to the Ottoman period up to the year 1836, except for the city walls and the citadel. Each building is numbered and listed according to its chronological order. The aim of this section is to give an outline of the types of these building, including their main features. This overview was not included in the catalogue where there was rather a wish to keep the individuality and coherence of each separate entry.

More than one type of structure can exist within a single building, a practice which had already been known in the period predating the Ottoman conquest. Each type will be studied under its own category, although, for the purpose of statistics, only the dominant and the most significant types will be included here. The following table divides these buildings according to their category and number during both periods of Ottoman rule in the city.

Khalwas

Unattached *khalwas* were a new building type introduced into Jerusalem in the Ottoman period. The name, type of plan and the specific location were all unknown in the city in the earlier periods. Although these buildings form about 27 per cent of the Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem (15

Table 36.6 Types and numbers of Ottoman buildings

Category	First period ¹	Second period	Total
<i>Khalwas</i> ²	9	6	15
<i>Sabils</i>	8	5	13
Commemorative buildings	3	5	8
Religious ³ buildings	3	4	7
Sufi <i>zawiyas</i>	3	2	5
Others ⁴	6	1	7
Subtotal	32	23	55

¹ Although the date of three buildings (Qubbat al-Arwah cat. no. 30), Qubbat al-Khadir (cat. no. 31), and Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32) is not yet confirmed as being of the 16th century, these monuments are considered here as belonging to the first phase.
² This category includes al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25), for, despite its name, it bears a striking resemblance to the other *khalwas* on the Haram.
³ These are mosques, *mihhrabs*, and *mastabas* which have *mihrrabs*.
⁴ This category is represented by individual monuments: Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11); Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12); Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13); al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (cat. no. 15), the minaret of the Qal’a (cat. no. 27), and al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28). From the second period, Dar al-‘Izz (cat. no. 49) belongs to this category.

monuments out of 55) according to the most up-to-date inventory,⁵³ almost nothing has been published on them. It is almost as if hitherto they have not been considered to be typical Ottoman structures. It is only the recent discovery of references to them in the Jerusalem *sijills*, published here for the first time, which has provided information on the authenticity of the names of the founders and thus an accurate dating.

The location of these *khalwas* is always within the Haram area, at the point where the upper and lower platforms meet, particularly on the western and the northern edges of the upper esplanade of the Dome of the Rock. The plan of the cells was also influenced by the sloping topography of the site, for all are built of two storeys and thus bridge the two levels. The upper storey always contains the principal chamber of the building, which in some *khalwas* is preceded either by a small antechamber and ancillary room, or by an antechamber alone.

Some of the structures are referred to in the *waqfiyyas* and the foundation inscriptions as a *hujra* (cat. nos. 14, 20, and 21), an *oda* (cat. no. 41) (chamber) or a *khalwa* (cat. nos. 22, 23, and 24). The travellers who visited the Haram during the Ottoman period have assigned a variety of purposes to these structures. Al-'Ayyashi (al-'Asali 1992: 210) called them 'houses' (*buyut*) for worshippers. Al-Madani (al-'Asali 1992: 320) called them 'chambers' (*odat*) for students who sought knowledge (*talabat al-'ilm*). It is al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 259) who uses the term *khalwa* for the structures. He wrote 'We have found there various *khalwas* with domes on the edges of the platform of the Mosque of al-Sakhra (the Rock); these are built with columns and coloured stones . . . some of the *khalwas* are inhabited, some are not and some are blocked.' Al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 299-300) and al-Luqaini (al-'Asali 1992: 304) followed al-Nabulsi in the use of the term *khalwa* to refer to the buildings, and according to the accounts, they both stayed in one of the *khalwa* when they visited Jerusalem. Al-Qayati (al-'Asali 1992: 325-26) described them as 'chambers' (*odat*) and 'cells' (*khalwas*); he reported that they were used as dwelling-houses for those who resided inside the Aqsa Mosque (the Haram) to study, and for foreign visitors. He went on to report that one of the *khalwas* had been offered to him. Al-Qasimi, in the early part of this century, used the name *hujurat* (rooms) for them (al-'Asali 1992: 338), and he also recorded that most of the occupiers of the rooms offered him the possibility of sharing their *hujra*. It is unfortunate that none of these accounts give enough information to allow a certain identification of the fifteen listed *khalwa*. Almost nothing more than the information given here has

been recorded apart from the names of some of the cells, which reflect the family name of the patron or user—such as Khalwat Jaralla, Khalwat al-Dajani, Khalwat al-Bairamiyya, and the Summer (al-Saif) Khalwat al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 299-300).

The reason behind the construction of almost half of the *khalwas* and *hujras* erected on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock (cat. nos. 16, 17, 25, 46, 51, 52 and 53) is not recorded. However, such information is provided for the other Jerusalem *khalwas*, such as cat. nos. 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34 and 41, either by the foundation inscription panel or by the *waqfiyyas*. As a general rule, these *khalwas* were established either to serve (1) as a place for teaching, such as Hujrat Muhammad (cat. no. 14), the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23), and al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 24); or (2) for reading the Holy Qur'an, such as the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), Khalwa Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34), Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20); or (3) as a dwelling place, like the Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24). Additional information can be found in the *sijills*, which furnish further clues as to the original function of the *khalwa*. Sijill 51: 157 reports that one of the *khalwas*, which is no longer either still standing or identifiable, was used to store the shoes (*wazifat hifz al-an'al*) of visitors to the Haram, whereas Sijill 77: 453 shows that the chief builder of Jerusalem and the Haram, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, used to keep his equipment in another *khalwa*, and Sijill 72: 375 indicates that some of them were used as offices for the Haram employees, as is still the situation today. Doubtless the unrecorded *khalwas* were originally intended for some such similar purpose.

It worth noting that one of the *khalwas* (cat. no. 25), which is called a *madrasa*, was used by four regular students and a lecturer (*mudarris*). This is the only Ottoman building which is recorded as having a similar (although not identical) function to the Mamluk *madrasas* in the city. The Ottoman educational process in Jerusalem seems to have been centred on the Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and the old Mamluk *madrasas*, as well as the preaching and lecturing that took place in some of these *khalwas*, as mentioned above. In time, however, some of them came to be used as hostels for pilgrims who were lent a *khalwa* in which to stay for the duration of their visit (*ziyara*), and later again they were used as offices for the employees of the Haram, which is still the situation today.

There are fifteen *khalwas*, nine of which can be dated to the 16th century (cat. nos. 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25). The remaining six are datable to the second phase of the Ottoman period (1010-1247/1600-1831); these are cat. nos. 34, 41, 46, 51, 52 and 53. Although these fifteen *khalwas* have many features in common, it is possible to classify them into four categories

⁵³ See the list of Ottoman monuments at the beginning of the catalogue descriptions.

by an analysis of their architectural style and from information in the *sijill* entries.

(1) The first category consists of four *khalwas* (cat. nos. 46, 51, 52 and 53). They are all located in a line on the western extremity of the upper platform of the Sakhra; from north to south the arrangement is nos. 51, 52, 46, and 53. None of the constructions is dated and almost nothing has so far emerged on their history, the only clue being a re-used and uncertain foundation inscription (cat. no. 46) and the remarks of 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi (Baida y Lebich Domingo 1816 ii: 233). These give a *terminus post quem* for dating *khalwas* nos. 51, 52 and 53. Their architectural style is simple in the extreme, and they have little decorative or architectural significance, belonging more to the local Palestinian vernacular than to monumental public architecture. The situation is not helped by the fact that they appear to have been restored recently. Category (1) graphically illustrates the decline of architectural activity in the late Ottoman period.

(2) The second group comprises *khalwas* 14, 16 and 17. They are all dated by foundation inscriptions, although these are not always straightforward with regard to context, and the dates are sometimes dependent on a chronogram. These are the earliest *khalwas* on the Haram, and they include some characteristically Ottoman decorative architectural elements such as ornate stone roundels, decorative panels, 'eye-brow' arches, and shallow domes. The plan of this group does not include an antechamber or ancillary chamber, but the upper level of two of them (cat. nos. 14, and 16) has two rooms, and the trace of a domed portico porch is still visible in *khalwa* 14. This category might be considered to be the earliest example of the *khalwas*, which reach their zenith in those of the fourth category.

(3) *Khalwas* 20 and 41 form the third category and they are strikingly similar, although the first is dated by foundation inscription and *waqf* document to 996/1588, whereas for the second only a restoration date of 1109/1697 is recorded. Whether what is now visible in the later *khalwa* is the original design, or whether it is the result of a cycle of restoration, it is certain that both *khalwas* belong to a single style, and that the plan of the earlier, which is properly documented, has influenced the later example. This category has a number of decorative and architectural elements common to the Ottoman period, such as a billet moulding, an 'eye-brow' arch, a domed portico porch, projecting brackets, and an antechamber preceding the main room. An element of local initiative is to be found in the way the two piers and the central column which supports the two arches of the portico have been cut and dressed. Although the group is small, it is possible to see it as an interim phase between the simple second category and the fourth one, which is the most sophisticated.

(4) The fourth group includes Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no.

21, 1002/1593-4), the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22, 1009/1600), the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23, 1009/1600), Khalwat al-Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24, 1010/1601-2), Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 25, 1013/1604), and Khalwat Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34, before 1038/1628).

These *khalwas* have many historical aspects in common. None has a foundation inscription, but either a *waqfiyya* or an extract from the original *waqf* document is recorded in the *sijills*. Furthermore, these buildings are alike architecturally—they are all constructed of white, dressed stone and most of them use coloured stone accents. They also have a similar plan, which is slightly modified in some cases. The upper section consists of a main chamber which is preceded by a domed portico and an antechamber, and three have an ancillary room. The Khalwat Bairam Pasha has an almost identical arrangement to the Khalwat Junbalatiyya. They are distinguished by a heavy use of *ablaq* and string courses, although they differ as to where the decorative elements are located and how densely they are used. In addition they feature different types of moulding as well as elaborate *muqarnas* niches and tiers. In particular, special care has been taken with the windows and the covering of the chambers. These are features not found in the other *khalwas*, which, as already stated, are remarkable only for their simplicity.

One *khalwa* of this fourth category (cat. no. 22) must be seen as a masterpiece. It can be considered the jewel of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, or—to follow the analogy of Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 329), who considered the Ashrafiyya Madrasa the 'third jewel' after the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque—the fourth jewel of the Haram. Although the *khalwa* in question—the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha—has a number of decorative architectural elements which are not found in the other *khalwas* of this category, the fact that there are so many common features makes it possible to classify them as a single group. There follows a table which lists the *khalwas* as they appear in the catalogue, and the features they have in common.

From this information, it would seem that this group of *khalwas* must have been built under the influence of a single school of architecture or, more specifically, under a local house style. It is quite possible that the man responsible for this was 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem, and a member of a family which contributed to the buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem over a period of five centuries.

Sijill 115: 721 states that 'Abd al-Muhsin was contracted by Ahmad Pasha to build al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24). The *sijill* contains an important piece of information about the Khalwat Bairam Pasha. It states that the building was erected by 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud, the chief of the master builders (*ra'is al-*

Table 36.7 The decorative and architectural elements of Group 4 of the Haram *khalwa*

Element/ <i>Khalwa</i> no.	21	22	23	24	25	34
Main chamber	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Antechamber	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Relieving arches	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elaborate rectangular recessed panel enclosing a window	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Domed portico	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Stone dais	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
'Eye-brow' arch	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓
Brackets impost	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Coloured masonry	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	—
Marble lintels and sills	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Ancillary chamber	—	✓	—	✓	—	✓
Elaborate stalactite <i>muqarnas</i>	✓	✓	—	✓	—	—
Lancet <i>muqarnas</i> niches	—	✓	—	✓	✓	—
Joggled voussoirs	—	✓	—	✓	✓	—

mi'mariyya). Moreover, it includes the statement that the *khalwa* for Bairam Pasha was built according to the layout and the measurements of Khalwat Ahmad Pasha (here called the Khalwat Junbalatiyya).

It is also noticeable that four of the buildings in the group were constructed under the patronage of a single governor—Ahmad Pasha—and that they were built in a relatively short period of time, probably a single decade. This would support the suggestion that there was a single designer for them all. It is thus probably correct to infer that all the *khalwas* in this group, as well as the elegant *khalwa* for Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), were designed and constructed by the same local master mason/architect.⁵⁴

Sabils

Thirteen *sabils* (public water fountains) of the Ottoman period are still standing in Jerusalem. These are divided into two categories on the basis of dates. The first group dates to the 16th century⁵⁵ and contains eight *sabils* (cat. nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 18), whereas the second category comprises five *sabils* (cat. nos. 36, 40, 44, 45, and 47) which date to the second Ottoman period (1010–1247/1600–1831).

The style and layout of the *sabils* can also be divided into two categories. The first is confined to a single type, whereas the second category is more diverse. The first group is restricted to the six *sabils* constructed by Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni (cat. nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). They are in the form of a recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch enclosed within a rectangular stone panel. The panel is usually attached to a wall, and therefore this type of *sabil* is given the name of 'walled niche *sabil*' (*çesme*) by Aslanapa

(1971: 257–9 and Arabic translation 1987: 235) and Behrens-Abouseif (1995: 679–83). Aslanapa maintains that this type began in Anatolia at the beginning of the Saljuq period. He reports that three *sabils* of this type from the period can still be seen—the first in Sivas in the Gök Medrese (671/1272), and two in Konya on either side of the Sahip Ata Kulliesi entrance porch (657/1258). He reports further that very little is known about the construction history of this type of *çesme*, and points out that there were once 800 *sabils* of this type in Istanbul alone, but that unfortunately most of them have either been demolished or removed from their original site. Behrens-Abouseif (1995: 682) says that this type of *çesme* is a kind of self-service water fountain, and the *çesme* in Istanbul are similar to the fountains of Fas. It is worth drawing attention to the strikingly similarity of the Sabil al-Khazna in Aleppo (renovated 807/1404) to these *sabils*. For more details, see Rihawi (1979: 171, pl. 62). Qal'a-Jiy (1989: 270) published an unclear photograph of the Qastal Sabil al-Harami in Aleppo which was renovated in 897/1490 by Bard Beg ibn 'Abd Allah. This *sabil* consists of a recessed niche surmounted by a huge pointed arch. Though the proportions here are much bigger, in principle it resembles the walled niche *çesme* type of *sabil* under discussion.

Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 605, 607 n. 37), although she refers to Aslanapa's book mentioned above, says that 'they [the six imperial *sabils*] seem to belong to a distinct type of *sabil* apparently not found in other periods or at other places.' In fact, the *sabils* have a distinct decorative scheme, but not a distinct layout design, which has to be seen in relation to the walled niche *çesme* mentioned by Aslanapa. They can be considered one of the many instances of Saljuq-Ottoman influence on the city.

Three of the six 16th-century *sabils* (cat. nos. 5, 6, and 7) incorporate non-Islamic decorative and architectural elements. These are:

- (1) Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5): the inner arch and inner voussoirs of the outer arch, the columns and their capitals.

⁵⁴ For more details on 'Abd al-Muhsin and his family business, see above under 'The Family of Ibn Nammar'.

⁵⁵ There was another fountain constructed in the same period in al-'Imara al-'Amira (see cat. no. 15 under the 'Water Fountain').

Table 36.8 The decorative and architectural elements of the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman

Element	Sabil Bab al-Khalil	Sabil al-Wad	Sabil Bab al-Silsila	Sabil Bab al-Nazir	Sabil Bab al-'Atm	Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam
Pointed-arch recess	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Marble panel for water outlet	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trough to collect water	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Foundation inscription	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
White dressed masonry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Inverted volute (<i>mim</i>)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Muqarnas</i> impost with or without lancet niches	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	✓
Triangles in relief	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ogee and ogival mouldings	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓
Circular roundel (medallion)	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	—
Flanking colonnettes	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Capitals (Corinthian or <i>muqarnas</i>)	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Re-used material (Crusader)	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—
Plaited columns	—	—	✓	✓	✓	—
Tiers of elaborate <i>muqarnas</i> with scallops	✓	✓	—	—	✓	—

(2) Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6): the elaborately carved rosette from a rose window, and the two carved triangles in the spandrels which form of a single scroll of foliage with a central bunch of grapes.

(3) Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7): the arches and their decoration, and the plaited columns and capitals.

Van Berchem (1927: 422-6) has analysed these elements, plus the three water-troughs which he believed were originally sarcophagi, and identified them as belonging to the period of the Latin Kingdom. Al-'Asali (1982: 280) and Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 600) both followed van Berchem and also drew attention to these elements. Buschhausen (1978: 236) went further and identified them as Crusader from the south of Italy. Jacoby (1982: 325-94; 1984: 400-3) argued against Buschhausen's view and considered their provenance to be from a local workshop operating in the Haram area of Jerusalem.

These Crusader and Latin elements are well integrated into the fabric of the *sabils*, and in fact have little effect on the general layout or on the decorative and architectural features which allow these fountains to be grouped into a single characteristic type. Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 600-1) classified six of these features and traced them back to the tradition which flourished in the region prior to the Ottoman period. A more detailed list is given in Table 36.8, which incorporates the six features identified by Rosen-Ayalon. Their origins and earlier appearances, whether in the region under discussion or somewhere else, will be discussed later in this chapter along with other Ottoman decorative and architectural elements.

It is worth underlining that the *sabils* were ordered by a single patron (Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni), and that the supervision of their construction and the arrangement of their *waqf* were also due to a single person, namely

Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. They were built in a relatively short period (10 Muharram 943-2 Ramadan 943/29 June 1536-12 February 1537). For further details see above, under Water Supply.

The second category is represented by the *sabils* which were built in the second Ottoman period, as well as the earlier Sabil of Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) and Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 18). With the exception of Sabil Qasim Pasha, which is an eight-sided elevation without windows but with a marble panel niche in each of the faces, all the *sabils* of this group have four elevations surmounted by a small, shallow dome. This style might be called 'the four-sided *sabil*' following Aslanapa (1987: 235), but it is more practical to classify these *sabils* by their function—that is, a point at which water was distributed to passers-by.

Three types of windows are found in the six *sabils* under discussion. These are:

(1) The single-window *sabil*. This type is represented by Sabil al-Shurbaji and Sabil al-Khalidi. If the small chamber attached to a recessed niche where the window and the trough are located is excluded from the plan, this type of *sabil* would fit neatly into the category of *sabils* constructed by Sultan Sulaiman and already discussed. This is particularly the case when one bears in mind that the two small chambers were originally shops which were, according to the relevant *waqfiyyas*, later converted to chambers to serve the *sabil*. The impact of the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman on the later fountains in the city is particularly clear in this case.

(2) The two-window *sabil*. This type is found in the proposed reconstruction of Sabil al-Husaini. Although it is possible that it had two openings, there was only one basin for water (see Sabil Mustafa Agha below).

(3) The three-window *sabil*. There are three examples of

this type: Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, Sabil Sha'lan, and Sabil Mustafa Agha.⁵⁶ The first two examples have a water-basin in each window, but the later *sabil* has a single basin only.

The number of *sabils*, whether they date to the first or the second category (or period) is a clear indication of the importance of water to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, and also reflects the role of the fountain as a recognised act of charity as mentioned in the Qur'an. Whatever the type of *sabil*, their operation was simple, according to the information contained in a number of the relevant *wagfiyyas*. A caretaker and a water-carrier were employed to make the *sabil* function. The role of the caretaker was to supervise the endowment, to collect its revenue, and to restore the *sabil* whenever the need arose. The water-carrier's role was to supply the trough with water, to clean it daily, and to light its oil lamp. He was to open the *sabil* daily between the hours of dawn and dusk, apart from the month of Ramadan when the *sabil* was to be kept open from the evening prayer until the morning prayer. Any neglect of these duties or illegal absences would mean the loss of the water-carrier's job.

The water was procured either from a canal-branch from the Qanat al-Sabil, or from rainwater collected in the Haram cistern. A number of the *sabils* were built over one of these cisterns, such as Sabil Bab al-Maghariba and Sabil Sha'lan. In other cases, the donor assigned a certain sum of money to buy water for his *sabil*, especially in summertime.

Commemorative Buildings

The sanctity of Jerusalem, its religious importance, and the fact that it was a place of Muslim pilgrimage, did not merely continue to play a major role in the history of Jerusalem and its architectural development. If anything, the impact of these factors was heightened during the Ottoman period. The construction of many commemorative and religious buildings, and the accounts of many travellers to the holy places in the city and the Haram, are a true reflection of the sanctity of the site.⁵⁷ In addition to the religious significance which lies behind the construction of each commemorative building, it is necessary to take into consideration other motives, such as

the desire to maintain and promote Jerusalem as a centre for pilgrims and a place to be visited. In some ways, this state is reminiscent of that which pertained to the Umayyad period. However, no matter what were the motives behind these monumental buildings, their simple structure and design add a touch of beauty to the Haram area.

Eight commemorative buildings are still standing from the Ottoman period. Three of them—Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30) and Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31)—are attributed by many references (see each catalogue entry) to the 16th century, and they appear thus in the relevant catalogue entry despite the fact that I have shown that none of them has so far been found to date to that century. The other five buildings, which were constructed in the second Ottoman period, are: Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38), Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39), Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42), Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin (cat. no. 43), and Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (cat. no. 50). As will be clear from the names of these structures, the majority consist of a small, domed structure, with the exception of Kursi Sulaiman which has its own peculiar layout.

Iwan Sultan Mahmud (cat. no. 50) was the last commemorative building to be constructed in the Haram in the Ottoman period. The odd shape of its dome, which resembles the one over the second level of Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), as well as its *mihrab*, which could equally be original or added later, draw the eye of the visitor. Its original purpose is not revealed in the foundation inscription. In this way it differs from an earlier *iwan* built by the vizier Mustafa, which no longer exists. According to a previously unpublished⁵⁸ rectangular marble plaque in the Aqsa Islamic Museum on the Haram, this earlier *iwan* was constructed to provide a place for the recitation of the Holy Qur'an, and was probably in the Haram area. The plaque contains seven verses of Arabic poetry, each enclosed in a rectangular cartouche. The script is in clear *naskhi* calligraphy with diacritical and auxiliary points. The date is given in the form of a chronogram and also in numerical form in the middle of the last verse. The whole Arabic text is transcribed in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 50/2. The translation is as follows:

(He) has constructed the *iwan*—the distinguished noble Mustafa, the vizier, the descendant of Muhammad.

It is set up proudly neighbouring the saints,

For the purpose of praying, Qur'an

⁵⁶ Al-Husaini (n. d.) describes many *sabils* in Cairo which conform to the three-window types mentioned here. He does not include an example of a *sabil* belonging to the first category of 'walled niche *çesme*'.

⁵⁷ For travellers' accounts see al-'Asali (1992), and for the guide book for Muslim holy places to be visited by pilgrims see Elad (1995: Appendix 164-73). The guide was written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Rumi, and is included in his unpublished *al-Mustaqsa fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*.

⁵⁸ I would like to record my gratitude to my colleague, Mr Khadr Salameh, the curator of the Islamic Museum, for allowing me to publish this panel.

recitation, and pleasing all visitors,
(He constructed it) seeking great,
everlasting reward, and the blessing of
Muhammad, the *imam* of Messengers.
May Allah be pleased with him, grant
him eternal welfare, safeguard him
from evil, forgive him, and protect him
against the evil eye.
He constructed it in eleven hundred
and forty five (1732).

The common features binding these buildings into a single category are the following:

- (1) All of the monuments are constructed in the Haram area.
- (2) They commemorate either some religious event related to the Haram, or are associated with a prophet or some other individual.
- (3) They all include a *mihrab* in their structure, either on the south wall or in the floor itself, outlined in coloured marble.

Religious Buildings

A long list of buildings could be included under this category, but according to the classification of the types of Ottoman buildings under discussion here, only four mosques and a collection of *mihrahs* will be listed. The first mosque attributed to the Ottoman period in Jerusalem was not a new construction but was rather a conversion of the Coenaculum on Mount Zion into the mosque of al-Nabi Da'ud. It was, therefore, symbolic Islamic features that were inserted into the site. These included a *mihrab*, an inscription plaque, glazed tiles, stucco windows, and a modest minaret. The original Crusader layout was retained.

The mosque of al-'Imara al-'Amira which has been tentatively identified here for the first time (see cat. no. 15 under 'Hall N') displays a distinctive design, being formed from four bays, each of which is covered by a folded cross-vault with a small saucer dome at the centre. This is a type of roofing similar to that used in the Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate), and is a typical Mamluk feature that continued to be employed in early Ottoman architecture.

Masjid al-Saif (cat. no. 27) is unique amongst the mosques of Jerusalem, for it is really an open *musalla* rather than a mosque, and is therefore named 'the Summer Mosque' in its restoration inscription. It is undated, but a roundel bearing the name of Sultan Sulaiman implies that it may have been one of the works in the citadel ordered by the sultan.

The last relevant mosque (Masjid al-Qaimari, cat. no. 32) is more problematic. It is undated, but since its plan

comprises a dome over a central chamber—a form which did not exist before the Ottoman period in Jerusalem—a few commentators (albeit with some reservations; see cat. no. 32 under 'Date') have assigned it to the 16th century. So far no information on the mosque has been found in the *sijills*, and the issue of dating has to await future information. Without certain proof, the mosque could be as well be dated to the 16th century as to any other time thereafter. It is worth noting that although the mosque occupies a prominent site in the Old City and there is ample space within its plan for one, surprisingly it has no minaret.

Two categories of *mihrab* were constructed in the period under discussion. The first is a type of isolated *mihrab* which is an independent structure; and the second acts as an architectural component, for it forms part of another building. Both categories were known in the architecture of the Mamluk period (see cat. no. 55 under pre-Ottoman *mastabas*). At this point, only the first type will be mentioned briefly, for a detailed study will examine both categories later in this chapter, under 'Architectural Elements'. Examples of the first type of *mihrab* are either dated by an inscription panel, like the Mihrab 'Ali Pasha (cat. no. 37) and the Mihrab Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 47), or are undated, like the Mihrab al-Sanaubar (cat. no. 54), the Mihrab wa Mastabat al-Zuhur ('the prayer niche and place of the flowers', cat. no. 55/7), the Mihrab wa Mastabat Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 55/8), the Mihrab wa Mastabat al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9), the Mihrab wa Mastabat Bab al-Ghawanima al-Gharbiyya (cat. no. 55/10), the Mihrab wa Mastabat Bab al-Ghawanima al-Sharqiyya (cat. no. 55/11) and the Mihrab wa Mastabat Sabil Mustafa Agha (al-Shaikh Budair, cat. no. 55/13).

Sufi Zawiyas⁵⁹

Sufi orders and their buildings (*zawiya*, Persian *khanqah*) were well established in Jerusalem long before the beginning of Ottoman rule.⁶⁰ The threefold rise in the population of the city in the 16th century (Goitein 1986: 334; Meinecke 1988: 268), which was a result in part of the new construction projects and the systematic restoration of many earlier institutions, allied to the increasing perception of the sanctity of the city, had an impact on re-activating the already existing Sufi communities as well as founding new orders.

Evliya Çelebi (al-'Asali 1992: 250),⁶¹ who visited

⁵⁹ For the role and activities of some of the *zawiyas* in Palestine in the late Ottoman period, see de Jong (1984: 31-60).

⁶⁰ For details see al-Muqaddasi (1877: 179) who as early as the tenth century makes mention of the Karramiyya; Mujir al-Din (1973 throughout); al-'Asali (1981: 342-368), de Jong (1984); Burgoyne (1987: 63).

⁶¹ This part is not translated by Stephan.

Jerusalem in 1082/1672, describes the city as he saw it.

Although the city appears to be small it has 240 *mihrrabs*, 7 schools for the teaching of Hadith, 10 for teaching the Qur'an, 40 *madrasas*, and *zawiyas* for 70 Sufi orders, the largest of which is that of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, Ahmad al-Badawi, Rifa'i, and Mevlevi. There are 6 *khans*, 6 baths, and 61 *sabils*.

The number of the buildings erected for the orders is indeed high, and it is right to suppose that Mamluk *zawiyas* were included in Evliya Çelebi's account, for the *sijill* records also point to Mamluk foundations, including—to name but a few—Zawiyat Ya'qub al-'Ajami (*Sijill* 5: 35), al-Zawiya al-Wafa'iyya (*Sijill* 5: 840), Zawiyat al-Maghariba (*Sijill* 25: 152), and al-Zawiya al-Yunusiyya (*Sijill* 12: 264). During the Ottoman period five new *zawiyas* associated with five different Sufi orders were established in the city. In chronological order these are: al-Zawiya al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3), al-Zawiya (Khanqah) Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya (cat. no. 33), al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35), and al-Zawiya al-As'adiyya on the Mount of Olives (*waqf* dated 1033/1623). The first *zawiya* was associated with the Khalwatiyya order of Sufis, from which it took its name, whereas the later *zawiya* was dedicated to Shaikh Muhammad al-'Alami. All these convents were sponsored by governors who showed favour to their pious *shaikhs* by making over certain estates as *waqf* for the benefit of the foundations and their adherents.

The first two convents—Zawiyas al-Hamra' and Maulawiyya (cat. nos. 3 and 19)—can be dated to the first phase of Ottoman rule, and were built close to each other at a relatively remote distance from the Haram area. They are both distinguished by an elaborate Ottoman cylindrical minaret. The next—Zawiyas Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya (cat. nos. 33 and 35)—abut on each other and are close to the Haram, a few metres west of Bab al-Ghawanim, one of the gates to the precinct. They are both without a minaret, and date to the second phase of Ottoman rule (1010-1241/1600-1831).

Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) is the best preserved of the Ottoman examples in the city. It retains its original plan, and it is seen now more or less as it was constructed with very little change. Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33), on the other hand, is almost totally non-original. Apart from the minaret of al-Zawiya al-Hamra', and the minaret and the second floor (*sama' khana*) of al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya, all that now remains of the convents are later additions. To judge from the remaining architectural evidence and according to their descriptions in the *waqfiyyas*, it seems that they incorporated several architectural elements such as a

minaret and a mosque. The general plan of the Ottoman *zawiyas* includes: an open courtyard with cisterns, small *khalkwas* constructed around the courtyard for the Sufi brothers, a suitable place with a *mihrab* to serve as a private *masjid*, a big chamber or hall for religious ceremonies, and a small kitchen.

Other Buildings

This category includes individual monuments—Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11), Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12), Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), 'Imara Khassaki Hurrem (Sultan) (cat. no. 15), Minaret al-Qal'a (cat. no. 27), and al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28). From the second period, one building belongs to this category, Dar al-'Izz (cat. no. 49). The category includes the largest and most important Ottoman buildings of the city. Most of the 16th-century buildings are constructed in a small area close to the 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. As is apparent from the names of three of these building, they were built by one patron—Bairam Jawish (for his biography, see cat. no. 11, under 'Founder'). Unfortunately, there is only one example of each type of building, which makes it difficult to comment on the features they have in common.

Burgoyne (1987: 37, n. 2) noted that the Mamluk *ribats* of Jerusalem were intended as hospices for pilgrims, and were therefore unlike the early *ribats* in North Africa and elsewhere which were fortified outposts garrisoned by religiously-inspired soldiers. The evidence of the *waqfiyya* and the foundation inscription of Ribat Bairam Jawish (see cat. no. 11) suggests the *ribat* in the Ottoman period functioned as a residential house for the pious poor (*al-fuqara' al-sulaha*). In this way, therefore, the *ribat* was similar in principle to the *zawiya*, with one exception. This is that in the *zawiya* the proviso was made that the poor were to belong to the same Sufi order as that of *zawiya* itself. The Ribat of al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan)—which now no longer exists—had fifty-five rooms, and was also a hospice for the poor rather than for pilgrims to the city.

Maktabas, where poor children and in particular orphans were educated, seem to have been a type of building which flourished in Ottoman Jerusalem, though only the Maktab of Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12) has survived from the period. It is an unattached structure, unlike most *maktabas* (*kuttab*) of similar date in Cairo, which were attached to *sabils*.⁶² Al-'Asali (1989: 83, 170), working from the *sijills*, has found evidence for two other *maktabas*, but neither still exists. The first dated to the

⁶² Al-Husaini (n.d: 34) wrote that fifty of the sixty-three Ottoman *sabils* in Cairo had a *kuttab* (*maktab*) in the upper floor. He also pointed out (p. 87) that the layout of the *kuttabas* was of the utmost architectural simplicity, being usually a square or rectangular chamber.

Mamluk period and was located close to the Jerusalem Citadel. The second was Ottoman, and was built by Turghad, the caretaker of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). Some older Mamluk structures, like al-Madrassa al-Taziyya (Sijill 64: 73) and al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya (Burgoyne 1987: 70), were used as places in which to educate children. The Qadi Ahmad ibn Nassuh established a *maktab* named after himself in Jerusalem in the middle of the 16th century (Sijill 67: 65) but unfortunately no further details are available. There are other references to the appointment of teachers in *maktabs* in Jerusalem (Sijills 22: 182; 80: 149; 83: 253; 145: 292); but again, no further information is available.

Although it would be right to suppose that hundreds of residential houses were built in the Ottoman city and that some still exist awaiting identification, Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) is the first house to be securely identified as a 16th-century structure. It was only possible to do so after extensive comparative study and after consulting the *sijill*. There is one other dated house, namely Dar al-'Izz (cat. no. 49), but it is too late in date (1205/1790-91) and too little remains of the original structure to be able to make any meaningful comparison between the two.

Two buildings which are called *madrasas* were found in the course of research on the Ottoman buildings. The first is al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25). Its date, function and identification were all established by *sijill* evidence, but since it has a similar layout to the other *khalwas* in the Haram, it is here classified as one of them (see above). Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, which has been hitherto mistakenly known as the 'Rasasiyya' (see cat. no. 28), is the second *madrasa* I have found, but its identification and secure dating to the Ottoman period have not yet been finally established. Indeed, I believe that the building may belong to the late Mamluk period. It can be stated with some authority, therefore, that the *madrasa* as a type of architecture is rare in Ottoman Jerusalem, particularly in comparison with the Mamluk period (see Burgoyne 1987).

It is interesting to end the study of the types of Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem with al-'Imara al-'Amira, the biggest and the most richly endowed foundation ever built in the Ottoman period, not just in Jerusalem but in Palestine as a whole. It comprised many structures: a *ribat* made up of fifty-five rooms (now lost), a caravanserai, a 'lofty' mosque, and a free soup-kitchen with many ancillary structures. A great part of the research for this study was dedicated to this important site, and in the catalogue entry no. 15 the complex is studied at length.

Since this is the only complex of this type in Palestine, it is instructive to compare it with similar complexes in other Ottoman territories. There are two examples—among many others of this type—which are particularly relevant as analogies. The first is the Süleymaniyye in Damascus and the second is the complex of Hasseki Hürrem (Khurrem), the founder of the Jerusalem complex, in the Aksari district of Istanbul.

The former was completed in 962/1554-5, almost exactly the same completion date as that of the Jerusalem complex, and while its design is confidently attributed to Sinan, its execution according to Kuran (1987: 75) was obviously the work of one of Sinan's gifted assistants. Apart from sharing a few features in common, like their completion date, the fact that both are widely known as *tekiyyas*, that both are royal foundations, and that the two complexes are made up of nearly the same architectural components (a mosque, 'imara, and caravanserai), they actually present more differences than similarities. The table below which is based on the description of cat. no. 15 on one hand and the analysis by Kuran (1987: 75-8) on the other, lists the major differences between the two complexes.

The comparison between the two complexes of Hasseki Hürrem in Jerusalem and Istanbul fares scarcely better than the comparison between the Süleymaniyye complex in the capital and al-'Imara al-'Amira. The Istanbul complex was built in phases. The first was the construction of a single-domed mosque in 945/1538-9 by Sinan; then, a year later, Khasseki Hürrem ordered a

Table 36.9 Differences between al-'Imarat al-'Amira and the Süleymaniyye

Al-'Imara al-'Amira in Jerusalem

No walls surround the complex.
Executed on a multi-levelled plot of land.
Has buildings of more than one storey.
Two irregular courtyards.
Integrates older buildings and reused material.
An example of provincial architecture.
Built and designed by local and Syrian builders.
No porticoes precede any building.
No trace of any minaret in the complex.
The mosque has four shallow domes with a cross-folded vault.
Intricate and much-altered plan.
Built for the local needs of the poor and the Sufis.

The Süleymaniyye in Damascus

The complex is enclosed within a wall.
Executed on a flat-plot of land.
Exclusively single-storeyed buildings.
One main rectangular plaza.
A coherent complex.
Excellent example of classical Ottoman architecture.
Designed by Sinan, the grand master builder, and executed by one of his assistants.
The mosque entrance is preceded by double-porticoes.
Elegant twin 'pencil' minarets.
The mosque has a single typical Ottoman dome.
The plan is based on a symmetrical composition organised around an axial system.
Built for pilgrims on their way to or from Mecca during the Hajj.

Table 36.10 The location of Ottoman monuments¹ in Jerusalem

Location/period	First phase	Second phase	Total
Dome of the Rock upper esplanade	14	8	22
Haram platform	1	10	11
Inside the Old City outside the Haram	8	5	13
Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya	7	-	7
Outside the walls of the Old City	2	-	2
Sub-total	32	23	55

¹ This table does not include the majority of the buildings in the Old City which are basically 'Ottoman', especially the domestic housing and the shops lining the main streets.

madrassa and a *maktab* to be constructed near the mosque, and some years after that an *'imara* (1550/957) and hospital were added (Kuran 1987: 46-47). Though the *'imara* is widely known as Sinan's work, Kuran (1987: 27, 46-7) has shown that it was probably not designed by Sinan, for there is no evidence to that effect and Sinan was busy with other important projects at that time. Despite the fact that the Istanbul *'imara* was not constructed in the style of Sinan, it displays a completely different design from that of the Jerusalem complex, and apart from the shared function of a free soup kitchen, and the presence of two stone bosses with a small rosette roundel on the south entrance which leads to the courtyard of the *'imara*, it is very hard to see a further similarity. The *'imara* in Istanbul is constructed with alternating courses of stone and brick, and it has an arcaded square open courtyard with domed units on three sides. The kitchen itself is made up of two units and four chimneys; all are roofed with domes with circular drums, unlike the only dome of the Jerusalem kitchen. This has an octagonal drum, and is closer to Mamluk domes rather than the classical Ottoman variety.

It is clear from this discussion that the Jerusalem complex belongs in the category of provincial architecture; it signally lacks the features of classical Ottoman architecture (see my concluding remarks).

Locations

The Haram area attracted most of the Ottoman building activity, for over half of the monuments (33 out of 55, which is equal to 60 per cent) were built either on the upper esplanade of the Dome of the Rock or on the greater Haram platform. This is a different situation from that of the Mamluk buildings, which were very rarely built within the Haram itself but were rather constructed around its perimeter (see Burgoyne 1987: 35, fig. 2). There are many reasons for the concentration of the Ottoman buildings in this particular area, but the primary one was the sanctity of the Haram and the availability of space remaining to the Ottomans. Table 36.10 shows the locations of the Ottoman monuments and their numbers.

Founders⁶³

The majority of the thirty-two standing monuments of the 16th century were founded either by Sultan Sulaiman or by high officials of the Ottoman empire. Although abstract numbers can sometimes mislead as they hide the size of individual monuments (for example, in crude numerical terms a small dome such Qubbat al-Khadr is treated as equal to the complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira Khassaki Khurrem Sultan), it is undeniably true that Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni and his wife, Hasseki Hürrem Sultan, were the patrons of nine of these thirty-two structures, and this moreover takes no account of the sultan's contribution to the restoration of the walls, the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque, and the Citadel (see above for details). The monuments of the 16th century in the city thus include many royal foundations, which contrasts not only with the succeeding Ottoman phase (1010-1247/1600-1831)—which has only a single royal structure, itself of the utmost simplicity (see below)—but also with the preceding Mamluk period, which saw only three royal foundations (Burgoyne 1987: 68). There is no getting away from this major change of emphasis.

Ottoman officials were responsible for a further twelve of the thirty-two buildings erected in the 16th century, but if both phases of Ottoman construction are calculated together, it is they who make up the largest category of patrons (19 out of 55). Most of them were governors of cities in Palestine, in particular of Jerusalem and Gaza. They held various titles such as *mir liwa'* (governor), *pasha*, *beg*, and *agha*, and two of them were *amirs* of the Syrian Meccan pilgrimage caravan. Among their number there are also minor officials such as the *kathkuda* (deputy commander of the Citadel), and one was a mere soldier. Most of these officials were in post when they constructed their monuments and established their endowments, in contrast to the majority of the Mamluk *amirs* who were not in service (*battals*) at the time

⁶³ The historical background to the monuments and the biographical details of the founders are given in the relevant catalogue entries.

Table 36.11 The founders and their rank or profession in the 16th century

Category	Sultan	Governor	Unidentified	Merchant	'Ulama	Others	Vizier	Total
Zawiyas	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Sabils	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	8
Khakwas	-	8	-	-	-	1	-	9
Commemorative buildings	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Religious buildings	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Others	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	6
Subtotal	9	12	7	3	-	1	-	32

Table 36.12 The founders of institutions and their rank or profession in the second phase: 1010-1247/1601-1831

Category	Sultan	Governor	Unidentified	Merchant	'Ulama	Others	Vizier	Total
Sabils	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	5
Khakwas	-	1	3	-	1	-	1	6
Commemorative buildings	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	5
Zawiyas	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Religious buildings	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	4
Others	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sub-total	1	7	7	-	3	3	2	23
Total of both phases	10	19	14	3	3	4	2	55

(Burgoyne 1987: 68). The majority of the officials were extremely rich, not because they had their own *khass*-fiefs, but because they undertook a variety of financial transactions. This information is revealed by the *sijill* records and is discussed below in the context of the biography of some of the founders. It is interesting to discover that Bairam Jawish, who began his career in Jerusalem as a high Ottoman official, finishes by being one of the great—if not the greatest—merchants in Jerusalem and Palestine, so much so that he has been listed under the category of merchant rather than official in Table 36.11. Ahmad Beg was able to lend oil to the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa (the Haram) in times of difficulty, and frequent financial records mention the names of Muhammad Pasha and Qitas Beg.

In order to have an overview of the patrons and the type of monuments they founded, and in order to compare the two phases of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, there are tables 38.11 and 26.12. The first lists the monuments of the 16th century and the second those of the second phase.

Motivation

The motives of the founders are unequivocally expressed in a great many cases, either briefly in the foundation inscription or at length in the relevant *waqfiyya*. The wording differs from one case to another, but it is true to say that in each case the motivation stems from religious teaching and general piety, which encouraged good deeds and charitable acts in return for a reward in the life to come.

Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) was constructed 'for the benefit and countenance of Allah', and Muhammad

Shakir restored Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) hoping that his restoration and the Messenger of Allah (Muhammad) would mediate on his behalf on the Day of Judgment. Qitas Beg constructed his *khakwa* (cat. no. 16) in order to bring himself closer to Allah, and Yusuf Agha reiterated three times the wish that the reward for the construction of his two domes (1092/1681) would all fall to himself.

Other phrases are more detailed, and express other expectations and motivations. Al-Shurbaji, for example, who constructed his *sabil* in 1097/1685, hoped to have as a reward blessing and charity from Allah, whereas Mustafa Agha and 'Uthman opted for their *sabil* to be considered among those who are blessed, and that they would drink from the basin of Taha or, in other words, that they would be in Paradise. In an unpublished foundation inscription from the construction of his *iwan* (not extant today) now in the Aqsa Islamic Museum on the Haram (see above under Commemorative Buildings), Mustafa the Vizier sought the blessing of Muhammad, and that Allah might grant him eternal welfare, safeguard him from evil, forgive him, and protect him against the evil eye.

Most of the *waqfiyyas* express similar sentiments. They contain almost identical quotations from the Qur'an, such as 'On the Day whereon neither wealth nor sons will avail, but only he (will prosper) that brings to Allah a sound heart' (Qur'an XXVI: 88, 89) (see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 11/4 line 12) or from the sayings (Hadith) of the Prophet Muhammad, such as 'When a man dies, all his works cease, except for three things, an ongoing act of charity, some learning which gives benefit, and a pious son who will pray for him' (Cat. Appendix 1, no. 11/4 line 7; 21 line 5). A second famous tradition of the Prophet says 'Fear hell fire at least [by donating] half dates' (Cat. Appendix 1, no. 19/1 line 11; 21 line 5).

Architectural Features

Domes

Domes are a prominent element⁶⁴ in the Ottoman architecture of Jerusalem and form an integral part of the majority of the structures. They cover the apex of minarets, *sabils*, halls of mosques, the main chambers of *khalwas*, and above all they in themselves constitute a separate⁶⁵ monumental structure. These domes usually have a pointed or hemispherical exterior profile, but two⁶⁶ have a curious unfinished shape with a truncated pyramidal profile, and one is an umbrella dome.⁶⁷ They are usually covered on the exterior with stone slabs to protect them from the elements, but a few are sheathed in lead. The majority of the domes culminate in a stone crescent finial, and a few have a more recent finial in bronze.

The interior of all the domes is plastered, and here the dome is expressed either as a single shallow concavity or as a smaller, shallow, ribbed saucer. Most of the interiors of the domes are plain, although some are decorated. The decorative scheme of one dome consists of a central radiating 'pleated' fan, surrounded by nine unequal concave divisions (cat. no. 12). The main dome in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha is expressed from inside as a shallow saucer of thirty-two whorled ribs. The centre contains a roundel with incised relief lines which appear to radiate from a central inner point (cat. no. 22). Another small dome, this time in the Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24), is decorated with a double interlacing incised curved band which forms seven units. The interior of the dome of Yusuf (cat. no. 38), is decorated with a series of thirty-eight radiating ribs which curve away from the central depression in a whorl pattern. Round this central device runs a concentric, incised band of thirteen zig-zags which is surrounded in turn by intersecting concave-sided stars of irregular form, with thirteen points in all reaching to the edges of the dome.

Most of the domes constructed in the period under discussion are either supported by arches, or carried directly on the walls of the square chambers beneath, or set

on the octagonal elevations of the structures without an intervening drum. The transitional zone is mostly made up of four undecorated pendentives in the corners of the room, but in four cases squinches are found instead of pendentives.⁶⁸ This type of dome, which is shallow and without an intervening drum, may be considered as a direct descendant of the traditional Ottoman dome.

There are among the domes which are attributed to the Ottoman period six⁶⁹ which have octagonal or dodecagonal drums pierced with pointed or semicircular arched windows. In these, the transition zone from the square to the circle of the drum is managed by undecorated pendentive triangles at the four corners. Only the drum of the dome of the mosque of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya has four *muqarnas* pendentives (cat. no. 28) made up of four rows of small lancet niches. The *muqarnas* is constructed of red and black masonry, some of which is decorated with small ribbed shells.

Minarets

The minaret, used by the *mu'adhdhin* to call the five daily prayers, and the place from which the observation of the beginning of the Arabic months, especially the month of Ramadan, takes place, is the most distinctive feature of any Islamic town or city. Although the function of the *mu'adhdhin* has recently been replaced by electric speakers and by tape recorders, the minaret remains a dominant feature in almost every newly constructed mosque throughout the world of Islam.

In all there are twelve historic minarets in the Old City of Jerusalem. Eight of these have been studied and published by Burgoyne (1987: 127; 178; 244; 270, 415; 513; 517; 568). These were either constructed or reconstructed in the Mamluk period, and all—apart from the Bab al-Asbat minaret, which has a cylindrical shaft—follow the type of square Syrian tower. Burgoyne (1987: 89) wrote '... but the cylindrical stone shafts could be the result of a later Ottoman reconstruction, for all the

⁶⁴ Twenty-three of the thirty-two monuments attributed to the 16th century have a dome; the catalogue numbers are 2-3, 10-32. Fifteen of the twenty-three monuments of the second phase also have a dome; the catalogue numbers are 33-43, 48, 50-53.

⁶⁵ Examples of these are cat. nos. 10, 30 and 31.

⁶⁶ The first is over Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), and the second—which is clumsily finished—is over the Iwan of Sultan Mahmud II (1233/1817-18).

⁶⁷ This is constructed over Sabil Sha'lan which was built in the Ayyubid period, but was restored twice in the Ottoman period; the dome dates to the later restoration.

⁶⁸ Examples of squinches are in to be found in cat. nos. 14, 20, 23 and 32.

⁶⁹ These are: the dome of the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15), the dome of the tomb chamber which was built close to al-'Imara al-'Amira, the dome of the mosque of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28), the two domes of the upper level of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29), and the dome of Masjid al-Qaimari (cat. no. 32). It should be recalled that only the date of the dome of the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira is confirmed as being of the 16th century, for the other domes are undated. The two domes of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya and the dome of Masjid al-Qaimari should probably be dated later than the 16th century, and the dome of the tomb chamber and that of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya are probably late Mamluk. For further details see the catalogue entry for each monument.

Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem have cylindrical shafts.' In another place (1987: 417) he comments that 'there is some justification, therefore, to suppose that the shaft of Bab al-Asbat Minaret may be an Ottoman reconstruction.' In this he was correct, for I have discovered a document in *Sijill* 80: 100 which proves his hypothesis.⁷⁰ The document, which is dated 18 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1007/12 June 1599, will help in dating the Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem, especially Minaret al-Hamra', for it bears a striking resemblance to the one at Bab al-Asbat. The *sijill* record informs us that Sultan Muhammad Khan (1003-12/1595-1603) had sent 300 *sultani* to the inspector of al-Aqsa mosque to fund the rebuilding of the Bab al-Asbat minaret. 'Abd al-Baqi Beg had accordingly entered into a contract with three master builders, in the presence of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza, for the rebuilding. The builders—'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, a master-builder in Jerusalem the Noble, Muhammad known as Khalaf al-Mi'mar, and 'Ali ibn Khalil al-Hajjar (the stone cutter)—were to receive 200 *sultani* in return for a well-executed reconstruction of the minaret from the octagonal base (*min hadd al-muthamman*) to the *sham'a* (pinnacle), and from the *sham'a* to its apex (*al-ra's al-fuqani*), all without reducing the extent of its staircase which then amounted to sixty-eight steps. They were to provide all the materials and the tools needed for the repairs, such as stones, lime, gypsum, water, workers, *qufaf* (leather baskets), shovels and so on; the exception was the provision of lead which was to be the responsibility of the inspector. The complete Arabic text is transcribed with an English summary in Cat. Appendix 1, no. 3/3.

Four other minarets can be assigned to the Ottoman period. These are the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), the minaret of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3), the minaret of al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), and the minaret of al-Qal'a (cat. no. 26). Two of these minarets are associated with Sufi foundations (cat. nos. 3 and 19), and two with mosques (cat. nos. 1 and 26). None of them is built in the

vicinity of a Mamluk minaret, and they all occupy a dominant site in the city. One (cat. no. 1) is built in the south-west section of city where the complex of al-Nabi Da'ud is located. Another (cat. no. 26) stands in the west within the Citadel, and the remaining two (cat. nos. 3 and 19) are in the north of the city and relatively close to each other. Without exception, all are located in a topographically dominant site. This was undoubtedly a deliberate choice designed to show the Islamic face of the city, particularly in a case such as the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), which was constructed on one of the holiest sites of the Christian Holy Land.

Each of these minarets consists of four basic parts, conforming to the usual design of the developed minaret in Islam: the base (*al-qa'da*), the shaft (*al-badan*), the gallery (*al-shurfa*), and the pinnacle (*al-sham'a*). In each case, the base is square in plan and either converts directly into a cylindrical shaft, as in the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud and the minaret of al-Qal'a, or does so by means of an octagon, as in the minaret of al-Hamra' and the minaret of al-Maulawiyya. The transition from the square base to the circular shaft is achieved by chamfering the apex of the four corners of the base to form either a convex curve, or convex pendentive triangles or Turkish triangles.

Without exception, the four minarets have a cylindrical shaft terminating in a circular gallery. The shaft is usually divided into two or three storeys by a variety of mouldings, which serve the double purpose of adding a decorative element. The gallery is carried either on tiers of *muqarnas* (as on the minarets of al-Nabi Da'ud and al-Hamra') or simply on a single moulding (as on the minaret of al-Qal'a) or on multiple mouldings (as on the minaret of al-Maulawiyya) in order to create the necessary projection. The gallery is crowned by the *sham'a* which is made up of two parts, the upper of which has a small dome with a pointed profile.

There is no universal rule with regard to the position of these minarets in relation to the neighbouring building. The minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud stands near the south-west corner of the hall of the mosque, while the minaret of al-Qal'a stands in the south-east corner of the mosque, and the minaret of al-Maulawiyya and al-Hamra' are both located to the south east of the *zawiya*.

Although foundation inscriptions provide the date for the Mosque of al-Nabi Da'ud and al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, the inscriptions do not include any indication of the presence of a minaret. However, Burgoyne (1987: 416-17), in trying to date the reconstruction of the Bab al-Asbat minaret, based his suggestion on the inscription of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya. In addition to the confirmation in the *sijill* for Burgoyne's tentative date, I have come to the conclusion that the minaret of al-Maulawiyya is most likely to have been constructed in the 16th century, probably some time before the year 995/1586-7. This is based on observation of the technique

⁷⁰ Burgoyne has suggested that another Mamluk minaret was reconstructed in the Ottoman period. He states of the Fakhriyya minaret that 'The square shaft of the south-western minaret of the Haram (Fakhriyya), considering the weakness of its decoration, may also be an Ottoman reconstruction' (1987: 89). Burgoyne (1987: 272) gives additional support to his thesis by adding that 'the feeble profile of the moulding around the entrance door, the *paterae* above the door, and the finicky daintiness of the *muqarnas* head of the window is characteristic of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem.' We would also point out that the two carved stone bosses on either side of the door of the minaret, which I call roundels, are also a common feature of Ottoman architecture in the city (see below under the discussion of the characteristic features of the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem). It worth noting also that the *muqarnas* of the windows in the minaret is similar to the *muqarnas* of the windows of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22).

Table 36.13 The architectural features of Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem

Name of the minaret	Asbat	Da'ud	Hamra'	Maulawiyya	Qal'a
<i>Architectural feature</i>					
Base with square plan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Method of transition from base to cylindrical shaft:					
(1) Concave chamfered apex	—	✓	—	✓	—
(2) Turkish triangles	✓	—	✓	—	✓
Method of transition to gallery:					
(1) Tiers of <i>muqarnas</i>	✓	✓	—	—	—
(2) Set of mouldings	—	—	—	✓	✓
Friezes of incised counterchange joggling	✓	✓	✓	—	✓
Cavetto moulding	✓	—	✓	—	✓
Billet moulding	—	—	✓	—	✓
Roll moulding	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Slit window in the shaft	✓	✓	✓	—	✓
Circular (oculus) window in the shaft	✓	—	—	✓	✓

Table 36.14 Measurements of the Ottoman minarets

	Da'ud	Hamra'	Maulawiyya	Qal'a
Total height (all measurements are given in metres)	10.20	18.00	17.50	18.50
Base	2.65 x 2.65 x 1.60	2.90 x 2.90 x 3.70	2.60 x 2.60 x 4.70	3.00 x 3.00 x 4.00
Doorway	0.65 x 1.25 east	0.65 x 1.37 west	0.60 x 1.55 east	0.65 x 1.52 south
Number of steps	—	46	30	40
Height of first transition zone	—	1.40	1.00	3.00
Height of second zone	—	2.40	1.40	—
Height of shaft	4.60	5.00	6.40	7.60
Height of <i>sham'a</i>	4.00	5.50	4.00	3.90
Diameter of shaft	2.05	2.60	2.25	2.90
Diameter of <i>sham'a</i>	1.15	1.80	1.75	1.85
Diameter of gallery	3.30	3.60	2.80	2.80
Size of gallery door	0.40 x 0.90	0.55 x 1.50	0.71 x 1.70	0.55 x 1.45

employed in the building of the minaret in relation to the dated level of the *sama'* chamber, and on the unpublished *waqfiyya* which has been discovered in Sijill 66: 551. For more details, see Catalogue entry no. 19 under 'The Minaret', and Cat. Appendix 1, no. 19/1 for the whole Arabic text of the *waqfiyya* with an English summary. If I am correct, this would mean that two of the five minarets attributed to the Ottoman period are dateable to the 16th century.

Although the minarets under discussion display variations in the design of their bases, general height and proportions, as well as architectural detailing, zones of transition, and size of masonry used (as shown in Table 36.14 above), they have many features in common and these serve to unite them within a single category or architectural style. These features are:

(1) Without exception, the minarets have the same four elements, and a square base which carries a cylindrical shaft. It is a general rule that no minaret in Jerusalem or in Palestine as a whole from the Mamluk period has a cylindrical shaft—all have a square tower of the Syrian type.

(2) Each of the four minarets is constructed near a 16th-century building, and the general circumstances favour the

supposition that the minaret was built more or less at the same time as the main building. For example, the conversion of the Coenaculum into a mosque (al-Nabi Da'ud) is dated to 930/1524 by foundation inscription. The conversion was carried out after a long dispute and with religious fervour by the local Muslim community on the order of Sultan Sulaiman. Symbols of Islam were added to the site such as a *mihrab* and a small dome, and it is almost certain that a prominent minaret to call the faithful to prayer and to announce Islamic sovereignty was considered essential. It is most likely, then, that the minaret was constructed at the same time as the conversion. For more details see Catalogue entry no. 1 under 'History and The Minaret'. The minaret of al-Qal'a had a similar history, for the Citadel was a main focus for Ottoman repairs and constructions. These repairs started before the reign of Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni; they continued throughout it and intermittently thereafter, but the majority of the work—and certainly the most important part of it—was carried out under the patronage of Sulaiman himself in 938/1531-2. These parts include repair of the wall and a moat, construction of a summer mosque (cat. no. 27), and rebuilding the outer eastern entrance of the Citadel (for further details see above under 'The Citadel'). If one takes into consideration the overall works which have earned

Sulaiman the reputation of a great restorer of the city (Meinecke 1988: 268-9), the prominent location of the Citadel, and the fact that it houses the only Friday mosque in the city other than the Masjid al-Aqsa, the conclusion must be that the minaret of al-Qal'a was constructed in the time of Sultan Sulaiman. Although nothing but the minaret is still standing today, al-Zawiya al-Hamra', otherwise known as al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (cat. no. 3), was probably also built in the 16th century because two relevant *waqfs*, recorded in the *sijill*, were set up by two governors in the first half of that century.

(3) There are many architectural and decorative features that the four minarets share with the Bab al-Asbat minaret. Table 36.13 above lists most of them but the most important feature of all is the shared frieze of the incised counterchange joggling mentioned by Burgoyne (1987: 417) as one of the common elements of Ottoman minarets. The second feature of importance to note is the zone of transition on the minaret of Bab al-Asbat, which resembles closely the transitional zone of the minaret of al-Hamra' and the minaret of al-Maulawiyya. First, it is conceived as a series of Turkish triangles, and second, it is made up of two parts. These triangles are now proven to be Ottoman rather than Mamluk—as Burgoyne himself (1987: 417) surmised—by the *sijill* document mentioned above.

From the information in Table 36.13 and from the points already covered, it seems probable that the three undated minarets assigned to the Ottoman period should be seen as dating to the 16th century and should thus join the minaret of al-Maulawiyya and the reconstruction of the minaret of Bab al-Asbat.

Mihrabs

As early as the second half of the 4th/10th century, al-Muqaddasi (1877: 170) listed a number of *mihrabs* within the sacred precinct of the Haram, and prayer niches continued to be built throughout the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods. In Jerusalem, the *mihrab* can be either integrated into a building or remain as a separate element of architecture, and furthermore, it seems that a special type of *mihrab* (the reserved or floor *mihrab*) was developed within the Haram al-Sharif, where it related to commemorative sites of religious importance (see below).

Some twenty-nine *mihrabs* have survived from the Ottoman period; the great majority of them are in the Haram area with only four (cat. nos. 1, 3, 26 and 32) located outside the sacred enclosure. Most of these *mihrabs*⁷¹ are attached to buildings such as mosques, *khalkwas*, *zawiyas* and *qubbas* but their position within the pious foundation is irregular. Some,⁷² as already stated, are

an isolated element, constructed separately on the south side of a raised stone dais (*mastaba*). The *mihrabs* can be grouped into three types:

(1) The arched-niche *mihrab*. This is the most common type in Islamic architecture, built within a rectangular block in the *qibla* wall, and consisting of either a flat (*musattah*) or concave (*mujawwaf*) niche. There is no extant example of the first kind in Jerusalem from the Ottoman period,⁷³ but there are many examples still standing of the second type. The majority of the concave *mihrabs* of Ottoman Jerusalem are built of dressed masonry⁷⁴ of white stone now weathered to grey, although a few (cat. nos. 28, 36, 42, 47 and 50) are built with *ablaq* masonry of red, black and grey. These *mihrabs* are surmounted either by a pointed or a semicircular arch, which in general springs from the sides of the niche with no supporting column. Only three *mihrabs* have columns (cat. nos. 28, 50 and 55/12)—however, the attribution of two of these to the period under discussion is not conclusive.

Contrary to the general rule for *mihrabs*, whether Ottoman or from other periods, the majority of the niches under discussion are undecorated.⁷⁵ The exceptions are the Mihrab al-Sanaubar (cat. no. 54) and Mihrab al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), although the latter in my opinion is very recent, while the former is undated and has its own problems. Mihrab Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42) is the only Ottoman example which has stucco decoration.⁷⁶ It has a cornice of small, simple, painted *muqarnas* niches in stucco crowning the rectangular block and in the conch, which is decorated with four scalloped ribs of carved stucco. The

⁷³ There are three *mihrabs* in the Haram al-Sharif known to the author that are *not* in the form of a concave niche, but are rather flat (*musattah*) *mihrabs*. The first is located in the cave of the Dome of the Rock, and the other two flank the main *mihrab* of al-Aqsa Mosque. Creswell (1932 1: 70) considered that the first of these is the earliest extant *mihrab* in Islam, and ascribed it to the time of 'Abd al-Malik. Féhervari (1993: 8) added several other points in support of Creswell's dating. For a different view that sees the *mihrab* as dating to the Ikshidid dynasty, see Baer (1985: 17).

⁷⁴ All the extant *mihrabs* in Jerusalem are built of stone. I know of none made of stucco, brick, or wood. It is worth mentioning that there are four plain wooden panels with shallow concave niches in the Islamic Museum at the Haram (not yet published). They were used in the past in the Dome of the Rock to indicate the direction of Mecca, for it was difficult for all the worshippers to stand in the correct position towards the south owing to the octagonal plan of the building. These were not mobile *mihrabs* in any sense for they had fixed locations and therefore cannot be likened to the mobile wooden *mihrabs* of Cairo of the Fatimid period.

⁷⁵ For the decorative scheme of four Ayyubid and Mamluk *mihrabs* see Rosen-Ayalon (1986: 553-63).

⁷⁶ Carved stucco decoration on Mamluk *mihrabs* in Jerusalem is also very rare. The only example recorded is in the Turba of Sitt Tunshuq (before 800/1398). Burgoyne (1987: 508-9) regarded this decoration as being under the influence of Iran.

⁷¹ Their cat. nos. are: 1, 3, 8, 10, 21-22, 27-28, 30, 32, 34-37, 39, 41-43, 44-47 and 50.

⁷² Their cat. nos. are 37, 47, 55/7-55/11 and 55-13.

design of these *mihhrabs* does not follow the traditional royal Ottoman pattern. The exception is Mihrab al-Nabi Da'ud which in my opinion is a modern copy. The other *mihhrabs* are closer to the traditional niches of Mamluk Jerusalem.

(2) The floor or 'reserved' *mihhrab*. Three examples of this type survive in the Haram—the floor *mihhrab* of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), Mihrab Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31), and Mihrab Mastabat al-Zuhur. None of them is dated and very little is known about them, probably because they are located within Ottoman monuments, and therefore considered as dating to the same period. It is suggested here that on the contrary the *mihhrabs* predate the domed buildings, and apart from sharing the same site, there is no relationship between the *mihhrabs* and the domes. According to al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din, the *mihhrabs* were constructed in the Mamluk period (cat. nos. 10, and 31). Because of its simplicity, it is probably right to see the third *mihhrab* (Mihrab Mastabat al-Zuhur) as Ottoman. This type of *mihhrab* is called in Arabic *mihhrab makhtut fi'l-ard*. Here it has been described as a 'floor *mihhrab*' or, more commonly, as 'reserved within the floor'. It is a type of *musattah mihhrab* but instead of being attached to a wall it is laid flat at floor level. It is simple in design and is made up either of coloured marble slabs (as in Mihrab Qubbat al-Nabi and Mihrab Qubbat al-Khadr), or of monochrome flagstones (as Mihrab Mastabat al-Zuhur). The slab facing south (*qibla*) is cut in the form of a pointed arch. The only parallel in principle to the layout of this *mihhrab* can be seen at the Maqam Ibrahim in Mecca in the circular courtyard of the Ka'ba. But this apart, it seems that this type of *mihhrab* is not found in other periods or anywhere outside the Haram of Jerusalem. So far they have been ignored by scholars.⁷⁷

(3) The free-standing walled *mihhrab*. There are three examples of these also still extant in the Haram area of Jerusalem; all appear to be datable to the Ottoman period. These are: the Mihrab of Muhammad Beg within Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), Mihrab Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30), and Mihrab Mastabat al-Zuhur (cat. no. 55/7). The simplicity of this type is reflected in its name, for it is in fact a low wall enclosing either a floor *mihhrab*—as in the Mihrab Qubbat al-Nabi and Mihrab Mastabat al-Zuhur—or it is a low wall with a semicircular curve, as in Qubbat al-Arwah.

Arches

The Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem rejoice in many and various arches, some of which are part of the construction, and some of which are purely decorative. The pointed arch is the most predominant type, and is used for spanning niches—such as those of the *sabils* sponsored by Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni—doors and entrances, domes, porticoes, *qantar*as and *mihhrabs*. In most cases the pointed arch is

large in relation to the monument it adorns; sometimes it is huge, as in the monuments described in catalogue entries nos. 9, 11, 13, 15, 22 and 28. In many examples (cat. nos. 4, 6, 8 and 38) the voussoirs of the arch are cut in a chevron ('zig-zag') shape. This decorative element is reflected in the name given to type which is called here 'the pointed chevron arch'. On occasion, the voussoirs are constructed in a double tier (cat. nos. 11, 13 and 25). The double-tiered voussoir is probably a domestic innovation introduced into Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem to give more load-bearing strength to the arch. The double tier is not found in Mamluk architecture and there are no examples of it in the walls. From the construction technique, it seems that the voussoirs of the upper tier of certain arches were added later when a new structure was built over the original building.

The relieving arch, which is known also as the flat arch, is common in Jerusalem in the period. Its use was confined to the construction of the lintels of windows and doors, although it is found most commonly over windows. Its main purpose is to lessen the load on the lintels, but as many of this type of arch are not load-bearing, it must also have been used as decoration. The arch was constructed with three (cat. nos. 11 and 16), five (cat. no. 11), seven (cat. nos. 11, 13, and 28), or nine (cat. no. 13) voussoirs. The voussoirs are either joggled—in which case they are coloured—or plain and of monochrome masonry. There is one notable feature associated with the relieving arch in many of the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem when it is constructed with three voussoirs—the side voussoirs and half of the central one forms a shallow curve over the lintel of the arch, reminiscent of the curve of an eye-brow over the human eye. The resemblance has suggested the name coined here for the feature—an 'eye-brow' relieving arch. It is probable that this type is the result of local initiative, for no parallel has yet emerged from the neighbouring towns within Palestine in the surviving buildings. The 'eye-brow' arch was apparently used for the first time in the Khalwa Qitas (cat. no. 16). From then on it was seen in other 16th-century buildings (cat. nos. 17, 21 and 24). Later it became a common feature, and it appears in many important monuments (cat. 34, 35, 41, 42 and 46), and was also widely adopted in local domestic buildings in the late Ottoman period.

The horse-shoe arch, which according to Goodwin (1971: 458) is almost unknown in Ottoman Turkey (although he cites one fine example at Arap Cami in Istanbul), is also rare in the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem. Apart from al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) which has them, there are only three examples of horse-shoe arch (cat. nos. 17, 22 and 25) in 16th-century buildings. Two further arches of this type are found in the buildings described in catalogue entry nos. 48 and 54. Some even terminate in a slight point (cat. nos. 22 and 54).

The trefoil arch, though rarer than the pointed

⁷⁷ See for example the article 'Mihrab' in *EIF* by Féhervari (1993: 7-15) which includes no reference to the floor *mihhrab*.

arch, is also found in 16th-century buildings, for example over the north entrance porch of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). Another surmounts the rectangular recessed panel in the north façade of Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), and there are further examples in the tall recessed panel of the west elevation of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), and on al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28). Yet another example surmounts the doorway of Qantarat Bairam Jawish which is undated but was apparently built after the 16th century.

The segmented arch appears with less frequency in the architecture of the period under discussion, but it is found in buildings described in catalogue entry nos. 11, 14, 15, 16, 22 and 24. It usually surmounts door lintels and is made up of three, five, or seven voussoirs.

The semicircular arch, on the other hand, is a type used frequently in Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem. It is either to be found over doors, or it surmounts the interior openings of windows. In the latter case it is often plastered but over doorways it is either blocked up (cat. nos. 14 and 23) or left uncovered. It is sometimes made up of counterchange joggled voussoirs (cat. no. 11) or a double tier of voussoirs (cat. no. 11). In two cases it has chevron voussoirs (cat. nos. 28 and 33), but the first instance of this variant is probably late Mamluk and the second is datable to after 1880.

Though the gadrooned arch is used in the restoration of the walls,⁷⁸ it appears only twice in the buildings under discussion. The first is in the al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28), and the second is in Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 37).

Other types of Islamic arches—such as keel, ogee, and cinquefoil—do not feature in the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem.

Portals and Porticoes

In general, the Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem lack the tall impressive entrance portals which are such a dominant feature of the Mamluk period. Apart from al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya—which whenever it is mentioned carries the caveat of its unconfirmed date—there are only three buildings (cat. nos 11, 15 and 35) which have monumental portals. But even so, the architectural design is very simple and modest in comparison to the Mamluk doorways or some of the Ottoman portals in Istanbul, or even the Mawardiyya entrance (for details, see its description under the north façade in cat. no. 28). Two of the entrance portals—Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11) and Zawiya Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35)—are almost identical even though a century separates their construction. Both are set into a recessed porch with a pointed arch. The door is flanked on

both sides by a stone bench and is surmounted by a lintel; above the lintel there are stone panels containing a foundation inscription. The third portal is a little different, for it was a royal foundation (cat. no. 15). It is both taller and wider than the two just mentioned. It is set within a trefoil arch of monochrome masonry, the arch is framed by ogee moulding, and it is flanked by two stone benches placed on either side of the recessed porch.

The entrances of one group of Ottoman buildings were preceded by a domed portico of two or three bays supported by arches and columns. This type is found only in the buildings (cells, here described as *khawas*) constructed on the upper esplanade of the Dome of the Rock in the Haram al-Sharif. Some of these porches no longer exist but traces of their earlier existence are clearly evident. The *khawas* with the salient porch are: Hujrat Muhammad Amir al-Quds (cat. no. 14), Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20), Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23), Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24), Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 25), Khalwat Pasha Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34); and Odat Arslan (cat. no. 41). The feature is new to the Ottoman period; it is not seen in Jerusalem buildings erected prior to the conquest with the single exception of the huge, seven-bayed porch of al-Masjid al-Aqsa built by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa. In this instance therefore the practice of Ottoman Turkey was probably influential on the builders of Jerusalem. The first porch was built for the undated Hujrat Muhammad Amir al-Quds (cat. no. 14), but the second is securely dated to 996/1588 (Hujrat Muhammad Agha, cat. no. 20)—a length of time which is ample to allow central Ottoman architectural techniques to reach the small provincial city of Jerusalem.

Vaults

The catalogue of monuments demonstrates the use of the dome or vault as a system of roofing under the Ottomans. Domes were used for square areas, while vaults covered both square and rectangular spaces. Vaults had of course been popular in the architecture of Jerusalem long before the advent of the Ottomans. They had been used widely by the Ayyubids and developed to an even greater degree in the time of the Mamluks. The Ottoman vaults are in general both simpler and smaller than earlier ones. Nine buildings⁷⁹ of the fifty-five listed in the catalogue have a

⁷⁸ There are examples in Bab al-Asbat and Bab al-Nabi Da‘ud (Zion Gate).

⁷⁹ The numbers are a rough estimate to show the predominance of the dome over the vault. The main chamber has been taken as the prime example, although many buildings utilise both the dome and the vault as a means of roofing. This is particularly the case in the cells on the Haram, each of which is covered by a dome in the upper main storey, while the rooms of the lower floor are vaulted.

vaulted roof, and twenty-seven are domed. Although vaults in the period were used less widely than a shallow dome, three types of vault are found. These are the tunnel (or barrel) vault (cat. nos. 3 and 11), the cross vault (cat. nos. 11, 12, 15 and 28), and the folded cross vault (cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 15 and 19). The cross vault and folded cross vault usually include a small saucer dome in the centre.

Windows

In Ottoman buildings, a number of different types of windows were used to provide the interior with light and ventilation. The most popular one was the rectangular window. As a rule, this has a simple sill and is surmounted by a stone lintel, with a relieving arch or string course above. It is also usual to find the window fitted with an iron grille. A small slit window was frequently opened in the façade at a high level, and this is often surmounted by a trefoil head outlined by a fine carved groove. A few examples of oculus windows are also found; these are very simple, constructed of plain blocks (cat. nos. 12, 13, 19 and 26), but one (cat. no. 13 on the north façade) has sophisticated joggling. A star-shaped window with eight points (cat. nos. 11, 12 and 15) is another type found in a few of the buildings. The final type is the double window (cat. nos. 11, 12, 15, 28 and 29), and here the two sections are separated by a column in the centre.

Decorative Elements

Panels

Three types of decorative panels are used on the façades and elevations of Ottoman buildings. The first type has a foundation or restoration inscription, the second decorative motifs, and the third has nothing in the centre but is surrounded by an elaborate frame. Although Arabic epigraphy is decorative in itself, the inscription panels are listed below under a separate heading.

Inscription⁸⁰ Panels

Ottoman buildings, in common with other Islamic buildings in Jerusalem and elsewhere, frequently include an inscription which gives vital information on the building, the date either of construction or restoration the name of

the founder, his (or her) position, and titles. The majority of these plaques are of marble, but some are limestone. All the inscriptions are carved in relief, but the calligraphy on two (cat. nos. 15 and 40) is incised. The calligraphy is normally Ottoman *naskhi*, but exceptions exist for one panel (cat. no. 14) uses *ta'liq*. The inscriptions are always found at a focal point on the exterior of the monument, and are usually clearly visible, designed to attract the eye of the viewer. They are placed above the entrance and, if the building is made up of two parts (for example, cat. nos. 14 and 16), the inscription plaque is fixed in the centre of the double façade. Some of the buildings have more than one inscription (cat. nos. 8, 10, 15, 27, 33, 36, 38 and 39), but only two of these (cat. nos. 38 and 39) bear the same date. The text can be either in standard or poetic⁸¹ form, and is arranged as a series of lines within a rectangular panel. The lines of text are separated by a variety of cartouches, but if it is poetry, each line is divided into two equal verses, and the date is given in both numerical form and by chronogram. The background of the inscription in most cases is plain, but sometimes it is filled with decorative floral or geometric motifs (cat. nos. 10/1 and 40). All the inscriptions are rectangular, with a single exception (cat. no. 27) which is in the form of a roundel divided into three horizontal sections in a style reminiscent of the typical Mamluk blazon.

Within this group, attention should be drawn to four simple rectangular panels (cat. nos. 28, 30, 42 and 44). These were presumably intended originally to contain an inscription, but are blank. It is impossible to know now whether there was once an inscription which is lost, or whether for some reason they were never completed. A further example of such a panel is in the rear elevation of Herod's Gate. There is only one comparable example in a Mamluk building in Jerusalem. This is a plaque set above the entrance of Ribat Maridini⁸² (before 763/1361-2).

Decorative Panels

This category includes ten panels which are variously square, rectangular, and octagonal, and their decorative schemes are equally varied. One panel (cat. no. 11, in the south façade of the eastern *qantara*) has glazed tiles with arabesque decoration. A second panel is rectangular (cat. no. 13) and its decorative scheme of a vase is carved in relief. A third example is in re-use and is decorated with a geometrical motif (for details see cat. no. 3, under the description of the base of the minaret). A fourth panel is triangular (cat. no. 16), designed like a book-flap, and has a shallow relief arabesque. Panel five (cat. no. 11) is a combination of geometrical and floral motifs which form

⁸⁰ For complete details on the inscription, with location, date, published literature and the Arabic or Turkish text, see the relevant catalogue entry under 'Date'. The Arabic or Turkish text appears in Cat. Appendix 2. It is worth mentioning that twenty of the thirty-two monuments which are attributed to the first Ottoman period have either foundation or restoration inscriptions, and fifteen of the twenty-three of the second Ottoman period have at least one inscription.

⁸¹ Examples are found in cat. nos. 10, 14, 15/1, 26, 27, 33/2, 37, 38/2, 38/3, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49.

⁸² For this *ribat* see Burgoyne (1987: 412-14).

an octagon. Each octagonal element of the design is filled with small roundels separated by a triple-headed leaf. There is a star pattern at the centre of the panel, and the four corners are filled with a vegetal trefoil. Panel six (cat. no. 50) appears to be similar to panel five at first glance, but its scheme encloses an engraved geometrical ornament in the form of a star pattern, which in turn encloses two- and three-petalled rosettes that radiate from the points of the stars. At the centre there is an octagonal rosette. A further two panels (cat. no. 22) are identical in that they both contain a geometrical pattern. They occur on a single building, and they are positioned one above the other.

The last two panels to be discussed here are octagonal. The first example occurs on Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7). It has a small central rosette from which emerge twelve ribs enclosed in an eight-lobed roundel. The second is found in Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), set above the keystone of the northern arch. Here the decorative scheme is composed of a floral motif enclosed within a thin fillet border and there are eight small circles formed out of, and connected to, the frame.

Blank Panels

This type of panel appears to conform to a single tradition, for they have many features in common:

- (1) Most of the panels are large; all the examples are bigger than the first category described here.
- (2) The central area is blank.
- (3) Without exception, all the panels appear on buildings datable to the 16th century.
- (4) The frame surrounding the panel, which is recessed, is either an incised and twisted triple-rope motif or a geometrical interlace of chevrons.
- (5) The original purpose of the panels was in all likelihood to carry a foundation inscription or a decorative plaque. As they are now blank, it is impossible to be certain if they were once filled and were subsequently defaced, or if for some reason they were never completed. Meinecke (1988: 268) points out that these panels adopt a decorative motif which was current in Damascus at the time, as for example in the façade of the Lutfi Pasha Mausoleum dated 940/1534.
- (6) The blank panels, of which there are nine examples in all, are found in three buildings. Four occur in the Khassaki Sultan complex (cat. no. 15), three in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), and two in the Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24).

There are similar panels in the walls of Jerusalem, one of which is to be found on the eastern doorway of Herod's Gate, one in Burj Kibrit (Sulphur Tower), and four in the east façade of the Golden Gate. Since this feature is

not common in Mamluk architecture but appears frequently in Ottoman⁸³ monuments, it could be seen as an Ottoman influence, perhaps introduced by a master builder from Aleppo who was working on the city wall restoration project. Later it was copied by other master builders working on other monuments. Further proof of the Ottoman date of the blank panels is the example found on the North-West Colonnade, where it was inserted when the colonnade was restored by order of Sultan Sulaiman.

Roundels

Different types and sizes of roundels are used as a decorative element in the Ottoman buildings. Their large number and the impact of their ornamentation makes them one of the main decorative features of the 16th-century monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem—if not the predominant one.

In particular, the roundels are placed on the façades and elevations of the buildings, where they can easily be seen and appreciated by the public,⁸⁴ although in some of them—especially on the walls of Jerusalem by the Damascus Gate—the decorative scheme is difficult to read because of the height at which they are placed. It is not easy even to get a good photograph, for in addition to their inaccessible position, some are badly eroded, like some of the roundels in the courtyard of the caravanserai of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15). As a general rule, the roundels are found on the keystones of arches, on the spandrels of arches, and to the side of and above windows and decorative panels, although on occasion they are also located elsewhere.

Although the roundels are not identical in terms of size or shape, they are here treated as a single category. They have been called by various names in the past.

⁸³ See for example the side galleries of the Selimiyye mosque (Kuran 1987: 178, pl. 184), the entrance of the stairs which link the upper and the lower courtyard of the Zal Mahmud Pasha complex in Istanbul—Eyüp (Kuran 1987: 210, pl. 216), entrance of Kiz Türbe which is located near Bayezit Türbe in Istanbul, and above all the Süleymaniyye Türbe. However it should be noted that in these examples the panels project slightly instead of being recessed as in Jerusalem.

⁸⁴ It is worth noting that, with the exception of Bab al-Tauba and Bab al-Rahma (Golden Gate), these roundels disappear from the east wall of Jerusalem from the point where the Haram wall is incorporated within the wall of the city until it reaches Burj Kibrit on the south side. The immediate interpretation of this fact may be the pressures put on Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, the superintendent of the wall project, to finish the work as soon as possible (see above under 'The Wall Project'). But the frequent incidence of these roundels on Bab al-Khalil and Bab al-Nabi Da'ud confirms that the roundels were placed in locations that were frequented by many people. It is noticeable also that there is only a single occasion on which a roundel is placed on the interior of a building (see cat. no. 15).

Aslanapa (1971: 257) refers to them as 'round medallions'; Burgoyne (1987: 271) defines some as 'a raised stone disk' or 'patera', and in another instance (Burgoyne 1987: 568) as a 'dish-shape roundel'. Kuran (1987: 87) called them 'rosettes', whereas Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 602) confines her description to 'medallion', and Auld⁸⁵ (1997/9: 467-79) calls them 'roundels'. Here I will term them 'roundels' and they will be divided into three main categories.

Small Roundels

These measure between 10-25cm in diameter, and all are found on buildings dating to the 16th century. There are twenty-three of them, and they appear on the buildings as follows: fifteen on Sabil Qasim Pasha (933/1527, cat. no. 2), one on Sabil al-Wad (943/1536, cat. no. 5), two on Sabil Bab al-Silsila (943/1536, cat. no. 6), three on the north entrance to al-'Imara al-'Amira (959/1552, cat. no. 15), one on Khalwat Qitas (967/1559-60, cat. no. 16), and one on Khalwat Parwiz (967/1559-60, cat. no. 17). The majority of them have incised decoration, and are inset into the surrounding masonry so as to be at the same level, with neither recession nor projection. Four examples, however (cat. nos. 2, 6 and 15), have a carved decorative surface in low relief and project slightly from the supporting wall.

The decorative scheme of these roundels differs. It largely consists of variations on the theme of a geometric design combined with a small rosette of six petals (cat. no. 2), or of hexagons containing a five- (cat. no. 16) or six-petalled rosette (cat. no. 2). A few roundels have a whirling⁸⁶ rosette (cat. nos. 2 and 15), and eight of them (cat. no. 2) have a decorative motif of an interlaced knot consisting of two irregular intertwined ovals around a small central roundel.⁸⁷ One roundel (cat. no. 6) contains six ribs in the form of projecting triangles, and another has

carved foliage (cat. no. 6). All the roundels of this category are made of stone, with one exception (cat. no. 5), apparently of stucco, which has geometric decoration in the form of a six-pointed star. It is possible that this example has a stone core which has later repair work in stucco.

Medium Roundels

These measure between 32-38cm in diameter, and constitute the majority. Most of them project slightly, but a number are at the level of the surrounding masonry. This category can be divided into two types. The first consists of a flat plain roundel and the second is decorated.

Flat Plain Roundels (the Disc Roundels)

There are six roundels of this type in the buildings under discussion; they are found on Mihrab al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 2), and Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6). The first of these is, however, a recent construction, and the latter has also been renovated lately, although apparently on the basis of the original work. There are large numbers of this type within the city walls—Damascus Gate, Herod's Gate, Burj Laqlaq, Bab al-Asbat, the Golden Gate, Burj Kibrit, and Jaffa Gate. According to Ben-Dov (1983: 103) there are one hundred and twenty-four in all.

Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 602) says of these roundels (medallions) that they are traditional in Islamic gates and very common for *mihirabs*. She mentions Bab al-Nasr in Cairo, and the gates of Marrakesh and al-Mansura of North Africa as a few examples where such roundels can be found. Auld (1997/98: 468) thinks that these roundels took their inspiration from different sources, and she mentions the walls of the city of Aleppo as one example.

Although this type of roundel is very rare in the architecture of Jerusalem before the Ottoman period, three examples deserve to be mentioned in this context, for in principle they resemble the roundels under discussion here. The first is to be found in the re-used trough of Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5). The trough was originally a sarcophagus. The second occurs in the decorative scheme of the marble of the Dome of the Rock, although here the roundel does not project.⁸⁸ The third example is located above the internal arch of Bab Hitta, one of the northern gates into the Haram, where there are two plain roundels. They are, however, not strictly flat for their faces are slightly concave. It is difficult to be sure whether these

⁸⁵ I am most grateful to Dr Sylvia Auld for allowing me to read her article 'The Jewelled Surface—The architectural decoration of Jerusalem in the age of Suleyman Qanuni', before its publication in the *Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*.

⁸⁶ A whirling roundel also appears on Mihrab al-Sanaubar (cat. no. 54), as well as in the internal decoration of many domes.

⁸⁷ There are three roundels with similar but not identical decoration. The first is found above the keystone of the outer southern arch of Bab al-Silsila. This gate is dated to the Ayyubid period, but the roundel might form part of a restoration. The decoration here has no oval, and the braiding consists of two lines crossing a square. The second example is found above the niche of one of the arrowslits of the wall of Jerusalem located south of the interior of Bab al-Asbat. This roundel is bigger than the ones on Sabil Qasim Pasha, but the decorative scheme is closer. The third roundel is found on first tower located west of Bab al-Nabi Da'ud. Here again the roundel is larger than those on Sabil Qasim Pasha, and is marked by a double border; in other respects, however, the decoration bears a close resemblance.

⁸⁸ Similar roundels are found in Istanbul in the interior and on the exterior of the Süleymaniye, in the courtyard of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque-Medrese, in the Mihrimah Mosque at Edirnekapu, Yeni Mosque and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque. The last two examples are 17th-century, whereas the others are all 16th-century structures.

roundels had any impact on the Ottoman examples under discussion.

If the inspiration for the Ottoman roundel came from outside Jerusalem, which is quite possible, the most likely source is Aleppo rather than Cairo. This assumption relies on many factors. If the influence was Cairene, it would seem reasonable to suppose that roundels would have appeared on the Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem, or even on Mamluk buildings. In fact neither period saw this type of decoration incorporated into the architectural fabric apart from the examples already mentioned above the internal arch of Bab Hitta. The type does not even appear on any of extant Ayyubid or Mamluk *mihhrabs* (see Burgoyne 1987; Rosen-Ayalon 1986). Many features of the Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem follow the Mamluk school of architecture found in Damascus and Aleppo, as Meinecke (1988: 269-70) has pointed out. His hypothesis, made on stylistic grounds, has been proved by my recent discoveries in the Jerusalem *sijills* of the origins of the builders working in the city, who were not local men. It is also the case that builders from Aleppo were close to the architecture of the Saljuqs and of the early Ottomans, which displays many examples of roundels (Aslanapa 1971; Goodwin 1971).

Decorative Roundels

Ben-Dov (1983: 103) counted one hundred and thirty-five decorative roundels used in the restoration of the city walls. The catalogue lists only forty-four of this type in the buildings under discussion, and these appear on only five of the buildings. There are twenty-nine in al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (cat. no. 15), nine in Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), one in Khalwat Qitas (cat. no. 16), and five in the North Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23). The decorative scheme of two of them (cat. no. 13) is in the form of an octagon but these are framed by a double-bordered roundel. The roundels in the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha are flat. I can only cite two roundels of this type datable before the Ottoman period, one above the arch of Bab Hitta, flanked by the two flat, plain roundels mentioned above, and the other above the arch of Bab al-Sakina which is adjacent to Bab al-Silsila. Both, however, are found in undated buildings and they may be in secondary use.

In the main, the roundels are decorated either with purely geometric or with floral motifs, but some have a combination of both. Each roundel features in the catalogue entry as part of the architectural description. There is no point in repeating those descriptions here. But it is worth turning briefly to a matter which has been raised recently about the purpose and the meaning of some of the roundels on the buildings and on the walls.

Auld (1997/98: 470-79), after quoting Grabar’s

conclusion (1992: 154) that geometric pattern ‘is only meant to be beautiful’, agrees that ornamentation must be a major factor in the use of these devices on the Jerusalem city walls and on the monuments. At the same time she raises the possibility that the roundels were intended to convey something more than mere decoration. After surveying most of the roundels and comparing some of their decorative patterns with similar ones in other materials, she raises various possibilities. She suggests first that the ‘floral roundels found on the imperial commissions ... may be markers of some kind.’ She also makes a particular point of the open flower device, which is found on ‘Imaret Khassaki Sultan in Jerusalem, by pointing out that it appears in Istanbul over the entrance portal to the complex of the Hasseki Sultan Hürrem and on her *türbe* in the Süleymaniyye (and in a more complex form on that of the sultan). Next, Auld raises the possibility that roundels with the *khatam Sulaiman* (Seal of Solomon), which appear on the inner walls of Herod’s Gate and elsewhere, could have had several purposes—that the Seal of Solomon may have been used as an identification of the patron—in other words, as propaganda—that use on the Herod’s Gate may have been intended to mark a ceremonial way, or that it may have been used as a talisman to protect the city; it is possible, she thinks, that the use of the device was a combination of all these functions. Nevertheless, she notes the fact that the roundels appear on the inside of the gate and that the motif appears elsewhere, on Burj Laqlaq for example. Finally, she points out that Herod’s Gate was called the Gate of Flowers, perhaps because its roundels bear flower patterns; but here she has some reservations, for she notes that other gates too have floral roundels.

It is difficult to accept the first proposal because many roundels are found in other buildings which did not involve imperial patronage, and furthermore if these roundels were intended to denote imperial patronage they might be expected to be uniform in design, like the Mamluk blazons, whereas in fact they display a remarkable diversity in shape, size, and decoration. One wonders also if the roundel with the *khatam Sulaiman* was really intended to mark the ceremonial entrance of the sultan, placed as it is in the very modest location of Herod’s Gate rather than the Damascus Gate, which is the most impressive entrance to the city. Why too do the tiles of the Dome of the Rock lack this important device, especially as the connection with Solomon would be stronger here than in the case of the wall? It is also known that the construction of Herod’s Gate was finished in 944/1537, while the first indication of a possible visit of the sultan was only in 955/1548-9, and the other two indications are even later, in 961/1553. The question raised here is whether there could have been a plan to display the device on Herod’s Gate, ten or eighteen years in advance of a proposed visit. There is also an identical roundel with the

khatam Sulaiman on the east elevation of Burj Laqlaq. These reservations make me incline towards the view that the devices had no meaning other than ornamentation.

Bosses

Only two bosses are found in the buildings under discussion. The first is in Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5), where its decoration consists of a geometrical and foliate arabesque. The other example is placed above the keystone of the arch of the south entrance of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (cat. no. 15). Here the ornamentation is an eight-fold device with an eight-petalled central rosette surmounted by an interlaced frame. There were two further bosses, now missing, in Sabil al-Wad, which probably resembled the one mentioned above.

Fourteen bosses still exist in the walls of Jerusalem. Some are found in the centre of a large roundel, whereas others are either arranged separately above the keystone of the arches, or project from a stone. They are distributed as follows: six at the Damascus Gate; one at the eastern doorway of Herod’s Gate; one at the northern entrance to Herod’s Gate in the centre of a large roundel; two in the tower which is located between Herod’s gate and Burj Laqlaq; two in Burj Laqlaq itself in the north and east elevations respectively; one in the keystone of the arch of Bab al-Asbat; and one in the centre of the blind circular window of the Golden Gate.

There are no bosses in the pre-Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem, but they are widespread in the Saljuq architecture of Anatolia,⁸⁹ in the Ottoman capital, and in other cities.⁹⁰ It is possible that this element was borrowed from Saljuq buildings and introduced into Ottoman Jerusalem by builders from Aleppo, or others of Rumi origin, who were sent to work on the Jerusalem projects. Auld (1997/98: 472) notes that the bosses of the capital are confined either to imperial foundations or to those patronised by the imperial family. This may explain why bosses in the buildings under discussion are rare, and also why they are confined to the projects patronised by Sultan Sulaiman. But it must be added that some imperial projects are without bosses.

Triangles in Relief

Relief triangles—whether decorated, as in Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), or plain, as in Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

(cat. no. 4), Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8), and Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (cat. no. 9)—are used as a purely decorative element. No analogue to these triangles has been found in the pre-Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem⁹¹ and only one further example in addition to those already listed occurs, in the eastern doorway of Herod’s Gate.

Ablaq

Ablaq, the use of alternating coloured stone to achieve a decorative effect, was one of the most characteristic features of Mamluk structures in Jerusalem and elsewhere. It is not found in the early Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem such as the Citadel, the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman, the city walls, al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, and the Ribat and Maktab of Bairam Jawish. This absence could be explained by saying that the Ottoman buildings in Jerusalem follow the traditional architecture of Istanbul, where *ablaq* is not a principal feature. But it is known that the builders of these early projects were mainly local, and when they were not, they came from Syria, so that all of them must have been fully cognisant with the use of *ablaq* and its beauties. Most probably the disappearance of *ablaq* from these early projects can be put down to technical difficulties in obtaining the necessary materials. Coloured stone does appear in a few buildings, but in a very simple and restricted way. The modest doorway of the minaret of al-Hamra’ (cat. no. 3) and the entrance to the Dar of Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) both have a few red and yellow stones, but true *ablaq* re-appears for the first⁹² time in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). The use of the technique in this *khalwa* indicates a deliberate move towards a revival of certain Mamluk features. It must be admitted that the impression is not entirely successful, despite the effort invested in the attempt. *Ablaq* continued to be employed in a few Ottoman buildings constructed after the 16th century (cat. nos. 37, 40, 44 and 48), and in particular in the jambs of windows and arches. But here again, it was used only on a limited scale.

Mouldings

A variety of mouldings are used in the Ottoman buildings

⁸⁹ Examples of Saljuq bosses can be found in the Ince Minareli Medrese (663/1264-5), the Karatai Medrese (649/1251-2), and the Sahip Ata Cami (656/1258)—all of them in Konya.

⁹⁰ Examples of Ottoman bosses can be found in Istanbul in the Bayezid Mosque on the *mihrab* and in the courtyard, Rustam Pasha mosque, the Zal Muhammad mosque (1551), and the Süleymaniyye, in the Yeşil Türbe (1421) at Bursa, and in the Selimiyye at Konya (1567).

⁹¹ Some Ottoman monuments have such triangles; they include the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, and the Selimiyye Cami (1567), both in Edirne, and in Istanbul in the Şehzade Mehmed Complex, and the Süleymaniyye Türbe.

⁹² It is worth mentioning that *ablaq* is employed in the architecture of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12), al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28), and Zawiyat Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29), although in Qubbat al-Nabi it is the result of a later restoration. On the other hand, the Maktab Bairam Jawish had been already constructed before Bairam acquired it, and the latter two buildings are probably late Mamluk structures.

of Jerusalem. They act as markers for architectural conjunctions or for decorative purposes to delineate elevations, arches, panels, and to serve as cornices for a building. Mouldings were known in Jerusalem before the Ottoman period, for Mamluk architecture continued the Crusader-Ayyubid practice, as Burgoyne (1987: 95-6) points out.

Cornices

In addition to the billet-moulding cornices mentioned below, friezes adorned with repeated small, lancet *muqarnas* niches are also used as cornices in many buildings. Their decorative scheme is close to the impostes with lancet niches. Examples of the cornices are found at the north entrance of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (cat. no. 15), the top of the west elevation of Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), at the top of the north elevation of the North Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), and in Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31). But on occasion, the cornices do not encircle the whole elevation of a building for they are interrupted at the sides of the portico. Similar, but not identical, decorative cornices were known in Jerusalem from the end of the 7th/13th century (Burgoyne 1987: 95, 366 fig. 32.11), but the *muqarnas* niches in the Ottoman buildings are smaller and their decorative scheme differs from the Mamluk type. Some buildings (cat. nos. 1, 2, 16, 17, 23 and 19) terminate without a cornice at all, and some end with their ultimate masonry course projecting slightly forward (cat. nos. 9, 11, 14, 20, 21 and 24).

Decorative bands which use a similar motif are found in different locations. A single re-used band of ten and a half triangular, lancet *muqarnas* panels occurs in the middle of the eastern elevation of the hall ‘C’ in the first floor of Maktab Bairam Jawish. Each lancet is different in design (see cat. no. 12 for a complete description). Another frieze is found above the *mihrab* of the caravanserai of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (cat. no. 15); here it projects slightly and contains fifteen small *muqarnas* niches.

The Billet Moulding

The billet, which consists of small square blocks placed at regular intervals, is a well-known feature of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem. This type of moulding became popular in the second quarter of the 9th/15th century, for it appears in many Mamluk buildings,⁹³ and it was apparently adopted for Ottoman monuments. According to

Meinecke (1988: 262), once again the origins go back to the Aleppo school of architecture.

In the buildings under discussion, the billet moulding acts primarily as a cornice. In this form it appears in Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4), Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), and above the portico of Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20) and of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). It is also employed as a frame for the inscription panel of Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13), and the panel of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28); and it frames the arches of Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31). Finally it is used as a marker or separator in minarets, such as the minaret of al-Hamra’ (cat. no. 3), and the minaret of al-Qal’a (cat. no. 26). This type of moulding is not found in the city walls or in the Citadel, apart from the minaret there, but it is found in the Fakhriyya minaret and in the North Qantara (colonnade), both of which were restored in the Ottoman period. It is also found in many buildings, both dated examples (such as Sabil al-Shurbaji 1097/1685) and undated ones (see cat. no. 31 under ‘Dating the Dome’), which were constructed after the 16th century.

The Ogee ‘Cyma Recta’ Moulding

Ogee mouldings are used in the early Ottoman buildings of the city. This type of moulding encircles most of the *sabils* constructed by order of Sultan Sulaiman (cat. nos. 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9) and frames the street window of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29). The same moulding is used as a marker to articulate the component parts of the shafts of minarets (cat. nos. 3, 19 and 26), and is employed twice as a cornice (cat. nos. 18 and 22). It also frames the extrados of many arches (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9 and 28). Burgoyne (1987: 96) reports that the ogee moulding first appeared in Jerusalem as a frame around the entrance portal of al-Madrassa al-Sallamiyya (738/1388).

When the ogee moulding is used as a frame, it terminates at both sides of the façade in a large volute which resembles the letter *mim* in Arabic; this gives it the name of *mims* or *jeft* decoration according to Mamluk documents.⁹⁴ Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 602) considers correctly that this element was adopted from Mamluk architecture in Jerusalem, citing the inverted volute of the Madrasa Tashtamuriyya as an example. However, Burgoyne (1987: 96) states that the feature was originally found in the sixth-century churches of the mountains of North Syria and that it continued in use throughout Umayyad, Crusader, Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods. He mentions examples found in the Mamluk edifices of the Khatuniyya, Tashtamuriyya, Ashrafiyya, and Basitiyya.

⁹³ Al-Zawiya al-Basitiyya (*waqf* 834/1431), Well of Ibrahim al-Rumi (839/1435), al-Madrassa al-‘Uthmaniyya (840/1437), al-Madrassa al-Jauhariyya (844/1440), minaret of Jami‘ ‘Umar (before 870/1465), and Salahdiyya minaret (before 820/1417-18).

⁹⁴ Amin and Ibrahim (1990:29).

The Roll or Ring Moulding

Another type is the roll or ring moulding which has either a semicircular or a more complete circular section. This type is used to separate the component parts of the shafts of minarets (cat. nos. 1, 3, 19 and 26) and to articulate their lanterns. It also frames the windows in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22) and his Madrasa (cat. no. 15). This moulding is also found in miniature in the columns to mark the three different sections (cat. nos. 5, 8, 10, 20 and 30). It was used only rarely in Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem, but it is well-known for its appearance in Ottoman minarets.

Muqarnas

The *muqarnas* (pl. *muqarnasat*), is one of the principal elements of Islamic architecture. Its use persisted throughout the Ottoman period in Jerusalem in various ways. The use of *muqarnas* in Ottoman architecture as a general rule is both less frequent and more simple than the sophisticated employment of the device in Mamluk Jerusalem. All the examples are executed in stone, and are adorned either with a simple floral device or left plain.

Corbel Muqarnas

In the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1) and the minaret of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3), *muqarnasat* were used to form the projection needed to support the gallery. In the former there are two plain corbelled levels, and in the latter there are three levels of alternating niches and corbels, with the niches decorated by a trilobate head.

Stalactite Muqarnas

Another use of *muqarnasat* was to mark the apex of niches and doorways. The niches of three of the imperial *sabils* (cat. nos. 4, 5 and 8) have an elaborate stalactite *muqarnas*. The niche of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan is filled with three tiers of *muqarnas* crowned by a ribbed scalloped niche. But the most impressive is that found in Sabil Bab al-'Atm. Here it is made up of four tiers surmounted by a half-dome decorated with five scalloped ribs. A similar half-dome crowns the three tiers of *muqarnas* in Sabil al-Wad (cat. no. 5), where the half-dome is surmounted by a shell hood with three scallops. Another niche with three scallops on a smaller scale is found in the imposts of the doorway of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28 2, 3). An even smaller version of this decorative feature is found in the many lancet niches which decorate the bands and the impost on many of the buildings under discussion. Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 602), while offering a comparison of these stalactites with details from Mamluk examples, called the scallop of Sabil al-Wad a 'half-rossette', and mistakenly

drew attention to the doorway of Turbat Sitt Tunshuq, instead of the east portal of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, as well as the second *mihrab* of al-Madrasa al-Muzhiriyya. Burgoyne (1987: 588 n. 30) also cited the two examples above, and adds 'whether or not this type of decoration is meant to represent the word "Allah" remains a matter for conjecture.' A panel in the west elevation of Hujrat Islam (cat. no. 21) is crowned by two elegant tiers of stalactite *muqarnas*, the lower tier of which contains a series of twenty pendant stalactites. Finally, this type of *muqarnas*, which was well known in many Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem⁹⁵ as well as in Egypt and Syria, crowns the doorway of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22).

Muqarnas Imposts

Decorative *muqarnas* is also used in the imposts of arches, two types of which are found in the buildings under discussion. The first is made up of two sections, each with a different number of small concave *muqarnas* niches—there are examples of five, six, and seven niches, with an occasional semi-niche at one end. In one case (cat. no. 15), the impost is made up of a single section, but here the niche is a little taller than the impost and thus forms a second part. The niches are either plain with a slanting chamfer or decorated with one of the following motifs: three small scallops, a five-headed leaf (cat. no. 7), ten petals (cat. no. 8), a cinquefoil (cat. no. 4), or four vertical grooves. The niches are separated by a grooved line, and the top edges are chamfered. This type of impost is to be found mainly in the four imperial *sabils* (cat. nos. 4, 6, 7 and 8) and on the doorway of the east *qantara* of Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11).

The second type of impost consists of three vertical *muqarnas* niches, each with three tiers of small lancet panels. The uppermost central niche has a half-dome. The niches are either undecorated (cat. no. 28) or they have a sloping chamfer, or they are decorated with floral motifs consisting of a small palmette (cat. no. 15). A bracket with a similar design is found in the portico of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). It is noteworthy that these niches include lancets of the curvilinear 'Syrian' type, although another bracket, which is also found in the portico of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, includes the angular 'Egyptian' type (see Burgoyne 1987: 98, fig. 13).

⁹⁵ Examples are found in al-Madrasa al-Tashtamuriyya, al-Turba al-Kilaniyya, al-Turba al-Sa'diyya, and al-Madrasa al-Manjakiyya.

Conclusion

As the reader made his way through this chapter, it will have become apparent that the Ottoman authorities exerted considerable efforts both to control and to maintain the architectural fabric of Jerusalem, despite the fact that it was only a small, provincial town. Donations and allocations of money, as well as a variety of building materials, were expressly sent to Jerusalem when there was need for them. The authorities in Damascus and Istanbul closely supervised the administration of the city in general, and of the Haram al-Sharif area in particular. Two additional windows opened in the Dome of the Rock, or an expansion of the kitchens of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, for example, required direct authorisation from the capital.

It is clear that the city was not isolated from neighbouring cities and regions when it came to stylistic trends in architecture. This is particularly true of the architecture of cities in Syria, for example Aleppo and Damascus. But the *sijills* contain far more interesting information on the role of local master builders. Evidence of their number and the extent of their contribution surpassed all expectations, especially when compared to information on earlier periods or on other cities that had been known previously.

It is worth emphasising that there is no indication of an abrupt break with local building traditions in the decorative and architectural features of the monuments discussed in this chapter and in the following catalogue. On the contrary, local traditions with or without Mamluk elements continued to be popular side by side with new features that can properly be termed ‘Ottoman’.⁹⁶ The use of *ablaq* masonry, joggled voussoirs, various types of moulding (cornices, billet, ogee, *cyma recta* and roll), and the different types of *muqarnas* (corbel, stalactite and

imposts) are all good examples of the interrelationship between the two styles.

The employment of large numbers of local builders and the impact of the Ibn Nammār family leave no room to doubt the significance of the local contribution to architectural activity and development of the city. It is possible that this ‘school’ of local builders was responsible for the innovation of the relieving arch described here as the ‘eye-brow’ arch, and the double-tiered voussoir arch.

It is these two types of arch, as well as the double window, the eight-pointed star window and the shallow ribbed dome, which constitute the main features of a Jerusalem grammar of Ottoman architecture, details of which have been drawn by David Myres and appear here after the catalogue of buildings. These features continued to flourish in the city in the later Ottoman period until the advent of modern western architecture imposed its own style on the traditional local forms.

Another characteristic feature of these buildings is the prevalence of recycled building materials of both Muslim and non-Muslim origin. The catalogue contains details of these, in particular *spolia* from the Crusader and classical Roman periods. References in the *sijills* make it clear that such materials were routinely collected from old sites and ruined buildings.

To sum up, it is clear that Ottoman architecture did have a certain impact on 16th-century buildings in Jerusalem. The influence was, however, remarkably small. The main features of monuments built in Jerusalem at this time show an eclecticism which combines an inspiration from many divergent sources—classical Ottoman, the ‘school’ of Aleppo, extant Mamluk buildings in the city, local traditions, and re-used elements from Roman and Crusader sites.

⁹⁶ A good example is the use of roundels, which were apparently not in widespread use as a decorative element in Jerusalem before the classical Ottoman period, but are to be found. For example, they appear above the internal arch of Bab Hitta and on Bab al-Silsila. They were popular in buildings constructed under Sultan Sulaiman in Istanbul—on the side galleries of the Selimiyye Mosque (Kuran 1987: 178 pl. 184), the entrance to the stairs which link the upper and lower courtyards of the Zāl Mahmūd Pasha complex, Istanbul-Eyüp (Kuran 1987: 210 pl. 216), at the entrance of Kız Türbe, located near the Bayazid Türbe, and above all in the Süleymaniyye Türbe. In all these examples, the panels project slightly instead of being recessed. However, rather than from Istanbul, the inspiration for the Jerusalem roundels appears to come from Aleppo, perhaps through the master builders who came to work on the wall and water

projects. In Aleppo, roundels are found among other places at the Minaret al-Jami‘ al-Rumi (768/1366), Jami‘ al-Utras (801/1398), and on the façade of the main hall (Qa‘at al-‘Arsh) in the Citadel (restored 880/1475). These are all Mamluk buildings (Rihawi 1979: 180–1, pls. 57, 58 and 65). Examples of Ottoman roundels are found in Khan al-Wazīr (1093/1683; Tals 1956: pl. 134–5; Rihawi 1979: 232, pl. 87) and on the city wall at Bab al-Faraj and Bab al-Jinan (Tals 1956: 32, 34). Roundels were rare in Mamluk Egypt, but a few examples are to be found in the Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din (647–8/1249–50), the Mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shafi‘i (608.1211), Mosque of al-Salih Tala‘i‘ ibn Ruzāik (555/1160), Mosque of al-Zahir Baibars, Madrasa of al-Nassar Hasan, and Wakalt al-Ghuri (Meineke 1992 1: pls. 1c and d; 6b; 8a; 10a; 75b; 76a; 77a; and 136c).

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OTTOMAN JERUSALEM
THE LIVING CITY: 1517-1917



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OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

THE LIVING CITY: 1517-1917

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YUSUF NATSHEH

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1. *Map showing the location of monuments*
Photographic panorama of the city

2. Fig. 31.1 *East wall of the Haram al-Sharif*

CATALOGUE OF BUILDINGS

Yusuf Natsheh*

Introduction

The catalogue is a description of fifty-five standing Ottoman monuments. Each building in the catalogue is given a number and is listed in chronological order. As a first choice, the name of each building is taken from either foundation or restoration inscription. If no inscription exists, the name of the building has been adopted from the relevant *waqfiyya* or *sijill* record. In a few instances, the name reflects the function or location of the monument. The dates are also taken from the inscriptions and *sijill* records, and appear first in the *hijri* form, followed by the equivalent in the calendar of the Christian Era.

Following a brief description of the location and comments on the site of each building, a short description is supplemented by a more detailed treatment which is divided into two main sections. The first concerns the

history of the monument. It focuses on the literary evidence—inscriptions, *waqfiyyas* and other texts, where there is such material—to provide details as to the date, identity of the founder, endowment and any attendant stipulations, the purpose of construction, and the original use. If there is information on subsequent usage, this is also included.

The second section covers the physical appearance of the building, and consists of a more detailed description of the architectural and decorative features. Wherever possible, an attempt has been made to differentiate between the original structure and later additions or changes, based on documentary evidence. This information is contained either within the text of the catalogue entry, or in a footnote. This section is illustrated with drawings—plans, sections, and elevations—and with photographs.

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Plans for al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19) were prepared for Dr Shadia Tuqan, Director of the Technical Office of the Welfare Association, Jerusalem.

1 MASJID AND MINARET AL-NABI DA'UD

Name: Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud (Mosque of the Prophet David)

Date: The lower level of the Cenacle was converted into a mosque in 856/1452, the upper level in 930/1524

Endowment: At various dates:

- (1) 10 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 963/15 September 1556
- (2) Beginning of Jumada II 964/April 1557
- (3) End of Shawwal 973/19 May 1566

Variant of name: Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 98, 349, 351) gives two names—the first being Qabr (Tomb)¹ al-Nabi Da'ud; and the second is Qabu (vault) al-Nabi Da'ud. In the Auqaf Administration File² 3/17/124 the site is called either Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud (Place of the Prophet David) or Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud. The names of the site in Christian tradition are 'Alliyat Sahyun (The Upper Room of Zion) and the Place of the Last Supper (Coenaculum) or Cenacle.

Modern name: Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud

Location

The site is located outside the walls of the Old City some 130m south of David's Gate (Zion Gate).

Site and brief description (figs. 1.1-1.2, pls. 1.1-1.7)

The complex is extensive. It has not been surveyed for the purposes of this book because access is restricted; it is now in part a *yeshiva* which occupies the ground floor. The description which follows is therefore largely based on earlier work, notably that of Vincent and Abel. The layout comprises a sequence of halls, courtyards, three mosques, a minaret, *zawiya*, cemetery, and a hall built in Crusader style, which houses the Coenaculum itself, as well as rooms, vaults and attics. These structures date to different periods—some are doubtless Crusader and some are Mamluk. The majority, however, date to the Ottoman period. The present study is restricted to the architectural elements dating to the 16th century—a period which covers the conversion of the site to a mosque, the installation of the *mihrab* and the small domed structure at the south-west corner of the mosque adjacent to the minaret.

The complex, which has been of varying importance at various times to Jews, Christians and Muslims, has undergone several changes of ownership, with extensive alterations over the years. From 1368/1948 it has been under the control of the Israeli Ministry for Religious Affairs, acting as a representative of the Israel Lands Authority for the Custodian of Absentee Properties. Part of the complex now houses a *yeshiva*, and the lower mosque

has been converted into a synagogue. The Coenaculum was opened to the public in the mid-1980s.

History

Identification

Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 98, 351) gives a brief, concentrated account of the site, from which it can be understood that it was then in the possession of the Christians,³ and that it was the source of innumerable disputes. Although the issue was laid before more than one sultan, the site continued to change hands frequently between Muslims and Christians. Mujir al-Din reports that this volatile situation remained unchanged until 856/1452 when, during the reign of Jaqmaq (842-57/1438-53), it was decided to expropriate it from the Christians. On the other hand, Darrag (1968: 9), relying on Franciscan documents of the Mamluk period, has shown that the dispute was rather between the Christians and the Jews. According to this study (Darrag 1968: 27), the Jews took advantage of the deterioration in relationships between the Mamluks and the Franks and took control of the site in 823/1420 and again in 833/1429, during the reigns of Sultan Shaikh al-Mu'ayyad Saif al-Din and Barsbai (al-Ashraf Saif al-Din) respectively. It was only later, in the time of Jaqmaq, that the Mamluk authorities decided to convert the lower vault into a mosque. The Ottomans followed their example and converted the upper hall too into a mosque, taking the view that the conversion would finally provide a solution to the problem. The work was done in stages, the major phase being under Sulaiman in 930/1524.⁴ This phase is documented by an

³ The site has a long history and is highly venerated by Christians. Almost every prominent visitor or scholar has written about it, and it is considered one of the essential sites to be visited by every pilgrim to the Holy Land. It is sufficient here to indicate the recent bibliography for the site compiled by Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 118-27).

⁴ Following the conversion to a mosque, in 960/1552 the Franciscans were expelled from the site but continued to live in the area of Mount Zion. From that time up to the present day, the Franciscans have continued to stress their rights to the site, but their efforts have so far proved unsuccessful. According to Fr A Rock, the Franciscans tried in 1230/1814 to reach an agreement with the Auqaf Authority by which the Coenaculum would be separated from the *maqam*, with the friars retaining the former while the latter continued to be administered by the Auqaf. But the negotiations were halted for some unknown reason. In September 1971 the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs turned down a request from the representative of the Dajani family, Shaikh Jamal al-Din al-Dajani, to be allowed to regain access to their properties on Mount Zion (File 3/17/124, 43). The Dajanis are prevented from burying their dead in the family cemetery, although they are allowed access for visits. The monumental stucco windows of the mosque were vandalised some time between 1984-6, although the mosque (the hall of the Coenaculum) was closed to the public at that time. The Dormition Abbey, which is close to the Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud is reported to have 'apprehended and turned over to the police a fundamentalist rather than *yeshiva* student who had broken all the windows in the Dormition's new administration wing with stones in a dawn attack' (see *The Jerusalem Post Magazine*, Friday 6 June 1986). A little later, early in 1986, the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs decided to open the hall of the Coenaculum to the public. As a result, an architect, Peter Bougat, was entrusted with the necessary repairs to the room. According to *The Jerusalem Post Magazine* (Friday 6 June 1986), he left the windows without attempting a restoration in order not to change the *status quo* of the site, adding new windows for protection on the outside. Dr Hisham Dajani, in a letter (File 3/17/124) sent to the Israel Minister of Religious Affairs expressed his

¹ Mujir al-Din (1973 1: 116; 2: 349), in reference to this definition, modifies it somewhat by adding 'it is said that ...'. His description has already confirmed that the Prophet David is not buried here, but rather to the east of the Jismaniyya (Gethsemane). It is not known where the Prophet David was buried, although some scholars hold that the site was on the ridge to the west of Silwan, if it is right to see this area as 'the City of David'. But all this is contentious. For a recent discussion, see Auld and Steiner 1996: 21-47.

² The file is comparatively new; it contains only sixty-two pages, the first dated 18 December 1978, and the last 13 Shawwal 1407/9 June 1987.

inscription on the eastern wall of the mosque. The minaret, as an important symbol of Muslim presence, is also, in my opinion, by virtue of its design, datable to the Ottoman period.

Date

The minaret is not dated by inscription, but it can safely be assigned to the 16th century because of its architectural features (see below). The conversion of the Upper Room to a mosque, on the other hand, is securely dated 1 Rabi' I 930/8 January 1524, according to an inscription published by van Berchem (1923: 403-4, no. 109). The marble panel, measuring 70cm by 35cm, is fixed to the eastern wall of the mosque. The inscription consists of four lines of Arabic written in early Ottoman *naskhi* script. The lines are set in cartouches, but are difficult to read because of the extremely condensed arrangement of the words, which are interwoven with each other. According to van Berchem (for the Arabic text see Cat. Appendix 2), the translation is as follows:

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate the Merciful, the order to purify and cleanse this place and to make (here) a mosque in order the name of Allah be recited in it, is by the Sultan of Mankind, the Protector of the Islamic Faith, the Servant of the Sacred House (at Mecca), the Establisher of Justice and Security, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the Sultan Sulaiman son of 'Uthman, may Allah support Islam throughout his life, by the hand of our Master the Leader of the *shaikhs*, al-Shamsi Muhammad al-'Ajami the Preacher, may Allah carry out blessings through his hands and have mercy upon his parents, on the day of Thursday at the beginning of Rabi' I in the year nine hundred and thirty, and praise be to Allah alone.

From the Franciscan documents, Darrag (1968: 30) has shown that al-Shaikh al-Shamsi Muhammad al-'Ajami had previously travelled to Istanbul with a local *fatwa* and a report from the *qadi* of Jerusalem. He had been granted a decree by Sultan Sulaiman at the beginning of Jumada I 929/March 1557 which ordered the *qadi* of Jerusalem to demolish the hall over the vaulted chamber and to convert the site into a mosque.

surprise that he had not been consulted in his role of caretaker of the *waqf*. He added that the actions of the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs were 'a violation of the law and the circulated regulations'. The Auqaf Administration is not satisfied with the restoration undertaken: this neglected other parts of the site that also needed attention; the standard of the jointing is unsuitable; and the old iron grilles were replaced by a new unsuitable version (file 3/17/124, 9). On the other hand, Fr Claudio Baratto was quoted (*The Jerusalem Post*, 30 May 1986) as praising the ministry for the restoration work. However, the representative of the Custodian of the Holy Places in the Holy Land, Fr A Rock, commented in *The Jerusalem Post Supplement* for 20 June 1986 that Fr Baratto's comments were purely personal. Finally, Fr Maurilio Sacchi, the Custodian of the Holy Land, responded to an account in *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Jerusalem Post Magazine* of Friday 10 February 1987 that properties were to be let in Mount Zion by the Israel Lands Authority who were acting in their capacity as Custodian of Absentee Properties. His letter (File 1/17/124, 54) to the Ministry of Religious Affairs stated that 'we regret to say that we cannot accept this, because neither the Islamic *waqf* nor the Custody (*sic*) of the Holy Places, which have claims on these Holy Places, can be considered absent.'

Endowments

Sijill 53: 54 contains a lengthy report of some five hundred words on the various endowments to the Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud. It is dated 16 Rajab 977/25 December 1569, and was presumably copied into the *sijill* as a precaution, should there be any opposition in the future to the work of the administrator of the *waqf*. The reason for so believing stems first from the context of the report, and secondly because it finishes with a clear message contained in the phrase 'this was recorded to be used (as a proof) whenever the need should arise'. The report contains three parts. The first is an introduction from which it becomes evident that the Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud had no *waqf* or other income, unlike all the other *maqams* of the prophets. The governor and the *qadi* of Jerusalem had reported this fact to the sultan, and he in response had issued an order to the governor of Syria and to the *daftardar* (in charge of the finance) of the district of Syria and Aleppo, specifying certain estates as *waqf* to Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud.

These estates, descriptions of which constitute the second element of the report and which were made *waqf* by means of variously dated orders, were:

1. The village of al-Sawiya in the district of Nabulus, dated 10 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 963/15 September 1556.
2. The village of Bait Sira in Gaza district dated on Jumada I 964/March 1557.
3. The *muzra'a* (cultivated area inhabited seasonally) of Tell al-'Uja near the village of Majdal Yaba.
4. A plot of land near the village of Bidya known by the name al-Dawawiyir.
5. The *muzra'a* of Umm al-Tina close to the village Majdal Yaba. The last three items were dated at the end of Shawwal 973/19 May 1557.

All the above income (not further specified) was to be allocated for the benefit of the *maqam*, to provide food for visitors and the poor, for the maintenance of the *maqam*, and for providing the wherewithal to light the lamps of the *maqam*.

The third and final part of the report is the longest. It is a confirmation of the legal authorization issued by the *qadi* to al-Shaikh Yunus to continue in the position of *al-mashiyakha* (administrator) of the *waqf* as his father and grandfather had been before him. (For the whole Arabic text see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 1/1.) It appears that the Khassaki Sultan, wife of Sultan Sulaiman (see cat. no. 15), had also donated a certain *waqf* to the *maqam*. Sijill 83: 186 dated Shawwal 1010/March-April 1602, includes the record of the appointment of al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Hafiz ibn Mahfuz to the position of Qur'an reader in the *maqam*. He was to read passages from the Qur'an every day after the noon prayer. No details of his salary are given. Sijill 121: 231 dated 1043/1633-4 states that al-Shaikh Abu Bakr had been appointed to the position of restorer (*mi'mariyya*) in the Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud. He was allocated one *'uthmani* per day from the income of the *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan. Bairam Pasha, the governor of Egypt, as reported in Sijill 113: 1, also sent a generous donation to the *maqam* in the year 1038/1628-9. It included different kinds of variously coloured drapes (*sir*), in addition to one thousand *qit'a misriyya* (silver coins). In the 11th/17th century, Nabi Da'ud evolved as a sanctuary for pilgrims (*ziyara*) and was visited by al-'Aishi, al-Nabulsi, al-Bakri and others, who have all left a brief description of the site and are cited by al-'Asali (1992: 212, 266, 273, 281, 287, 292, 300, 306). It appears that the Dajani family

were entrusted with the role of caretakers of the site, and continued in the position, which was inherited, by means of royal *firmans* and decrees (Auqaf file 3/17/124).

Architecture

The Mosque

The mosque is situated on the second level, and approach to it is by way of a staircase leading to a passageway that has been recently roofed. Its main entrance is on the north façade, and there is another small inner staircase in the south-western corner of the mosque that gives onto the first floor; this is now closed. The mosque, which in Christian tradition is the place of the Last Supper, retains most of its earlier architectural features, and employs some Crusader material, for example the arches and the columns which act as window-frames, and the vaulting. The interior consists of a rectangular hall divided into three sections by central piers. The east section is rectangular while the central and western sections are each square bays. The hall is covered by rib vaults, carried on the two central piers. For a full description and detailed plan see Vincent and Abel (1922 2, 3: pl. XLIV, 431-40).

When the site was converted into use as a mosque, certain architectural and decorative elements with a symbolic content were added. The main focus is the *mihrab*. There is also a small cupola whose original function is unclear in the south-western corner of the hall; this includes a medieval capital depicting pelicans plucking their parent's breast; their feet rest on grotesque heads. This image, which connoted self-sacrificing love in medieval Christian iconography, symbolised Christ who gave his blood for the sake of humanity. In addition to the *mihrab* and the cupola there are two monumental windows with stucco supports for coloured glass, tiles with Islamic phrases in Arabic calligraphy, and a minaret.

Mihrab

The stone *mihrab* is unique in Jerusalem for its size, design, high quality and skilled carving. It relates more closely to Ottoman than to Mamluk examples found on the Haram and in the Old City; indeed, it seems to represent the first and last example of this type of Istanbul court sculpture to be found in Jerusalem.

(Editorial note. To find a parallel it is necessary to look at imperial work in Anatolia like the Selimiyye Cami, Edirne (Goodwin 1971: 265, pl. 253) which has several close parallels to the Jerusalem *mihrab* or the Süleymaniyye (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985: 103, pl. 14 and 111, pl. 23—*mihrab* and portal respectively) and its successors (like the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha Cami, Istanbul, Goodwin 1971: 234, pl. 224 and 274: 261), although a similarly fine *mihrab* existed in the Süleymaniyye in Damascus (Watzinger and Wulzinger 1924: 104, *Abb.* 25). The finely worked *mihrab* is in the form of a rectangular panel (2.8m x 5.3m) that acts as a frame to the central niche. It is raised above the level of the floor on a stone dais, and is capped by a heavy cornice that carries a triangular pediment headed by a trilobate foliate frieze. The flat surface of the *mihrab* is plain. The main area, that is the area of the niche itself, is marked by a *cavetto* moulding which acts as a frame. The upper part of the niche is accentuated by a stalactite semi-dome and is framed by another *cavetto* moulding which mounts the slope of the triangular form in steps. A single plain roundel decorates the spandrels to either side of the central semi-dome. The lower part of the niche, which is faceted, consists of three stone countersunk panels, each with a trilobate head. These in turn are flanked by a pair of engaged columns,

with identically designed bases and capitals, which stand on faceted plinths. The form of the capitals and bases is that of a ribbed gadroon which is constricted at the centre by a ring moulding with zig-zag decoration. The gadroons are in turn framed by an angular geometric chain-interlace between two plain fillets. The overall effect is elegant but unstable, as if capital and base were too slender to support the weight of the column, let alone the implied weight of the inner frame. SA.]

The *mihrab* is undated but in my opinion, taking the plan from Vincent and Abel (1922 2, vol. 3: 431-40, pl. XLIV) as my authority, it would appear that it was installed some time after the publication of that survey.

The Minaret

The minaret rises from the south-western corner of the roof of the mosque and is constructed of stone. Its form is a somewhat squat cylinder in comparison to other Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem, but the prominence of its location and the site itself, high on Mount Zion, more than compensate for the short shaft. This is borne on a plinth, which acts also as a zone of transition to mark out the minaret as distinct from the roof of the mosque. The plinth has four courses of stone that are different in quality, size and cut from those employed for the shaft. The stone of the plinth would appear to be *malaki*. The upper four corners of the plinth are chamfered in a convex curve to convert the square plinth to a circular base for the cylindrical shaft, the start of which is marked by a ring moulding. A door in the eastern face of the plinth gives onto a spiral staircase with a solid core of steps that lead up to the gallery. A second roll moulding marks the end of the shaft and the start of the *muqarnas* head. The shaft is unadorned apart from two slit windows that provide light and air for the interior. The *muqarnas* zone, which acts as the support for the projecting gallery, consists of two corbelled levels, topped by another roll moulding. Below the corbels there is a narrow band of counterchange joggling in the form of trefoils (compare the decoration of Sabil Qasim Pasha, cat. no. 2).

The gallery for the call to prayer, supported by the *muqarnas* zone, is circular and at present uncovered. It is surrounded by a solid stone barrier whose appearance suggests a recent date; it was erected, perhaps a short time before 1948, by the Supreme Muslim Council. A similar stone barrier is found on the minaret of the Citadel, but that was done in 1956. The lantern (*sham'a*) is also circular and consists of two parts. The lower level is built of stone and rests on the base of the *mu'adhdhin's* gallery. The staircase ends here and opens through a doorway to allow access for the *mu'adhdhin* as well as providing light and ventilation for the stairwell. The transition to the apex of the lantern is marked by another prominent roll moulding, from which rises the ovoid dome. This is undecorated and is constructed from a mortar and stone mix, which is a firm indication of a later restoration.

Dating the Minaret

As already explained, the minaret is undated, although it includes many architectural and decorative features in common with other examples in Jerusalem dating from the Ottoman period. These include a circular shaft, rounded convex triangular corners to the base, friezes of incised counterchange joggling, simple *muqarnas* corbelling, and various types of moulding. Because of this there is some justification in the proposal that the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud may be a 16th-century construction. This is supported by the importance of the minaret as a symbol of the presence of

Islam as well as the swift conversion of the site into a mosque, as reported by Darrag (1968: 29-30). For a detailed argument on this and a comparison with other Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem (including the minaret of Bab al-Asbat, which was restored in 1007/1598-9), see Ch. 36 under 'Minarets'.

[Editorial note. Evidence for a 19th- or early 20th-century restoration or rebuilding is to be found over the windows of a small building within one of the courtyards. An oculus window is centred above a larger opening with a grille; the oculus is filled by a stone grille of an eight-pointed star polygon. Immediately below it, the upper of two stone lintels is incised with a design of two affronted birds, their beaks joined over a small 'tree'. The design is abstracted, the birds being shown as semicircles from which a tuft (the tail) emerges at the outer end and the head at the inner end. The only other detail is a pair of short curved additions on their 'backs' to represent the wings. The style is reminiscent of embroidery. Compare, for example, the 'branch of pigeons' design for cross-stitch (*irq al-hamam*; Rajab 1989: 143) or, even closer, the couched thread pattern in the centre of a side skirt panel from a dress from Bethlehem of the late 19th century (illustrated in Weir 1989: 132 left). It is interesting, but probably not related unless as an appropriate motif to bring good luck, that birds also feature at the terminals of a decorated panel in the east portal of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (Burgoyne 1987: 487, pl. 48.2). The effect of an embroidery pattern on the building at Nabi Da'ud is heightened by the treatment of the central 'tree' on the carved lintel. The tree is probably intended as the tree of life, and its appearance is very close indeed to the almost universal use of the cypress tree (*sarw*) in cross-stitch panels. (For a clear example, see Weir 1989: 222 right). Analysis of these patterns was initiated by Grace M Crowfoot and Phyllis M Sutton (1935: 25-37) who illustrate the cypress in pl. XII 2, a cock (*dik*) and a pigeon (*humama* or *hamam*) in pl. XIII, 3 and 7 and XVI, and ducks or geese (*but*, *wizz*) in pl. XIV 5. A single example of the bird appears over the smaller window to the left at Nabi Da'ud.

On the main lintel above the larger window, there is a curious design of two 'horns' to either side of a central medallion. The roundel has a six-pointed star carved in relief (a seal of Solomon—*khatam Sulaiman*—see Auld, Ch. 25); in the centre of the design there is a hexagon, each corner of which is joined by a bar to the centre. The effect of the paired 'horns' is reminiscent of a severely abstracted image of a quadruped, but is probably derived ultimately from the Mamluk blazon of paired trumpets or powder horns (Leaf 1983: 61-74). Similar abstract motifs are found elsewhere in Jerusalem, for example on the Sabil al-Khalidi, where they flank a central suspended medallion (see cat. no. 44). SA]

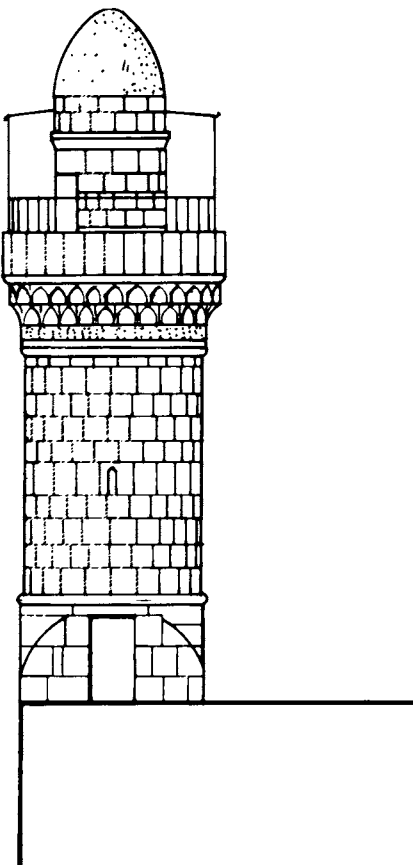


Fig. 1.1 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, east elevation of minaret.

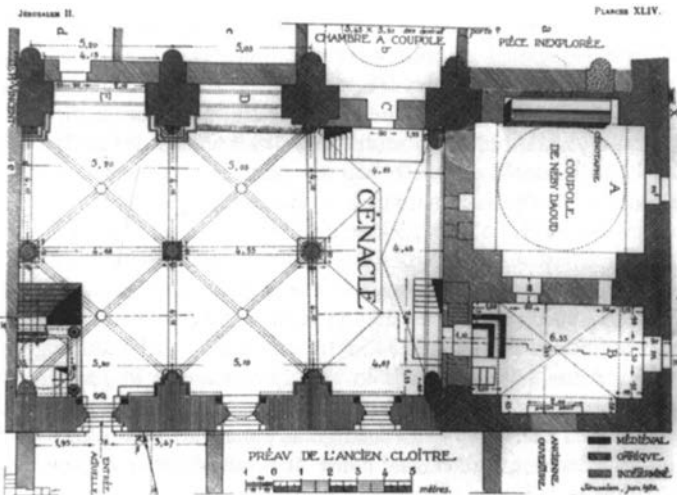
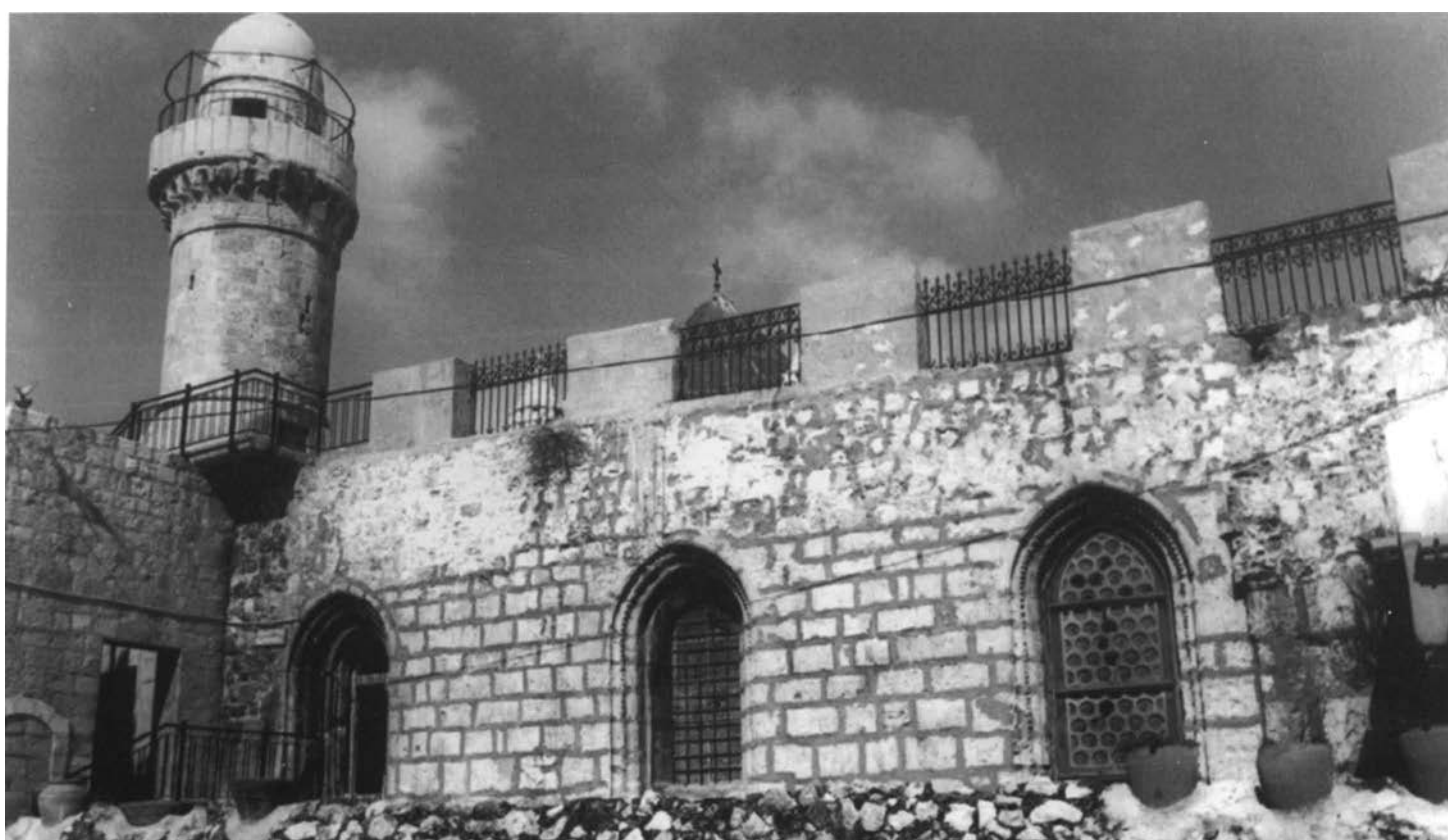


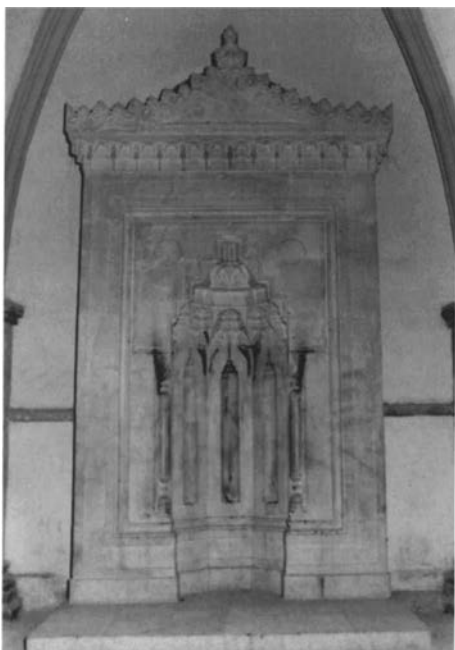
Fig. 1.2 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, plan of Coenaculum after Vincent and Abel.



Pl. 1.1 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, general view with bell-tower of Dormition Church in the background.



Pl. 1.2 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, south façade.



Pl. 1.3 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, *mihrab*.



Pl. 1.4 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, detail of *mihrab*.



Pl. 1.5 Detail of 19th-century (?) decoration above window at the site of Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud.



Pl. 1.6 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, window.



Pl. 1.7 Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud, window.

2 SABIL QASIM PASHA

Name: Sabil Qasim Pasha (The Fountain of Qasim Pasha)

Date: 933/1527

Endowment: See below

Variants of name: The monument appears as 'Sabil Qasim Pasha' in al-'Arif (1947: 99), al-'Asali (1982: 255), Drory (1980: 66), and Schiller (1989: 126), and as 'Sabil Bab al-Mahkama'¹ and 'Birkat Ghaghanj' in Burgoyne (1976: no.121) and al-Husaini (1977: 20). Some authorities have combined the two names: van Berchem (1925: 167); Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 18), Najm *et al.* (1983: 332), and Taha (1988: 74). The name of the pool is obscure and appears in different forms in the references cited above, for example *varanj*, *ghanghanj*, *ghaghanj*, *varnj*. Al-'Asali (1982: 257) has reviewed the variations in the title and proposed a correction of the form to *naranj* (bitter orange), taking as his authority the relevant Jerusalem Sijill 205: 24 dated 1119/1707-8 and the *waqfiyya* of the Tankiziyya (729/1328-9). Two earlier records in the *sijills* (76: 227; 85: 8) have been discovered (see below) which tend to add support to the proposal of al-'Asali.

Modern name: Sabil Qasim Pasha and Birkat al-Naranj.

Location

The *sabil* is located to the west of the Haram esplanade, about 30m north-east of the Bab al-Silsila.

Site and brief description (fig. 2.1, pls. 2.1-2.6)

The *sabil* is free-standing, situated opposite al-Ashrafiyya and between Mastabat Sabil Qa'itbai and the Mihrab Mastabat al-Tin (Mihrab Ahmad Qullari cat. no.47). It is octagonal in plan and consists of a closed cistern covered by a shallow dome. The *sabil* itself is constructed over a low base sunk 1.1m below the level of the Haram esplanade. The excavation of the foundation was necessary to secure the flow of water into the *sabil* cistern through the traditional canal (Qanat al-Sabil)² used to irrigate the Haram area from al-'Arub and Birak Sulaiman (King Solomon's Pools). It appears that the source and canal continued to provide the *sabil* with water until the late 1940s, for al-'Arif (1947: 99-100) maintained that the water for the *sabil* was provided by the Qanat al-Sabil, and that the fountain was then still in use.

The pool abuts the *sabil* to the north. It too is below the level of the Haram at a depth of 0.5m. It is square in plan, each side measuring 7m. It is 0.5m deep, that is its sides finish at ground level. It is paved with marble slabs, and in the centre there is a modern fountain. The perimeter is fenced by a modern cast-iron grille. Both the marble paving and the cast-iron fence are the result of a restoration by the Supreme Muslim Council in 1922 (al-'Asali 1982: 257). Although the *sabil* still functions, the pool

and fountain are no longer used. There are, however, recent stone benches which were built in 1998 by the Aqsa Restoration Committee to service the *sabil*. The benches are built around the east, west, and north sides of the pool. Each bench is placed opposite a water tap to allow visitors to the Haram to perform their ablutions.

Function

The word *sabil* literally means 'way' or 'path' and is still commonly used with the word Allah (*fi sabil allah*) to denote a charitable act or a work done for the sake of Allah. From an architectural point of view, the term is used for a building which provides drinking water for humans. The main function of any *sabil* was to deliver free fresh water to the general public whether for drinking or for ablutions. In Jerusalem the earliest *sabils* still standing date to the Ayyubid period. During the Mamluk period many *sabils* were built in Jerusalem, the best preserved example of which is the Sabil of Sultan Qa'itbai (887/1482) (on Sabil Qa'itbai see Kessler and Burgoyne 1978: 250-60. On Mamluk *sabils* in general see Burgoyne 1976. For a general view on the *sabils* which were built in Jerusalem during the Ottoman period, see Ch. 36 under *Sabils*; and for specific information about each Ottoman *sabil*, see cat. nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 36, 40, 44, 45, and 47).

History

Identification

In the course of his account of the restoration programme on the Haram al-Sharif undertaken by Qa'itbai, Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 330) relates without further detail that Qa'itbai repaired a *fasqiyya*,³ located to the south of the *mastaba* adjoining the sultan's *sabil*. Al-Nabulsi, who visited the Haram in 1101-5/1690-3, gives more detailed information. His description of the pool (cited by al-'Asali 1992: 257) states '... at the boundary of Masjid al-Hanbila (part of al-Ashrafiyya) and facing it, there is a big square pool (*bahra*); its water runs from a fountain at its centre'. The description of the *sabil* is amplified by his statement that 'next to that pool, there is a small dome with water pipes around it to (serve those) who seek ablution. Its taps are turned to allow the water to flow or cease.' Despite the earlier reference to the *fasqiyya* by Mujir al-Din, the current *sabil* is securely attributed to the Ottoman period by its foundation inscription.

Date

The foundation inscription carries the information that the *sabil* was constructed in the year 933/1527. The date is significant because it makes the *sabil* not only first monument built in the Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman period but also the first in the Old City of Jerusalem as a whole. (See below for a fuller discussion.) The earlier work in the Ottoman period had not been a new building but rather the transformation of the Cenacle into the Masjid al-Nabi Da'ud (David), situated outside the present city walls. The inscription on the *sabil* is published by van Berchem (1925: 167) with a valuable commentary. The panel is of hard limestone and is to be found in the middle of the western

¹ *Mahkama* is the Arabic word for 'court, tribunal'; Bab al-Mahkama is an alternative name for Bab al-Silsila because al-Madrassa al-Tankiziyya used to house the Shari'a Court. An early reference to the name is by Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 89; see too al-'Asali 1992: 243-4).

² Qanat al-Sabil was one of the main sources of water for Jerusalem from the Roman occupation to the end of the British Mandate (1917-1948) when water was brought to Jerusalem from Ras al-'Ain, west of Jerusalem. There was a special *waqf* for the Qanat dedicated to its maintenance and security. For more details on the Qanat al-Sabil, see Ch. 36 under the title 'The Water Project' and especially note 16.

³ *Fasqiyya* has two different meaning in Arabic. The first, which is the one intended here, is the place where water is gathered. It could therefore refer to a fountain or place of ablution. The second meaning is a burial niche in a collective tomb. For more details about the use of the word in Mamluk documents, see Amin and Ibrahim (1990: 85).

side of the octagon; it is rectangular in shape, measuring 75cm by 38cm. The text, which is here to be found in Cat. Appendix 2, no.2, is composed of three lines of Arabic written in condensed Mamluk *naskhi* script set in a rectangular cartouche. The script is fine with diacritical and auxiliary points. Van Berchem put a question mark after the name Qasim, probably because there is an additional of *alif* between the name 'Qasim' and title 'Pasha'. Its translation reads:

This blessed *sabil* has been constructed for the benefit and countenance of the Extolled Allah, in the days of our master the greatest Sultan, the second Sulaiman to rule the world, the Sultan Sulaiman son of Sultan Selim Khan, the Prince of the Arab and non-Arab princes, by our master Qasim Pasha, may Allah facilitate what he (Qasim) intended, by the hand of the slave who is in need of Allah, 'Abd Rabbihi Mustafa in the last ten days of the extolled Sha'ban, the year 933.

Founder

The founder of the *sabil* who features in the inscription is probably Qasim Pasha Guzelje, which would confirm van Berchem's reading of the name (1925: 168), for Sumer (1987: 722) said of Qasim Pasha that 'he was interested in both building and charitable concerns'. According to this commentator, Qasim Pasha Guzelje held many different positions but was not affiliated to Jerusalem in any of them. Al-'Arif (1947: 99) and other local authorities after him (al-'Asali 1982: 255; Najm *et al.* 1983: 332; Taha 1988: 74) thought Qasim Pasha was governor in Jerusalem when the *sabil* was built. Unfortunately they give no reference to back their belief. It would rather seem that Qasim Pasha ordered the *sabil* to be built in 933/1527 while he was governor of Istanbul, and not governor of Egypt.

Because Sabil Qasim Pasha today serves mainly for ablutions, and because Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 330) reported that a *fasqiyya* on the site had been repaired by Qa'itbai (see above), al-'Asali (1982: 257) believed that Qasim Pasha had not in fact constructed the *sabil* but rather had rebuilt it. The inscription, however, is quite explicit; it refers to the *construction* of the fountain by Qasim Pasha. It is also possible that the site of the old *fasqiyya* referred to is that of the present pool rather than the site of the *sabil* itself.

Endowment

So far no endowment has been found in the *sijills* for the Sabil Qasim Pasha. Perhaps the records begin too late; the first record in the *sijills* is dated 14 Shawwal 936/11 June 1530 and is thus almost three years after the date for the construction of the *sabil* recorded in the foundation inscription. However, two records were located for the 'Pool of the Bitter Orange' and they cast some light on the source and the type of endowments for the pool. The first record is in *Sijill* 76: 227 dated 1 Muharram 1003/16 September 1594. It reports that a group of people went to the *qadi* and informed him that the water in the two pools of the Haram (one of these is the Birkat al-Naranj) had run out. They requested that the two pools be refilled from the cistern situated close to the Birkat al-Naranj, as had been the custom in the past. Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir, the deputy inspector of al-Aqsa, was summoned and was ordered to refill the pools with water. He was given permission to buy buckets and ropes from the *waqf* budget. The second entry (*Sijill* 85: 8), dated 11 Rajab 1013/3 December

1604, records the appointment of Yahya the son of al-Shaikh Mahmud to the half-post of cleaning the Naranj pool, al-Kas (the water basin) and the *hanafiyya* (tap),⁴ which are located in the precinct of Aqsa mosque. Yahya was to be allocated one '*uthmani*' (silver coin) per day. From the above two entries it is possible to infer that the maintenance for the pool of the Naranj and probably the *sabil* as well was paid out of the endowment of the *waqf* of al-Aqsa mosque.

Architecture

Exterior—elevations

The *sabil*, built entirely of white dressed stone, consists mainly of eight symmetrical elevations surmounted by a dome. Each of the elevations can be divided theoretically into three sections for the sake of architectural description. The lowest level, composed of five courses of stone, appears at first glance to be different from the rest of the fabric of the *sabil*. But closer inspection shows that while the quality of stone is the same, the joints between the stones differ considerably from those of the central and upper sections of the elevation in that they are thicker and darker. It would seem that the change in pointing is due to relatively recent repairs. The first course of the lowest level is set directly above a low projecting base, which is constructed of rubble and is now clad in cement. The centre of the lowest level of each elevation is decorated by a marble panel set in a shallow recess. Each panel has a rounded apex and is three courses deep (35cm by 75cm). Except for the western face, a central roundel (18cm in diameter) is incised into the coping stone above the panels. The roundels contain either (1) a six-petalled rosette, the tips of each petal cutting through a central circular recess; (2) a whirling rosette of thirty spines; or (3) a hexagon subdivided into a six-petalled device.

The middle section of six of the façades contains a blind recessed window, surmounted by a pointed arch. The voussoirs are framed with three engraved interlacing lines. The western and eastern façades differ from the others in that in place of the window the position is used to house the foundation inscription and the doorway respectively. The blind recess of the other faces has at the centre of each a white marble panel measuring 19cm by 53cm and, directly beneath, a decorative motif of an interlaced knot (22cm in diameter) consisting of two irregular intertwined ovals around a small central roundel.

The upper third part of the elevations is undecorated apart from a panel (65cm by 23cm) of engraved trefoil counterchange motifs. Once painted in black—for traces of the colour still can be seen—they may once have been filled with ceramic insets. Although not identical, other examples of this technique are to be found in the entrance porch of the Ashrafiyya and in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). Two courses above the decorated band, a broad canopy shelters the steps and the benches around the *sabil*. The canopy is made of wood; it is covered with lead sheets and supported by eight wooden posts. Each post has a square, stone plinth and a wooden console. There is evidence of the remains of springing in the main fabric in this part of the *sabil*. The canopy is not dated, but it is

⁴ It is unfortunate that the text in the *sijill* does not define the exact location or give a further description of the *hanafiyya* (tap or faucet) in the Haram. But it is presumed that the water tap had an associated basin, to explain the reference to cleaning. It is worth mentioning too that *hanafiyya* is the name of the most famous orthodox school of theology in Islam, founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767)

possible that it is the work of the Supreme Muslim Council in the 1920s. It was renewed in 1998 by the Aqsa Restoration Committee; during the restoration work it became clear that the stone had been cut at the point where the canopy rests on the octagonal body of the *sabil* in order to support it. This means that the canopy is not original. At one time, therefore, the fountain had a form different from its present appearance. Further evidence can be drawn from the shape of the dome of the *sabil*.

Before the Aqsa Restoration Committee initiated the repairs on Sabil Qasim Pasha in early 1998, the dome had been covered with lead sheets. From the exterior, the sheets gave the dome a pointed profile and it appeared to rest immediately on the octagonal elevation of the *sabil* with no zone of transition. It culminated in a typical bronze Ottoman crescent-finial facing east-west. But when the lead sheets were removed, a very beautiful and well-executed stone dome emerged. It has the profile of a horseshoe arch and it is closer to an Indian or onion-shaped dome than the typical shallow saucer of the Mamluk or the Ottoman periods. This discovery provides further proof that the original appearance of the *sabil* was once markedly different.

This raises many questions as to when this dome was built, and by whom, and how this shape of dome was introduced into Jerusalem. There are in the Haram area three domes with a similar profile although of a different size. Two of these domes, which belong to the Is'ardiyya Madrasa (760/1359) located at the north side of the Haram, are larger than the dome of the Sabil Qasim Pasha. The third dome is smaller than the dome under discussion; it crowns the *mu'adhdhin* gallery of Bab al-Ghawanima Minaret (restored c. 697/1298). It is well documented (Burgoyne 1987: 178, 370) that Minaret al-Ghawanima and the Is'ardiyya were restored by the Supreme Muslim Council, the former in 1341/1922-23 and the latter in 1346/1927-8. It would thus seem probable that the stone dome of Sabil Qasim Pasha was constructed at the same time in the 1920s by the Supreme Muslim Council. But this does not clarify why this particular shape, rather than a Mamluk one like most of the domes of Jerusalem, or, indeed, an Ottoman one was chosen. Since the Supreme Muslim Council employed the famous Turkish architect Kamal al-Din to supervise the architectural projects of the Council in the 1920s, it is possible that this innovation in the dome shape is his responsibility, or that of one of his assistants, such as Rashad al-Imam.

Interior—plan

Seven sides of the fountain are provided with four steps; only the northern façade is different in having two. The steps lead to the stone benches provided to accommodate people as they wash. The plan of the *sabil* is simple. It consists of an octagonal cistern, each side measuring 1.4m in length by 55cm thick. The present water level⁵ reaches up to 1.6m. The cistern is roofed by a shallow dome with a rounded profile, and the interior is plastered throughout to render it watertight.

⁵ There is no longer water in the cistern of the *sabil*. After the restoration work of 1998, the taps of the *sabil* were connected to running water through the main tap.



Pl. 2.1 Sabil Qasim Pasha, decorative roundel.



Pl. 2.2 Sabil Qasim Pasha, decorative roundel.



Pl. 2.3 Sabil Qasim Pasha, decorative roundel.



Pl. 2.4 Sabil Qasim Pasha, decorative roundel.

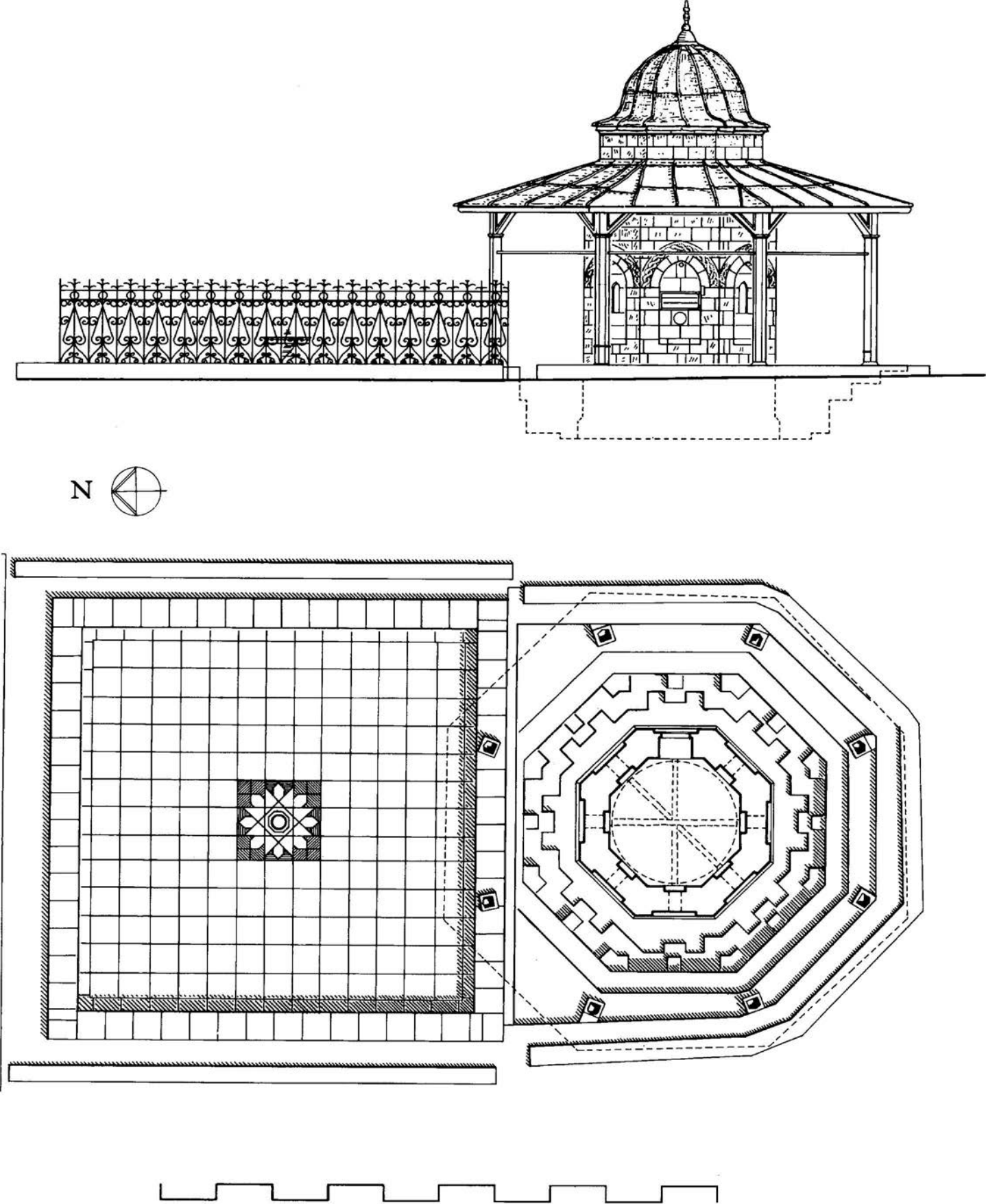
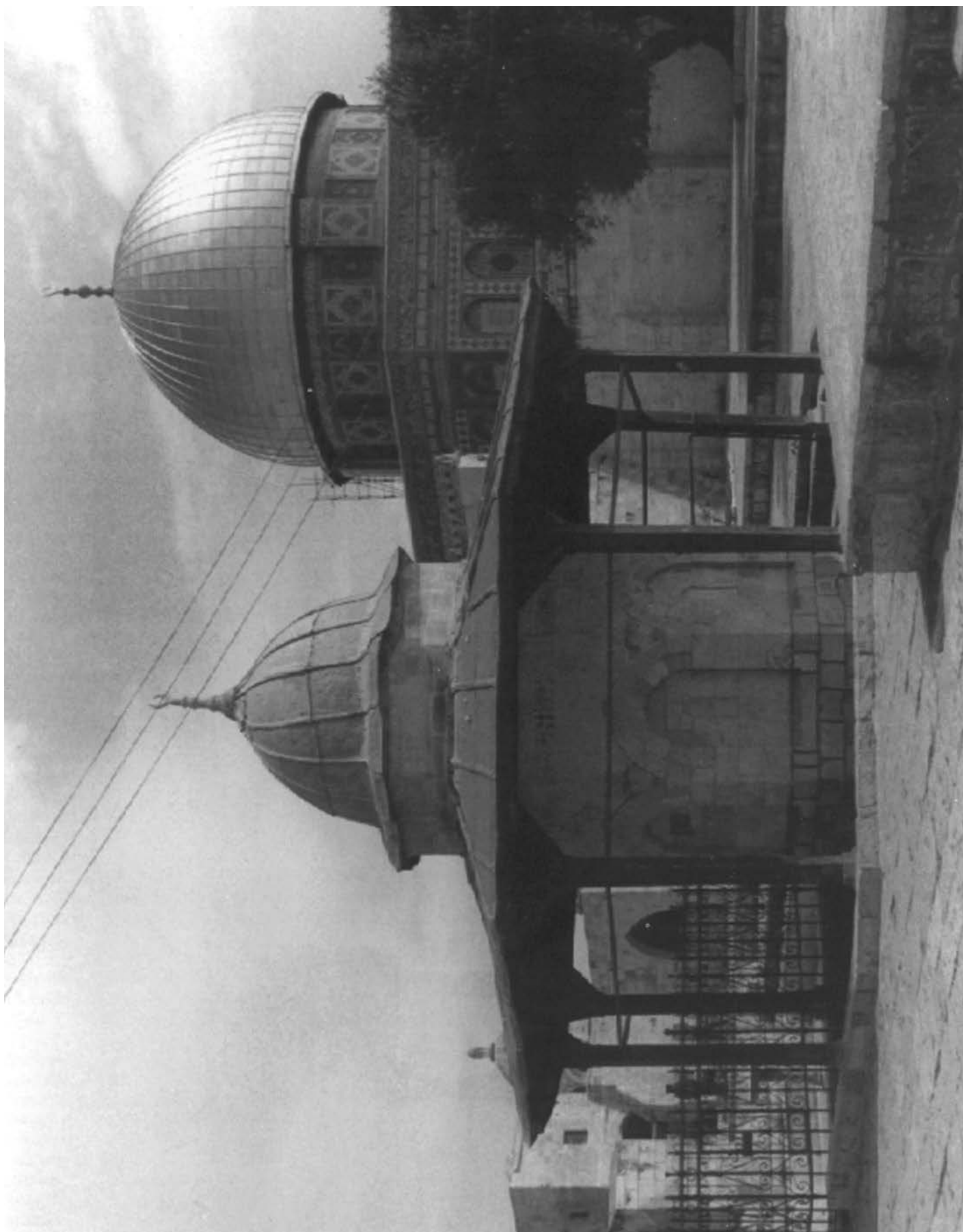


Fig. 2.1 Sabil Qasim Pasha, elevation and plan.



Pl. 2.5 Sabil Qasim Pasha, exterior view.



Pl. 2.6 Sabil Qasim Pasha, general view showing dome after recent renovation work (Photograph S Auld).

3 MINARET AND ZAWIYA AL-HAMRA' (AL-KHALWATIYYA)

Name: Minaret al-Hamra'

Date: Undated. Probably 16th century (see below).

Endowment: There are two sets of relevant *waqfs* dated c. 939/1532-3. The first was made by Hajji Beg, the previous governor of Safad and Nablus, and the second by Qasim Beg, who was then the governor of Safad and Nablus.

Variants of name: The *sijill* gives two names for what is known today as Masjid al-Zawiya al-Hamra'. The first is 'al-Manara (minaret) al-Hamra' (Sijill 69: 5, 120, 186, 189, 200, 379) and the second is 'Zawiyat al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Khalwati' (Sijill 121: 337). The second entry in the *sijill* is explicit; it details 'the *zawiya* of al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Khalwati which is known as 'al-Manara al-Hamra''. It is due to this combination that it is possible to identify the earlier *waqf* relating to the *zawiya*, where the building is registered under the name of 'Ala' al-Khalwati' only. In recent references, too, it appears under several similar names. Burgoyne (1976: no. 117), al-Husaini (1977: 20), and Najm *et al.* (1983: 322) all call it 'Minaret al-Hamra' (The Red Minaret), but in the Auqaf File 3/7/31 it is called both the Jami' al-Manara al-Hamra', and the Masjid al-Mi'dhanat (Minaret) al-Hamra'. The Jami' Harat ('Lane') al-Sa'diyya also occurs early in 1379/1960.

Modern Name: Masjid al-Mi'dhanat al-Hamra'

Location

The minaret is in the northern part of the Old City, to the west of al-Mi'dhanat al-Hamra' road, a few metres south of 'Aqabat al-Bistami.

Site and brief description (figs. 3.1-3.2, pls. 3.1-3.5)

The complex of al-Zawiya al-Hamra' at present consists of a minaret, a mosque and an open courtyard. The minaret is located at the north-eastern corner of the courtyard, and stands unconnected to the mosque itself. This is because the mosque was built later, probably after the total disappearance of the *zawiya* (see below). The present building, which dates to the late Ottoman period, is located in the south-western corner. The courtyard is rectangular in plan and partly planted with trees. A modern latrine is to the east, and the well-head of a cistern is located in the eastern part of the courtyard. To the east, the site is bordered by the main road (Tariq al-Mi'dhanat al-Hamra'), to the north by a passageway leading to a residential complex, and to the west and south by as yet unrecorded buildings.

The minaret and the mosque are still in use and daily prayers are recited; and in addition meetings are held on Monday and Friday nights for the invocation (*dhikr*) of Allah by the local Sufis.

History

Identification

Neither the minaret nor the *zawiya* appears in Mujir al-Din's account of the city, although he does refer to the 'Zawiya al-Bistamiyya' (1973 2: 48), which is a close neighbour, and also to the 'Zawiyat al-Hamra' (1973 2: 47), which he locates among the buildings of the western part of the Old City, close to the Khanqah al-Salahiyya. Presumably, therefore, the complex did not exist in its present state when Mujir al-Din was writing in

900/1494-5. Many records in the *sijills*, however, refer to the *zawiya* and the minaret. As early as 3 Muharram 948/29 April 1541, Sijill 13: 224 reports that 'al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Amasi (probably from Amasiya, Turkey) al-Khalwati had sold the whole property which is located in Bani Zaid neighbourhood (*hara*). It is located near the *zawiya* of the deceased Shaikh 'Ala' al-Khalwati.' The *zawiya* also appears in Sijill 68: 46 published by al-'Asali (1989: 261). The record is dated between 995-7/1587-9, and is contained in a schedule of the stipends of officials and beneficiaries of the religious institutions in Jerusalem. Al-Zawiya al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din Khalwati is mentioned separately, and the name of the inspector of the *zawiya* is given as 'Muhammad' in a document dated 974/1566-7. There is also an important indirect record regarding the Minaret al-Hamra' in Sijill 69: 5. This is dated 28 Muharram 997/17 December 1588. It provides information about the lease of a house located close to the Hamra' minaret. The endowments and subsequent history of both *zawiya* and minaret are discussed more fully below.

Date

The minaret and the current mosque are not dated by inscription, and no mention of them is to be found in contemporary authorities of the Ottoman period or in accounts by early Western visitors. The relevant Auqaf File 3/17/31 also has nothing in it relating to date or patron. Despite this lack of documentation, modern scholarship has suggested a date in the 16th century, albeit without detailed discussion, and there is some justification for this position. Burgoyne (1976: no. 117) was the first to date the minaret to the 16th century, though with reservations. Al-Husaini (1977: 20) and Najm *et al.* (1983: 322) quote Burgoyne and, without further discussion, date it unequivocally to the 16th century. Though Sijill 69: 5, which proves that the minaret was already in existence in the late 16th century has just been mentioned, and this in turn supports the tentative date given by Burgoyne, the dating of the minaret itself needs more serious consideration. A conclusion will be attempted here after the minaret has been described.

Founder

The founder of the *zawiya*—according to Sijill 39: 516-17—was al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din Abi 'l-Hasan 'Ali al-Khalwati (see also above). He is described in the *sijills* (39: 516-17; 56: 650) as *qudwat al-rashidin fakh al-sulaha' al-nasikin*. These titles (which are added to his name) indicate that he was one of the prominent mystics in Jerusalem at the time. He apparently succeeded in establishing the Khalwatiyya Sufi order in Jerusalem. This particular order (*ta'ifat al-khalwatiyya*) was one of the many which were prominent in the city during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Qadir was appointed as *shaikh* to the order on 13 Rajab 1020/21 September 1611. The descendants of Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din are frequently mentioned in the *sijills*. One reference is to his son 'Abd al-Qadir Çelebi (Sijill 56: 650) who was appointed to the position of clerk for the *waqf* of Bairam Jawish (see also cat. no. 11). Another son was the Muhammad Çelebi who administered the *waqf* of al-Zawiya al-Hamra' after the death of his father, and whose own two sons, Mahmud Çelebi and Ahmad, attested to the benefit of the *waqf* in favour of al-Zawiya al-Hamra' in the presence of the *daftardar* (see below). A third son was Ibrahim al-Khalwati (Sijill 100: 285), whose son Ishaq, and grandson Mahmud ibn Ishaq Çelebi, respectively administered the *waqf* of the *zawiya* in due course. The founder of the minaret is unknown, but it is also possible that

it was built by al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din or by one of his sons. The founder of the modern mosque is also unknown, but it is possible that it was built through the initiative of a group of people living in the neighbourhood.¹

Endowments

The *sijills* contain two principal documents which are relevant to the history of the Khalwatiyya (al-Hamra') as well as scattered records concerning certain appointments to the *zawiya*. The first document is registered in the proceedings of Sijill 39: 516, and is dated Dhu 'l-Qa'da 967/July-August 1560. The document states that 'it was proven by means of the law (*bi-'l-tariq al-shar'i*), in the Council of the Religious Court of Jerusalem, in the presence of our lord 'Abd al-Karim, *daftardar* (the high official in charge of finance) of the province of Syria, that the following were among the *waqfs* which belong to al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya. It is located in Jerusalem the Noble in the Bani Zaid neighbourhood, and was established by al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din al-Khalwati, may God grant him mercy.' The listed properties were:

- (1) The whole share (5 *qirat* out of 24) of the village of Dar Duyuf which is known as Bait Saqaya of the district of Jerusalem.
- (2) The complete (fourth) portion (6 *qirat* out of 24) of the grape and fig orchard (*ghiras*) in the land of al-Baq'a outside Jerusalem the Noble. It is well known by the name of the orchard of Shaikh al-Salahiyya.
- (3) The whole share (6 *qirat* and one fourth *qirat* out of 24 *qirat*) of the *qasr* which is located on the above-mentioned land.
- (4) The whole orchard of olive trees—which amounted to 120 trees—planted on the land of Lifta village (west of Jerusalem).
- (5) The whole weaving (*hiyaka*) shop situated below the *zawiya*.
- (6) The whole vault of the mill which abuts the aforementioned *zawiya*.

All the above-mentioned (estates) were made *waqf* by the late *qudwat al-umara' al-kiram al-fikham Hajji Beg mir liwa'* (governor) of Safad and Nablus.

The document goes on to record that Hajji Beg stipulated that the inspector of the *waqf* should be 'our lord al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din al-Khalwati during his lifetime, and after him, his sons and his descendants and heirs'. The document ends by saying that Shaikh 'Ala' administered the *waqf* in his lifetime, and after him it was administered by his son Muhammad Çelebi for more than twenty-eight years up to the date mentioned, that is 967/1559-60. A list of prominent witnesses is given at the end of the document, testifying to its legality.

The second document is close to the first in almost every detail apart from the name of the donor and the list of endowments. It carries the same date and is registered within the same *sijill* but on the following page, number 517. Here the name of the donor is given as Qasim Beg Mir Liwa' Safad wa Nablus. Qasim Beg had made *waqf* for the *zawiya* the whole share (6 *qirat* out of 24) of the orchard which was located in the land of al-Baq'a outside Jerusalem; this was attributed to the *shaikh* of al-Salahiyya. In addition, the 'whole portion (6 *qirat* out of 24) of the

qasr which was located on the above mentioned land' was specified. For the complete Arabic text with an English summary, see Cat. Appendix 1, nos. 3/1, 3/2.

It is unfortunate that the amount of income from these estates is not specified, but it is nevertheless possible to reach a rough estimate. In Sijill 100: 285, which includes the events of the year 1028/1618-1619, Ishaq Çelebi, the son of Ibrahim al-Khalwati and the inspector of the *waqf* of his father's grandfather, attested in the religious court that for the past five years he had faced difficulties in collecting revenues from the people of the *waqf* of the village of Bait Saqaya and of the village of Lifta. He had, therefore, exchanged the *waqf* income for 25 *ghirsh asadi* (gold coins)—twenty for the village of Bait Saqaya and five for the olives of Lifta—with the agent of *amir al-umara'* (the prince of princes) Muhammad Pasha, who had retired in Jerusalem (for his biography, see cat. no. 19).

It seems in 1041/1631-2 that the descendants of al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Khalwati lost their monopoly of the administration of the *zawiya*, and another prominent family (al-Ghudayya) became their rivals. Sijill 121: 379, dated 8 Safar 1043/14 August 1633, records that the *qadi* had prevented Ishaq Çelebi from opposing al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ghudaiya in his office as *imam* in Zawayat al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra'. The *qadi* further ordered Ishaq to register the name of the *imam* in the *sijill* and to pay him his due salary from the date of his appointment at the end of Ramadan 1041. On 5 Rabi' I 1043/9 September 1633, Mahmud Çelebi, the son of Ishaq Çelebi al-Khalwati, was appointed 'inspector and *mutawalli* (administrator) of the Zawayat al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Khalwati, known also by the name al-Manara al-Hamra', which is situated in Jerusalem the Noble.' He was allocated two *misriyya* pieces (silver coins) per day, and had replaced his father on the latter's death. In 1992 Atallah (1992 2: 27) published a *sijill* document dated 6 Ramadan 1052/17 September 1642 on the names of mills and millers. One of those listed was a mill by the name of 'al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra'.

Later periods

The file (3/17/31) in the archives of the Auqaf Administration includes the name of 'Masjid al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra', as shown above. The earliest entry in the file, which contains some two hundred pages, is dated 9 Muharram 1359/17 February 1940, and the most recent is dated 9 Jumada II 1413/3 December 1992. The file gives the usual information on personnel and maintenance work relating to the building. The data on maintenance can be divided into two periods, with a gap of ten years between them. The recorded work relates exclusively to the mosque, apart from the mention of the erection of two shelters for the *mu'adhdhin* over the gallery of the minaret. It is difficult, therefore, to be sure what repairs (if any) have been undertaken on the minaret in the past few decades.

The minaret and the mosque were provided with electricity in the middle of 1379/1960 (File 3/17/31, 106, 123). In the same year, the Auqaf applied to the Jerusalem Municipality to connect the mosque to the main water supply (File 3/17/31, 113).

Architecture

The minaret

Najm *et al.* (1983: 323) published a plan and an elevation, but apart from these almost nothing has been published about the minaret and its architecture. The base of the minaret is raised above street level by means of ten steps; each step is 1.24m long by 30cm deep. The minaret measures 18m from top to bottom,

¹ Burgoyne (1987: 89) considers that the three minarets added in the 9th/15th century outside the Haram al-Sharif were a symbolic gesture directed towards the non-Muslim population. However, it is also necessary to remember the symbolic importance of the minaret in Islam in general (for a further discussion on the symbolism of the minaret, see Hillenbrand 1994: 129 and especially Bloom 1989).

and it is completely built of stone. Most of the blocks are white although some are red, especially around the door of the minaret; all are carefully cut and dressed. Most are rectangular (the largest measures 60cm by 22cm) but there are some that are square in shape (22cm by 22cm).

The shaft rises above a square plinth, each side of which measures 2.9m by 3.67m high. On the western side of the plinth there is a small doorway (65cm by 1.37m) through which the gallery is reached by means of a spiral staircase, with forty-six steps around a central, cylindrical core. The jambs of the doorway are built of red and white *ablaq*, and it is surmounted by a large, white lintel measuring 1.4m by 45cm.

A *cyma recta* moulding with two engraved lines separates the plinth from the first octagonal zone of transition. At this level there are four prismatic triangles on the non-cardinal sides to allow the transition from the square plinth to the octagon. Similar prismatic triangles, although they are not identical, are found in the minaret of al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19) and the minaret of Bab al-Asbat (first built in 769/1367-68), the rebuilding of which is dated 18 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1007/12 July 1599. Burgoyne (1987: 416) notes that 'similar zones of transition were used in eighth/fourteenth-century minarets in Egypt and Syria.' Prismatic 'Turkish' triangles do not appear in Jerusalem architecture before the Ottoman period, and what in the minaret of Bab al-Asbat was thought by Burgoyne (1987: 417) to be Mamluk is now proven by Sijill 80:100 to be Ottoman. For further details, see Ch. 36 under 'Minarets'.

The side of the octagon that faces west is decorated with a re-used square stone panel, placed directly above the *cyma recta* ring moulding centred above the lintel over the door, and was therefore intended to emphasise it.

[Editor's note: The panel on Minaret al-Hamra' is carved in relief and consists of an equilateral triangle with a circular boss in the centre. This boss is decorated with a central radiating disc that expands into a sixteen-petalled rosette in relief. The ground is cut away at a sharp angle to give a deep recessed area in the points of the triangle around the central boss. The frame is a double fillet, again sharply delineated both by the crisp cutting away of the ground and a deep central groove. To each side of the main triangle, the field in reserve forms two identical smaller triangles. These spandrels are deeply recessed leaving a smaller version of the flat central boss in reserve. These bosses are also engraved with rosettes, this time with ten petals. Three sides of the panel are framed by a zig-zag border of equilateral counterchange triangles in reserve. SA]

The reason behind the location of this panel above the lintel of the door is unclear. Although it could be seen by people approaching the minaret, few in fact would do so apart from the *mu'adhdhin*. A somewhat similar panel is found on Ribat 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir (Burgoyne 1987: 122, pl. 3.4). The similarity between the two panels would imply that they were taken from the same site. It is possible that the panel on Minaret al-Hamra' was initially set in a more prominent position in al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya. Then, when that complex was destroyed, the panel was placed in its present site.

A roll moulding in the form of a *cyma recta*, narrower than the one below the panel, marks the end of the first level of the octagonal zone of transition. The second level of the octagon is double the height of the one below. Each face terminates in a half-circle, almost as if they had been conceived as blind arches; in between each 'arch' there is, as it were, a 'pendentive' that acts both as spandrel and as the conversion to the circular plan of the

shaft above. At this point a simple roll moulding marks the start of the cylinder. This particular architectural device of treating the lower shaft as a succession of blind arches is not seen in any other minaret in Jerusalem, whether Mamluk or Ottoman. [Editor's note: However, a similar treatment of the piers of the west gallery in the Rüstem Pasha Cami, Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 251, pl. 241)—although here disguised to an extent by the addition of ceramic tiles—shows that the concept was current in the later 16th century. It probably represents a logical development of the blind arches that decorate such faceted buildings as the octagonal minarets at the corners of the *tabhanes* adjoining the mosque of the Beyazit Complex, Edirne which was completed in 895/1488 under the direction of the Royal Architect at the time, Mimar Hayrettin (Goodwin 1971: 143-7, pls. 135, 136). SA] Perhaps because it is taller than other Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem, the Minaret al-Hamra' has more graceful proportions than its counterparts. For a comparison between the measurements of this minaret and those of other examples in the city, see Ch. 36, under 'Minarets'.

The cylindrical shaft, which measures 2.62m in circumference, rises above the roll moulding described above. Some of the stones from which it is constructed are lighter in tone than the rest, as are some in the zone of transition, and this may indicate that they are replacements from some period of restoration. Indeed, some damaged stones are still visible in the shaft and in the *muqarnas* cornice. The shaft is pierced by slit windows to give light and ventilation to the interior, and is otherwise plain until one course below the *muqarnas* cornice, which is marked by a narrow frieze of counterchange trefoil joggles.

At the top of the shaft there is a *muqarnas* corbel that projects to carry the gallery from which the call to prayer is made. The gallery is circular in form. The base of the cornice is marked by a narrow roll moulding, above which there are three levels of *muqarnas*. These take the form of alternating niches and corbels, each framed by a stepped detail. Beneath each corbel the divisions between the triangular areas are marked by a rib. The intervening niches have trilobate heads with a deep triangular niche cut out of the central area. It is probable, although it is difficult to be positive because of damage, that the alternating devices were envisaged as mirror images of each other. This is perhaps underlined by the moulding above, which marks the beginning of the gallery, for it is a single billet, and thus is also conceived as a series of alternating or counterchange projections and recessions. The type of *muqarnas* on the Minaret al-Hamra' is both markedly different from, and of a higher quality than, that carried by the Minaret al-Nabi Da'ud. In this respect, it is closer to the Mamluk tradition. The last part of the minaret is circular and is both thinner and shorter than the shaft. It rises directly from the gallery. The gallery is sheltered by a recent corrugated iron canopy which is carried by the central shaft and was installed in 1385/1965. The lantern is capped by a circular drum and a small dome which culminates with a stone crescent-finial. A door gives access from the stairs to the gallery. There are four small openings at the top of the circular drum, each measuring 20cm by 25cm, to light the interior and to provide ventilation.

The mosque

The north façade of the mosque is the main one. A simple door leads into the interior. It is off-centre, and has a dressed stone jamb and lintel which were fitted in 1376/1956. The main fabric of the façade is, in contrast, rusticated with varying sizes and

shapes of stones, and with thick mortar joints. The eastern elevation of the building resembles the north façade, but at the centre, in place of the door, it has two rectangular window openings, each measuring 75cm by 1.78m. The jambs and lintels are dressed in the same way as the entrance, although they were fitted later, in 1406/1985. The shutters and the grilles of the windows are modern.

The basic plan of the room is rectangular. It measures 8m by 2.95m and is covered by a simple cross-vault with, in the centre, a very shallow saucer dome. There is a recess to the west and east with deep barrel vaults, 1.96m in depth. The *mihrab* is placed at the centre of the south wall, and is round-headed. The springing of the vault, which begins at the same height as the springing of the *mihrab* arch, and which creates a semicircular profile to the top of the wall, elegantly echoes this simple design. The niche measures approximately 1.15m in width, 80cm in depth and 1.63m in height. At either side of the niche opening, directly below the springing of the framing arch, there is a space. Presumably these spaces were reserved for columns, but they were never made, were perhaps not used, or have been removed at a later date. Their absence creates an odd sense of unease, as the framing arch appears to be unsupported. The inside of the hood and the niche itself are covered with modern blue tiles, 10cm by 10cm square. In Ramadan 1398/August 1978 the *mihrab* was faced with a stone slabs of the same quality as those that cover the walls of the mosque to a height of approximately 1m in an attempt to control condensation from the adjoining wall of a neighbouring building (Auqaf File 3/17/31, 155). The upper part of the walls and the vaulting are plastered. There are two other wall-openings; one, to the north-east of the north wall measures 65cm by 75cm by 1.25m, and the other at the south-west of the west wall measures 70cm by 32cm by 1.8m; both serve as wall cupboards. Light to the interior is provided by the two window openings described above.

Dating the minaret

Minaret al-Hamra' is itself undated. It should probably, however, be seen as dating from the 16th century, for the following reasons:

1. The minaret shares many features, both architectural and decorative, with the minaret of Bab al-Asbat, which was rebuilt in 1007/1599, and with Minaret al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), which was constructed sometime before 995/1586-7. The full details of these shared features are listed and discussed in Ch. 36 under 'Minarets', where a comparison between the minarets of Ottoman Jerusalem is given.

2. Minaret al-Hamra' is not mentioned by Mujir al-Din (1973). His reliable history was concluded in the closing years of the 15th century. The minaret does, however, feature in Sijill 13: 224, which dates from as early as 3 Muharram 948/29 April 1541.

3. Burgoyne (1987: 416) has noted that 'we know of only two other 8th/14th-century Mamluk minarets with circular shafts, both in Aleppo and both different in style and execution from Bab al-Asbat Minaret. All other minarets with circular shafts in Jerusalem are Ottoman.'



Pl. 3.1 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), detail of minaret.



Pl. 3.2 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), decorative panel above doorway to minaret.

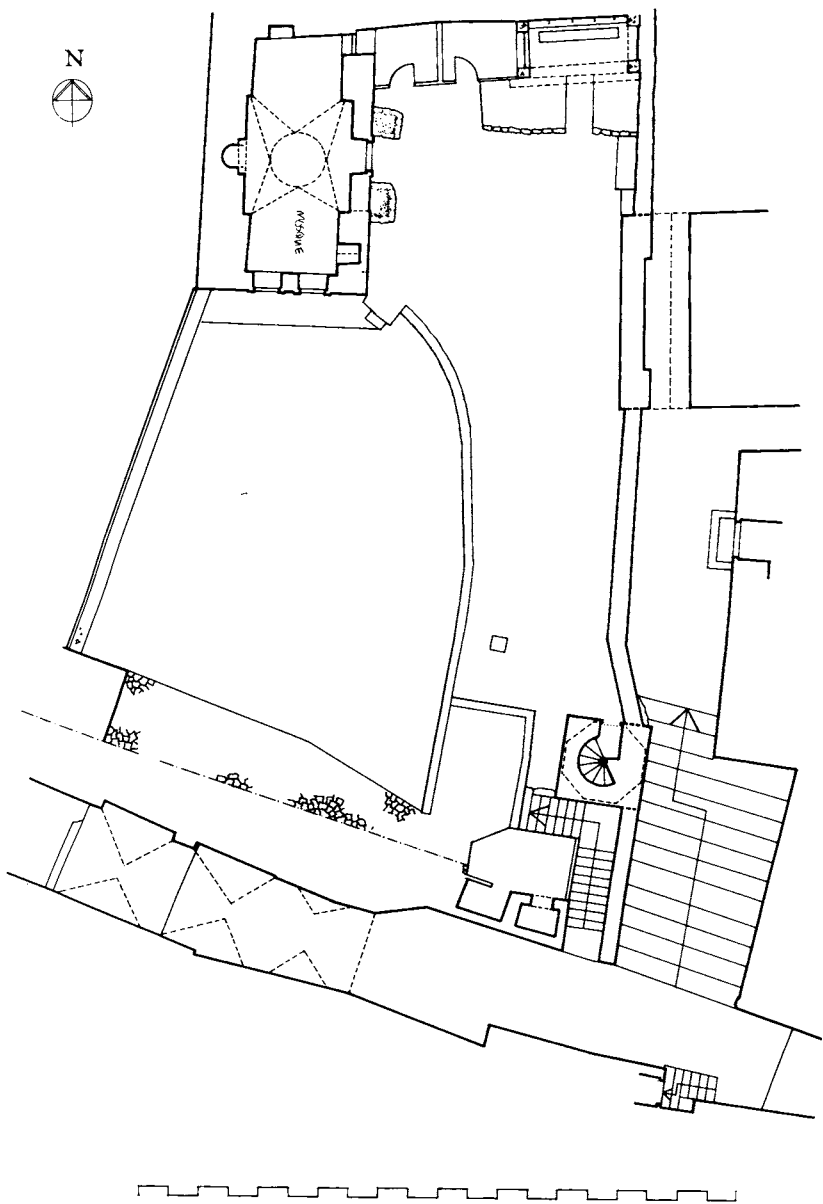


Fig. 3.1 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), plan.

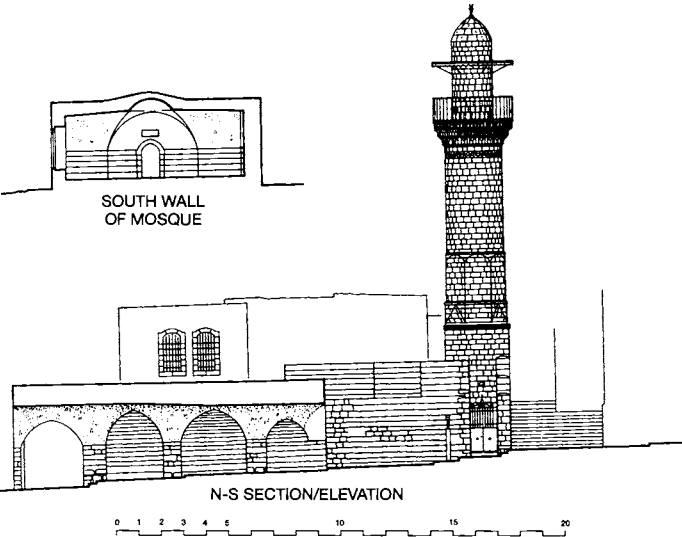


Fig. 3.2 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), section and elevation.



Pl. 3.3 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), minaret.



Pl. 3.4 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), detail of *muqarnas* cornice and counterchange motif.



Pl. 3.5 Minaret and Zawiya of al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya), doorway to minaret.

4 SABIL BIRKAT AL-SULTAN

Name: Sabil Birkat al-Sultan¹ ('The public fountain of the pool of the Sultan')

Date: 10 Muharram 943/29 June 1536

Endowment: 948/1541-42

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

Location

The *sabil* is located to the south west outside the city walls, on the road which leads to Bethlehem and Hebron, facing south. It appears as number 43 on the map of Jerusalem (1992) and is to be found on square D8.

Site and brief description (fig. 4.1, pls. 4.1-4.3)

The siting of the Sabil of Birkat al-Sultan on the road to Hebron, 700m downhill from Bab al-Khalil (literally 'the Hebron Gate', known today as the Jaffa Gate) is significant. It greets any traveller who approaches the city from the west or south, standing proud (4m above) of the centre of the retaining southern wall of the Birkat al-Sultan on what must have always been the main route to and from Hebron. The modern road level is higher than when the *sabil* was first constructed so that its base is now 73cm below the surface. The *sabil* still greets anyone arriving from the south to Jerusalem. This *sabil* is the earliest of six *sabils* attributed to Sultan Sulaiman. Although the *sabils* were built by order of Sulaiman within a relatively short timespan, and although they are related in layout and design, they can be divided into two groups. This is discussed in detail in Ch. 36 under *Sabils*. The fountains differ slightly both in measurement and in decorative detailing. One of them (cat. no. 9) stands out as being different because of the paucity of its ornamentation. The function of these water fountains is discussed under the catalogue entry for Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) as well as in Ch. 36.

Sabil Birkat al-Sultan is a free-standing structure, consisting in the main of a recessed niche surmounted by a chevron-pointed arch. The arch is contained within a rectangular wall. A trough to contain water, now hidden because of the raised level of the modern road, previously stood at the foot of the *sabil*. The *sabil* itself is no longer in working order. A subsidiary channel from Qanat al-Sabil (al-'Arrub channel), the remains of which are still visible a few metres to the west of the *sabil*, used to feed the fountain with water.

History

Identification

The Sabil Birkat al-Sultan is identified by the foundation text and by a *waqf* document in the *sijills* dated 948/1541-2 (see below).

Date

According to the inscription panel commemorating the construction of the *sabil*, it dates to 10 Muharram 943/29 June 1536. The inscription is to be found on a marble panel at the

centre of the niche. The plaque measures 1m by 55cm, and consists of three lines of Arabic. The script is an elegant, slender, slightly compressed Ottoman *naskh*² with some interlacing. The three lines are contained within rectangular cartouches separated by a plain, narrow fillet. Although there are diacritical and auxiliary points, some diacriticals are lacking. There is a slight degree of extra ornamentation in the form of several small hearts and two 's' shapes. The *alif* of *hadha* ('this') also serves the words *al-sabil* ('the fountain') and *al-mubarak* ('the blessed'), doubtless a deliberate stylistic quirk on the part of the calligrapher. In the third line *al-sultan* is written without the initial *alif*, as van Berchem (1923: 413) noted when he published the inscription. The translation runs as follows:

- (1) (There) has ordered the construction of this blessed *sabil*, our master, the Sultan, the greatest prince and the honourable
- (2) Khaqan, who rules the necks of the nations, the sultan of the (land of) Rum, the Arabs and the non-Arabs ('*ajam*'), the Sultan Sulaiman
- (3) son of Sultan Selim Khan, may God perpetuate his reign and his sultanate. On the date of the tenth of the month of Muharram the sacred, in the year nine hundred and forty-three (29 June 1536).

Founder

The *sabil*, as the inscription states, is a royal foundation, the patron being Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66).

Endowment

The *sijills* (al-Husaini 1982: 109-10, 115-16) reveal that in the year 948/1541-2 an official meeting was held in the Dome of the Chain on the Haram al-Sharif, at which Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash informed those attending that the repairs to the aqueduct and to nine *sabils* had been completed. The aqueduct to which Muhammad Çelebi referred used to bring water from Sulaiman's pools (The Pools of Solomon), located to the south of Jerusalem near Bethlehem, to nine public fountains in the Holy City, as well as to the Haram precinct and a number of baths within the city. Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash further stated that he had endowed all that had been repaired as a pious legal foundation for the benefit of all Muslims, in the name of Sultan Sulaiman. Six of the nine *sabils* are still *in situ*. The first of these is the one now under discussion and the rest are described in the following catalogue entries (cat. nos. 5-9).

The document described above raises serious questions about the actual date of construction of the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman. There is a gap of five years between the construction dates of the *sabils* as reported in their foundations inscriptions and the date of their endowment after their restoration. It is possible that the date of completion of the construction of the *sabils* was the date of their endowment, and that the inscriptions were prepared in advance, hoping that the *sabil* project would be finished within the intended time period, but that in fact the project was for some reason delayed. A similar although not identical example occurred during the building of al-Ashrafiyya

¹ The pool is very old and has been frequently repaired, the last documented occasion being by Sultan Sulaiman. It was, however, already known by the name 'The Sultan's Pool' (*birkat al-sultan*) before his reign (see Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 92, 94). For an historical and archaeological account of the pool, see the recent bibliography compiled by Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 65).

² In this study, where the word 'Ottoman' precedes the type of calligraphy, it refers to a period rather than a style. The author knows of no publication which addresses the problem of the stylistic differences between Ottoman and Mamluk calligraphy in Jerusalem.

(van Berchem 1923: 27; Rogers 1976-7: 182, n. 2) for the *madrasa* was completed according to its foundation inscription in 887/1482-3, but Felix Fabri found various craftsmen still at work on the site some months later. Although the construction year of the *sabils* (namely 943/1536) is given as the same on all the fountains, the day and the month is specified differently for each one. The gap between construction and restoration of the water installations was, it seems, long enough to warrant repair work, and this tends to diminish the likelihood of the hypothesis just advanced. It seems therefore most likely that each *sabil* was indeed completed on the date time mentioned in its foundation inscription. To be more specific, it is highly unlikely that the structure of the *sabil* itself would have decayed, but it is quite possible that the supply of water to all of them was impeded and repair work was required for the water channel. Information on the water supply and the recorded attempts to breach the Qanat al-Sabil is included in Ch. 36. At that time Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash publicised the *waqf* dedicated to the *sabils* in the name of Sultan Sulaiman.

Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, who announced the endowment of the *sabils*, has been shown by Cohen (1989: 470-73) to have been the person responsible (*al-amin*) for the sultan's project for the walls of Jerusalem. As explained above, he was also responsible for the repairs to the water project, which were vital if the supply of water to the city was to be secured. There are many records in the *sijills* which feature Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. These records can be divided into two categories. The first (*Sijills* 10: 16; 12: 905, 922; 13: 525; 18: 293) refer to his official capacity as the man both in charge of the project and the finances of the walls of the Holy City (*al-amin 'ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya wa'l-amin 'ala 'imarat sur bait al-maqdis al-sharif*). The second category concerns his personal life. In the latter, *Sijill* 17: 168 dated 20 Jumada II 952/29 August 1545 bears witness to expenses incurred on the house owned by him in Jerusalem. A *waqfiyya* in his name is also to be found in *Sijill* 18: 425, dated the middle of Rabi' I 953/16 May 1546, in which a house is endowed for the benefit of his freed slaves. *Sijill* 22: 503 dated 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 956/23 December 1549 contains a list of his effects when he died; it records that he had no heirs to inherit these effects which should therefore be claimed by the state treasury (*bait al-mal*). Finally, it is interesting to note that according to *Sijill* 17: 112, which includes the proceedings for the year 950/ 1543-4, he was the man responsible for the Haram of the Noble Rock (*al-amin 'ala haram al-sakhra al-musharrafa*). From the context of the record it is inferred that this position meant that he was the administrator of the *waqf* of the Noble Rock; the *sijill* reveals that Muhammad Çelebi acknowledged that he had received from Bairam Jawish the revenue and the tithe for the year 950/1543-4. This information makes it possible to state unequivocally that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was one of the most important

characters in Jerusalem in the early Ottoman period and that he played a major role in the history and development of the Holy City.

Architecture

Sabil Birkat al-Sultan is entirely constructed of a dressed, white stone that has now weathered to grey, in the same way that the other five *sabils* attributed to Sultan Sulaiman have done. Fortunately, the *sabil* seems to have retained most of the elements of its original architecture.³

The *sabil* is designed as a single rectangular panel, measuring 4.1m in height (minus the trough) by 3.69m in width. As stated above, today the *sabil* is 73cm below the level of the modern road. A recessed niche with a pointed chevron⁴ arch dominates the upper part of the construction. The chevron moulding, which was much used in Norman, and thence Crusader architecture in Palestine, was very rare in Mamluk Jerusalem (see Burgoyne 1987: 133). But in Ottoman Jerusalem it is used on four monuments in addition to the *sabil* under discussion. These are Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8), Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13); and Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38), all of which date to the 16th century with the exception of cat. no. 38. Yet, as just noted, the chevron arch is not an Ottoman motif. It is noticeable that all these monuments—again with the exception of cat. no. 13—also incorporate Crusader and Latin elements into their architectural fabric (see Ch. 36 under *Sabils* for more detail). The chevron arch should, therefore, probably be considered as a deliberate copy of a non-Muslim motif—unless, indeed, it is re-used Crusader material.

The extrados of the chevron arch is framed by a splay-faced moulding and its spandrels are decorated with a flat, plain slightly projecting medallion. The arch springs from two similar *muqarnas* imposts. Each impost is made up of two sections, and each section has seven small *muqarnas* niches.

[Editorial note: The decoration of the niches of the lower section is repeated at the top and bottom, with the exception of the seventh one which is hidden. The device is quinquafoliate. The second, the third and the fourth niches reading from west to east have a bigger leaf than the others. Each *muqarnas* niche is separated from its neighbour by a groove and has a chamfered frame. The upper sections of the *muqarnas* niches of the impost are variously carved. That of the second, the fifth and the sixth niches, again reading from west to east, is identical to the niches of the lower section. The first and the third niches have four vertical grooves, while the fourth niche is the most elaborately decorated, its foliate motif with ten little leaves filling the whole space of the niche. SA]

The tympanum of the arch is filled by three tiers of elaborated *muqarnas* crowned by a ribbed scalloped niche. The scallop at the level of the third tier is flanked on either side by stalactite *muqarnas* niches. The second row of the *muqarnas* consists of plain panels, the only decoration being chamfered framing at the upper edges. The lowest level of the *muqarnas* is formed by a series of six small lancet elements lightly recessed within an equal number of larger niches. There is no parallel for this differentiation between tiers of *muqarnas* in the other two examples of *sabils* (cat. nos. 5, 8) which have similar decoration. It probably represents an idiosyncratic decision on the part of the craftsman or designer.

³ Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 592), comparing the present state of the *sabil* with a photograph taken in 1273/1856 by Schiller (1978: 197), mentions that the small shallow niche for the water outlet, the trough to catch the water, and the inverted volute on each of the flanking pillars are now hidden. However, the top of the stone panel which replaced the niche of the water outlet is still visible, and the inverted volute is also visible. The divergence would appear to be due to her dependence on an old photograph which she publishes (1989: 591, fig. 37.3) and which had been taken by Garo, presumably before the restoration of 1978. The photograph in pl. 4.1 was taken some time in 1980 and shows the current state of the *sabil* as represented in fig. 4.1.

⁴ On the chevron arch, see van Berchem (1923: 412-17; 425, n. 2) and Burgoyne (1971: 23-6; 1987: 133; 140, ns. 35, 36).

The recessed plaque containing the inscription is set beneath the *muqarnas*; one course below there is a white stone panel which served to house the water outlet. This panel is new, and has replaced the smaller shallow niche which appears in a photograph taken in 1273/1856 (Schiller 1978: 197). The panel is slightly recessed, and has a rounded apex with a rectangular extension. The shape and the design of the panel is identical to those on other *sabils* constructed at this time. The similarity to them suggests that it was a deliberate copy of one of the four panels still existing rather than a restoration of the original one seen in the photograph of 1273/1856. The repairs to the panel were probably undertaken at the time other work was being done on the *sabil* in 1978 by the East Jerusalem Development Company.

The water-trough is no longer visible, for it is now filled with rubble. It is at the level of the top of the trough that the moulding which frames the entire upper level of the *sabil* terminates in an inverted volute. The moulding is a beautifully executed *cyma recta* with a concave section running round its inner face. A similar volute is to be found on the Sabils al-Wad, Bab al-Silsila, Bab al-'Atm and Bab Sitti Maryam (cat. nos 5, 6, 8, and 9).

The *sabil* is rectangular in plan, measuring 3.69m long by 1.5m wide. The niche is 1.9m wide and 71cm deep. The back of the masonry block, and the western and eastern sides, are built of the same quality of stone as the façade but are all plain, simple, solid walls. The roof of the block slopes towards the north to prevent the water from collecting and is covered in stone.



Pl. 4.1 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, general view.



Pl. 4.2 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, rear view showing relationship to pool.



Pl. 4.3 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, detail of flat *muqarnas* decoration.

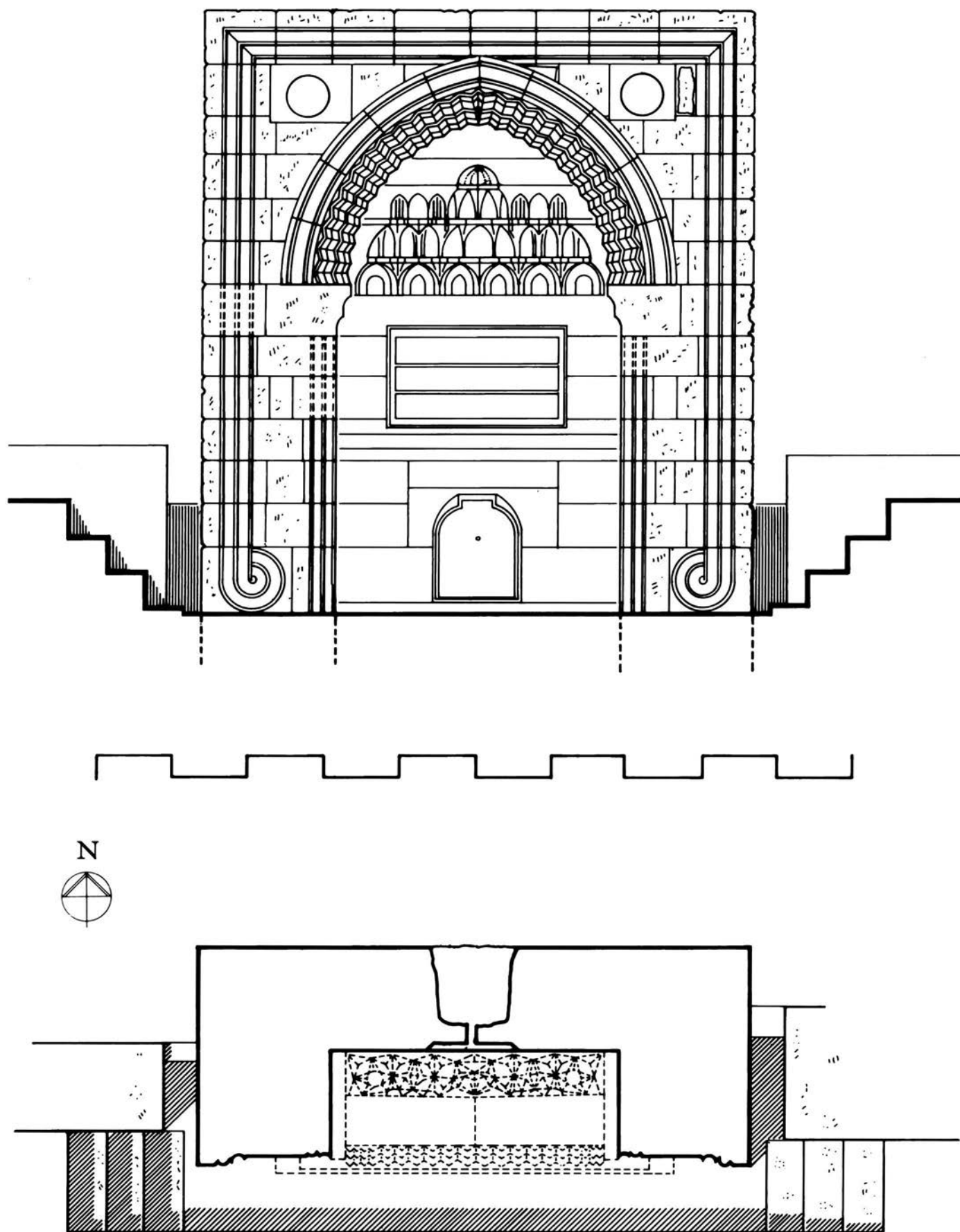


Fig. 4.1 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, elevation and plan.

5 SABIL AL-WAD

Name: Sabil al-Wad

Date: 1 Rajab 943/14 December 1536

Endowment: 948/1541-2

Variant of name: Sabil Mahallat Bab al-Qattanin

Modern name: Sabil al-Wad

Location

The *sabil* is located on the east side of Tariq al-Wad, a few metres south of the west entrance of Suq al-Qattanin.

Site and brief description (fig. 5.1, pls 5.1–5.6)

Sabil al-Wad is situated at the south end of one of the two main roads crossing the Old City of Jerusalem from north to south. The site has been as carefully chosen for maximum impact as that of the Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, for it is close to Suq al-Qattanin, a prime centre for local trade, which leads to one of the three main entrances to the Haram al-Sharif from the west. The *sabil* is a single-unit structure in the same style as the others built by Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66). It consists of a lavishly decorated recessed niche with a pointed arch. The arch springs from a pillar on either side. Behind the *sabil* there is a rectangular cistern which is invisible from the front and which was originally designed to collect the water. The cistern is adjacent to the west wall of the Hammam (public bath) al-'Ain. Both the *hammam* and the *sabil* were probably once supplied with water through a subsidiary canal from Qanat al-Sabil. The *sabil* no longer functions, although it is in good condition.

History

Identification

An elaborate foundation inscription identifies the *sabil* as dating to the Ottoman period; it also features in the *sijills* of the Shari'a records (see above, cat. no. 4) as one of those restored and made a *waqf* by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (see below).

Date

The date of Sabil al-Wad, according to the inscription panel, is 1 Rajab 943/14 December 1536. The inscription is located in the centre of the niche and has been published by van Berchem (1923: 414). It is a marble plaque measuring 1.2m by 50cm, and consists of three lines of Arabic. The inscription resembles that of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan in its layout, script, context and literary style but it differs in that it has three additional epithets. The translation runs as follows:

- (1) (There) has ordered the construction of this blessed *sabil*, our master the Sultan, the greatest King and the honourable Khaqan, who rules the necks of the nations, the
- (2) Sultan of the (land of) Rum, the Arabs and the non-Arabs, the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God on earth, the protector of the two sacred sanctuaries, the Sultan
- (3) Sulaiman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, may God perpetuate his reign and his sultanate—on the date of the beginning of the month of Rajab the venerated of the months of the year nine hundred and forty-three (14 December 1536).

The presence of additional epithets here, over and above those included in the inscription on Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4),

is worth underlining. Although no definitive reason can be given for their inclusion, perhaps the reference to Sultan Sulaiman as 'the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God on earth, the protector of the two sacred sanctuaries' (*hami al-haramain al-sharifain*) relates to the proximity of the site to the Haram al-Sharif, one of the two sanctuaries under his protection.

Founder

The founder of the *sabil* is Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66).

Endowment

The Sabil al-Wad is mentioned in the Shari'a records in the *sijills* (al-Husaini 1982: 109-10, 115), where it is referred to as the 'Sabil Mahallat Bab al-Qattanin'. The *sijill* shows that this is one of the nine *sabils* repaired and made a *waqf* by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash in the year 948/1541-2 (see Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, cat. no. 4 for more details).

Architecture

The Sabil al-Wad is similar in both plan and decoration to Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4) though it is not identical. This change in style, which is discussed more fully in Ch. 36 under *Sabils*, could be due either to the availability of old material or to the fact that the *sabils* were built and designed by two different master builders. One style concentrates mainly on Islamic elements. This is seen in Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4); Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8), and Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (cat. no. 9). The second style incorporates non-Islamic features. This applies to the *sabil* under discussion here, Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6), and Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7).

The recessed niche of Sabil al-Wad has a double pointed arch of Gothic style *voussoirs* and the external arch of the two has a double stone moulding frame which Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 594) considers to be an additional outer arch. The first frame is made up of a bold quirked ogee moulding and the second is a splay-faced moulding. The spandrels of the arch are decorated with triangles in relief which were once adorned with stone bosses in the form of rosettes, as can be seen in an early photograph (van Berchem 1920: pl. XCIV, no. 111); both of these are now missing.

There are short slender colonnettes engaged to either side of the spandrels of the arch, immediately above the upper external corners of each pillar. The shafts of the two columns are made up of four pieces of stone, and they rest on a rough square base with a circular plinth, torus and apophyge. The space where capitals might be expected to occur are now void, but there are two possibilities as to how they were once filled. The first is that there never was a capital, and a piece of stone identical to the stones of the shaft was used to fill the gap. This solution appears on the columns directly below them on the same vertical axis. However, the second possibility is more likely, and this is that the columns were once completed with capitals, for the uppermost stone of the shaft of each colonnette is shorter than the rest of the pieces, probably to allow space for a capital. The same practice is to be found on the columns which support the two double arches of the niche itself. All the six shafts share the same measurements and design (see below).

Each of the two pointed arches of the niche springs from a slender engaged column. These columns are similar to those situated above, though here the capitals are retained and their bases differ in size and decoration. The capitals are ultimately derived from the Corinthian order; they consist of a series of thick leaves arranged in three tiers; they also have a roll-moulded

astragal, and date probably to the Crusader period, being re-used here. The capitals share an abacus in the form of a projecting cornice made up of fragments of stone. This is plain apart from a *cyma recta* ornamentation; the overall effect is that of a frame separating the arches from the pillars. The bases of the columns are square and are integrated into the fabric of the *sabil*. They are decorated with small rectangular recesses. They rest on square plinths, decorated by pairs of blind round-headed recesses, and have a torus moulding and apophyge. Below the colonettes of the upper storey, which are placed so that they mark the return of the façade on each side, there is an engaged colonnette identical to those described above. These two columns are without capitals, and they are taller than those of the upper level by 30cm, although they have identical bases. An ogee moulding is contained between the external engaged column supporting the arch and the colonnette of the main pillar. The moulding ends in an inverted volute or *mim* decoration (a term derived from the Arabic letter 'm').

The crown of the niche is filled by three tiers of elaborate stalactite *muqarnas* surmounted by a half-dome on which part of a shell with three scallops is carved. At one time three hemispherical roundels of stone, probably identical, had been set into the stalactite *muqarnas*, but now only the one in the centre is still in place.

[Editorial note: The roundel is decorated in a four-part design made up of split palmettes arranged to form four dart-shaped divisions which surround four trefoils. Additional split palmettes emerge from the darts, which are arranged as a saltire, to continue the theme to the border. A star polygon is left in reserve at the centre.

The design was popular in the Timurid period. It can, for example, be seen clearly on a jug, perhaps made in Herat, dated 871/1467, where it appears in a quatrelobed cartouche between two areas of inscription on the widest part of the belly.¹ Although the position occupied by the stone roundel on the *sabil* and its worn condition now make it difficult to 'read' the carved design, the deeply recessed areas between the different parts of the motif may indicate that it was at one time coloured in some way. SA]

The inscription panel is set directly below the first row of the *muqarnas* (see above). It is situated at eye level, and two courses below it there is recessed marble niche for the water outlet. A rectangular stone trough measuring 50-60cm wide, 1.90-2m long and 54-56cm high is set at the base of the *sabil* to catch the water. According to Canneau (1899 1: 233) this trough was originally a sarcophagus. The face of the trough is decorated with three unadorned roundels in slight relief, and when Canneau (Rahmani 1988: 42) examined it, he found the same scheme of decoration on the back of the trough, in addition to a single large roundel on each short side. This cannot be checked, for the back of the *sabil* is inaccessible, sunk into a cistern and the trough is cemented into the sides of the fountain, leaving only the front face

visible. Canneau also noticed that the sarcophagus had been set at a slight angle, the front lip being slightly higher than the back one.

A billet stone cornice runs round the three visible sides of the *sabil* and marks the top of the rectangular niche. Above this, and directly over the crown of the arch, there is a roundel set against a series of stones in secondary use decorated with an acanthus motif. This is the only section of the original upper cornice still in place; the central roundel is flat and has a geometrical decoration of a six-pointed star which appears to have been cast in stucco. Despite these differences, Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 594) believed this roundel to be of the same sort as the boss in the centre of the *muqarnas* (see above). A recent course of white stones flanks the carved section.

The street level has recently been raised and this has resulted in the base of the *sabil* being now situated below ground level; it is reached by two steps measuring 28cm in height. The plan of the *sabil* is rectangular; it measures 4.23m long by 1m wide and 5m high. The niche is 2.21m wide and 70cm depth. As with Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, the sides are solid; they are, however, constructed of masonry differently dressed from that of the main façade.



Pl. 5.1 Sabil al-Wad, capitals.

¹ The jug (*mashraba*), which is made of brass inlaid with silver and gold and a black substance, is signed by Husain al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi and is now in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 2961. It was formerly in the Topkapu Sarai Museum no. 2/2150. The decoration also occurs on contemporary Herati manuscript decoration (Lentz and Lowry 1989: 341, cat. no. 57, illustrated in colour 161). For many other examples of metalwork objects with a similar design, see Komaroff 1992 throughout, and for a discussion on the Husain al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi jug in particular see her entry cat. no. 5.

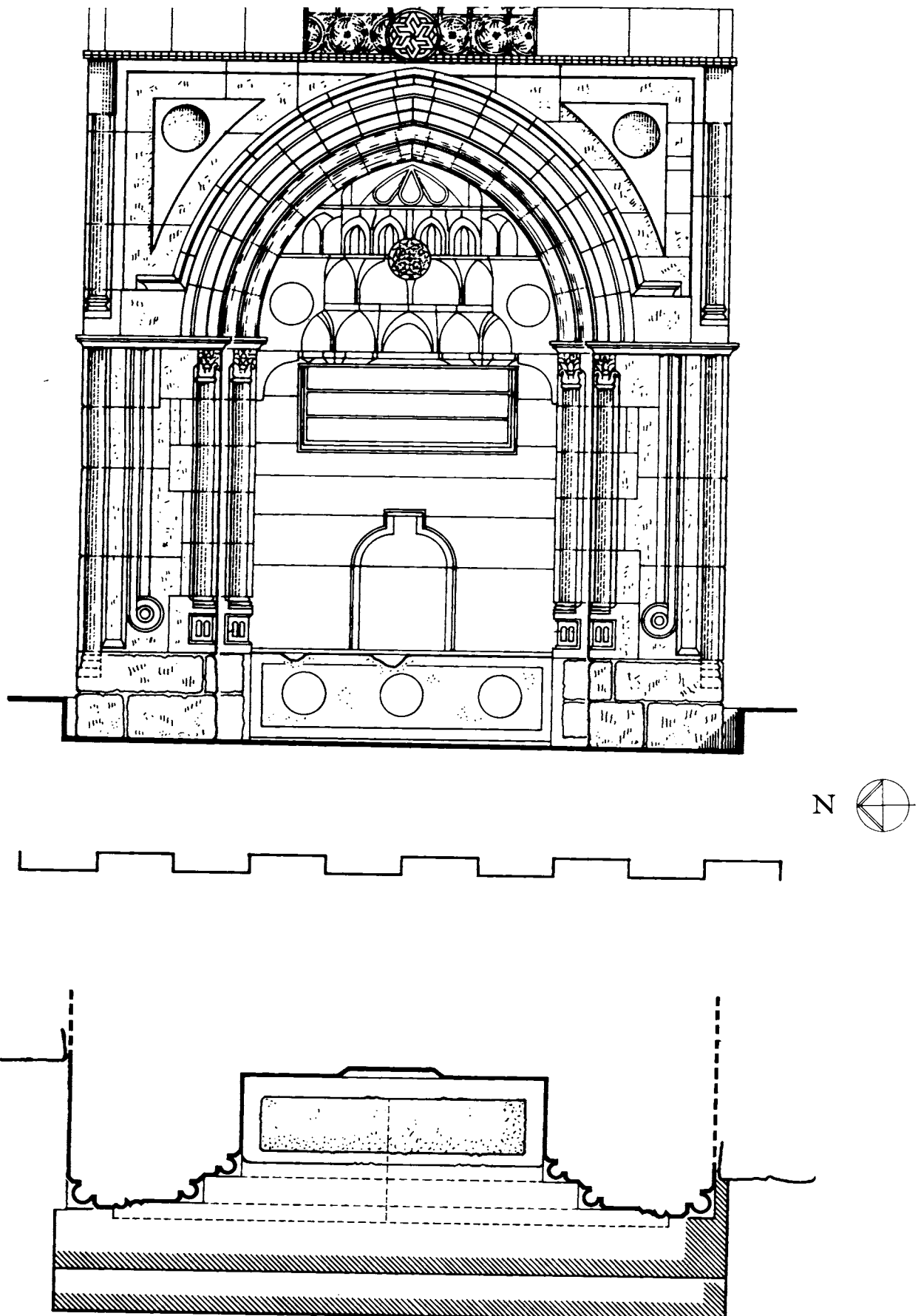


Fig. 5.1 Sabil al-Wad, elevation and plan.



Pl. 5.2 Sabil al-Wad, general view.



Pl. 5.3 Sabil al-Wad, details of boss inserted into acanthus frieze.



Pl. 5.5 Sabil al-Wad, detail of boss inserted into *muqarnas* hood.



Pl. 5.4 Sabil al-Wad, plinths of columns.



Pl. 5.6 Sabil al-Wad, trough (in re-use).

6 SABIL BAB AL-SILSILA

Name: Sabil Bab al-Silsila ('The Fountain of the Gate of the Chain')

Date: 22 Rajab 943/4 January 1537

Endowment: First endowment dated 948/1541-2, second dated 1000/1591-2, and third dated 1018/1609-10

Variant of name: Sabil Mahallat Bab al-Silsila

Modern name: Sabil Bab al-Silsila

Location

The *sabil* is situated on the west side of the square of the same name, facing Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina.

Site and brief description (fig. 6.1, pls. 6.1-6.3, col. pl. LXIV)

The Sabil Bab al-Silsila abuts the east wall of al-Turba al-Sa'diyya to the west; to the south, it is flanked by the street of Bab al-Silsila and the entrance of al-Madrassa al-Tankiziyya, and to the north by the building of Ribat al-Nisa'; it faces east over the square which leads to Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina from which it is only 7m distant. The site is as significant as those of the two *sabils* already described, for it has been the focus of architectural activity from the early Islamic period.

This *sabil* resembles the others built by Sulaiman I in that it is a single-unit structure and consists of a recessed niche framed by a pointed chevron arch. The niche is flanked to either side by the stone rectangular wall which contained the elements of the *sabil*. A trough to hold water is placed at the foot of the *sabil*, which is no longer in operation. It was provided with water from the Qanat al-Sabil before it entered the Haram precinct.

History

Identification

The Sabil Bab al-Silsila is identified by a foundation inscription in addition to a *waqf* contained in the Shari'a records in a *sijill* dated 948/1541-2.

Date

According to the plaque, which was published by van Berchem (1923: 415), the date of construction of Sabil Bab al-Silsila is 22 Rajab 943/4 January 1537. The inscription is to be found in the centre of the niche. It is of marble and measures 1.72m wide by 60cm high—measurements that do not quite correspond with those cited by van Berchem, who gives 1.5m by 50cm. It consists of three lines of Arabic. This inscription is identical to the one recording the building of Sabil al-Wad (cat. no.5) with the exception of the date and the addition of '(may God) make his justice and beneficence endure!' The complete translation runs as follows:

- (1) (There) has ordered the construction of this blessed *sabil*, our master the Sultan, the greatest King and the honourable Khaqan, who rules the necks of the nations,
- (2) Sultan of the (land of) Rum, the Arabs and the non-Arabs, the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God on earth, the protector of the two sacred sanctuaries, Sultan
- (3) Sulaiman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, may God perpetuate his reign and his sultanate, and make his justice and beneficence endure!—on the date of the twenty-second of the month Rajab al-Murajjab (the blessed) of the months of the year nine hundred and forty-three (4 January 1537).

As with the Sabil Tariq al-Wad (cat. no. 5), the fuller epithets may relate to the position of the *sabil* at a gate into the Haram al-Sharif.

Founder

The founder of the *sabil* is Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66).

Endowment

The *sabil* is mentioned among those which were repaired and made a *waqf* by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash in the year 948/1541-2 (see cat. no. 4). *Sijill* 75: 2 dated 29 Shawwal 1000/8 August 1592 informs us that "Abdallah Çelebi the son of Hamza, the former Deputy of Ramla, has attested that he has made as *waqf* the entire small copper bowl together with the iron chain and the iron lock for the *sabil* that is located at the Gate of the Chain'. The bowl and its attachments were to be placed on the *sabil* (*al-'ain*) until sunset and were to be retained by the door-keeper of the Gate of the Chain. There is another endowment in the *sijills* (197: 324) dedicated to Sabil Bab al-Silsila. It appears within a long *waqf* document dated the middle of Rabi' II 1018/18 July 1609, which was drafted by Qasim Beg the son of Rajab ibn 'Abdallah, the translator in the Jerusalem religious court. Qasim Beg stipulated that one silver coin (*qit'a misriyya*) should be allocated per day from the income of his *waqf* for the cost of water to be put in the *misqa* (small fountain) facing al-Madrassa al-Tankiziyya.

Architecture

Despite a recent restoration, probably undertaken by the Supreme Muslim Council in the 1940s, and despite many excavations conducted within the last decade in the vicinity of the *sabil*, it is still in surprisingly good condition and retains most of its original architectural and decorative features. These are similar to the other *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman, though not identical. Sabil Bab al-Silsila is again in the form of an aedicule or entrance porch. It has a recessed niche framed by a pointed chevron arch and measures 2.4m wide by 62cm deep. The arch and the niche as a whole are framed by a crisply carved, boldly quirked ogee moulding which terminates in an inverted volute just above the level of the water-trough. In Arabic this form of volute is known as a *mim* (the letter 'm'). The spandrels contain fragments of Crusader stonework in the form of a single scroll of foliage with a central bunch of grapes. These have been cut into a triangle and are attached as relief decoration.

The pointed chevron arch springs from two identical *muqarnas* imposts set on either side of the wall of the *sabil*. Although the imposts have been renovated recently, they are carved in a similar style to the *muqarnas* panels of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, and that would suggest that they retain their original design or have been deliberately carved in imitation of it. Each impost is made up of two sections.

[Editorial note: The upper tier has five and a half small concave *muqarnas* elements or concave lancet niches, the half niche appearing at the inner edge. These are alternately decorated with a rayed device in the upper part, and left plain; each is surrounded by a slant-cut groove, with a plain spandrel in relief between. The lower tier has six undecorated lancet panels, again surrounded by a slant-cut groove, but here the spandrels are cut away to form triangular recesses. SA]

On the façade, the two imposts are decorated with a recent stone roundel inscribed in Arabic with the statement that the *sabil* is an Islamic *waqf*. These roundels replace two circular

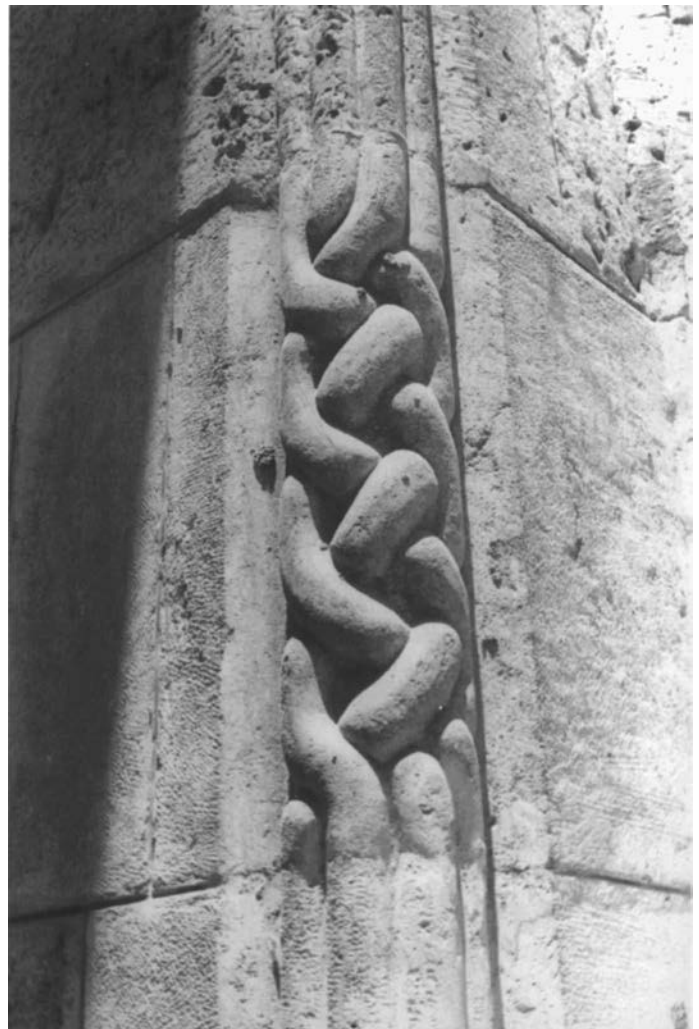
medallions, one of which can be seen in the photograph taken by van Berchem (1920 2: pl. XCIII, no. 112). Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 597) has suggested that the original roundels may have matched the small carved rosette at the apex of the arch (see below).

An engaged colonette with a plaited central motif is placed at the external corner of each support. In each case, the decoration of the colonette is identical and is made up of three sections. The upper section is the capital, which is made up of two parts each with three small lancet niches. The middle section of the column is ornamented by a plait, as described above, and the lower section shares the same decorative scheme as the upper part, though here it is inverted. Most of the stonework of the supports, including the moulding, is the work of recent restoration.

The tympanum of the arch, which unlike Sabil Birkat al-Sultan and Sabil al-Wad is flat, contains an elaborately carved rosette taken from a rose window. The use of *spolia* in Ottoman Jerusalem is discussed in Ch. 36 under re-used material. The scheme of the ornamentation consists of a large central rosette made up of three levels of relief tracery from which eight complete round-headed arches ray outwards. Four others are cut by the supporting wall beneath. The arches have gadrooned voussoirs and are supported by twelve columns with slender, marble shafts. They have crocket capitals, and their bases are square with a circular torus and apophyge. The whole window is framed by a narrow frieze of acanthus leaves. The reduction of the small arches from twelve to eight, in addition to other features of the window, suggest that it is in secondary use. Its form of course makes it ideal as a filler for a tympanum. It is probably of Crusader origin, and according to Buschhausen (1978: 236) dates to the 12th century.

The inscription panel is set one course below the rose window, and directly below it there is an eroded stone roundel. The recessed niche, which is of marble and houses the water outlet, is set two courses below the roundel. A rectangular stone trough measuring 50-67cm wide, 2.56-2.27m long and 45cm high is set at the bottom of the *sabil* to catch the water. The face of the trough is highly decorated. Its main scheme is made up of two parts; the upper part is a condensed geometrical ornament composed in principle from interlocking circles. The decoration of the lower part is a combination of figurative and foliate motifs. Ganneau (1899: 129-30) says that this trough was a sarcophagus, and that it was originally taken from the Tombs of the Kings (north of the Old City of Jerusalem) just as other sarcophagi were re-used in the *sabils* and the basins constructed by Qa'itbai (Ganneau 1899: 131). There was a similar sarcophagus in the Madrasa Tankiziyya, given by the Turkish governor of Jerusalem in 1866 to the French scholar De Saulcy. It is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Rahmani (1988: 41-2) studied this sarcophagus and publishes three photographs of it. A billet stone cornice runs around the top of the *sabil* and marks the apex of the rectangular niche. A stone roundel of carved foliage is set between the billet cornice and the crown of the chevron arch.

The *sabil* is rectangular in plan and measures 3.96m wide by 1.02m deep. The niche is 2.4m wide and 62cm deep. The west and east sides of the *sabil*, built of the same quality of stone as the main façade, are both simple, solid constructions. The rear of the *sabil*, as already described, is incorporated into the wall of a cistern.



Pl. 6.1 Sabil Bab al-Silsila, rope moulding.



Pl. 6.2 Sabil Bab al-Silsila, plinth of engaged column.



Pl. 6.3 Sabil Bab al-Silsila, general view.

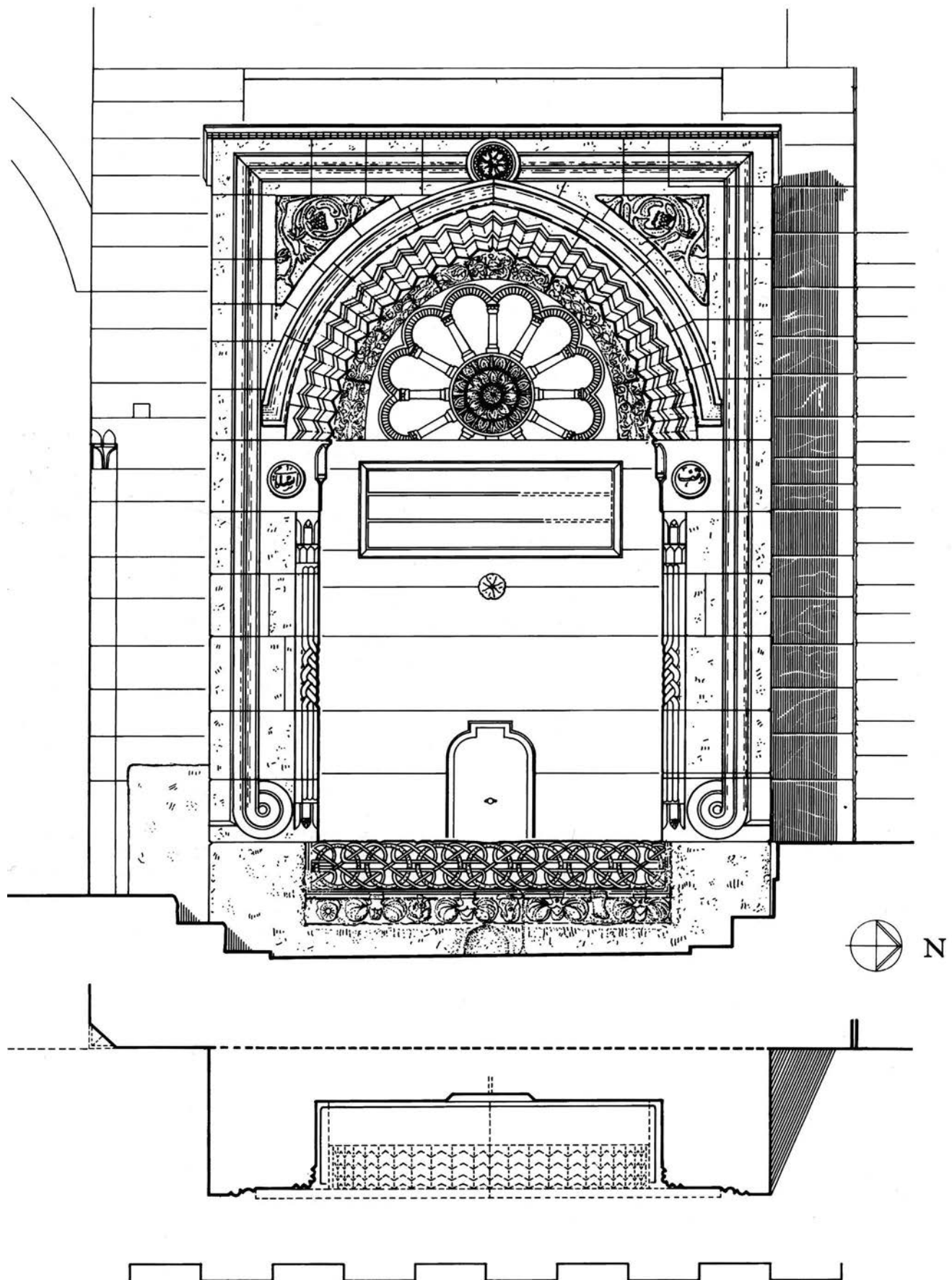


Fig. 6.1 Sabil Bab al-Silsila, elevation and plan.

7 SABIL BAB AL-NAZIR

Name: Sabil Bab al-Nazir (Fountain of the Gate of the Inspector)

Date: 2 Ramadan 943/12 February 1537

Endowment: 948/1541-42

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Sabil Bab al-Nazir

Location

The *sabil* is to be found at the north-eastern corner of the crossing of Tariq al-Wad and Tariq Bab al-Nazir.

Site and brief description (fig. 7.1, pls. 7.1-7.4, col. pl.LXI)

The Sabil Bab al-Nazir is located at the western end of Tariq Bab al-Nazir which leads to the Haram precinct through the gate from which the *sabil* has taken its name. The site was subject to intense architectural activity in the 16th century following the Ottoman conquest. The north side of the fountain lies adjacent to the south wall of an unidentified building (thought to be an example of Ottoman domestic architecture). It lies directly opposite to the Maktab (cat. no. 12) and the Ribat (cat. no. 11) of Bairam Jawish, and the soup kitchen of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15) is located a few metres further to the west on 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. The *sabil*, like the others of the group, is a single-unit structure built of stone and contains a recessed niche surmounted by a double pointed arch. The arch springs from two rectangular pillars integrated into the masonry of the *sabil* to either side. The fountain no longer functions. A reservoir to the rear of the *sabil*, in addition to a cistern and, possibly, a subsidiary channel of the Qanat al-Sabil, once provided it with water.

History

Identification

The Sabil Bab al-Nazir is dated by inscription to 2 Ramadan 943/12 February 1537, and is further identified in a *waqfiyya* in a *sijill* dated 948/1541-2 (see cat. no. 4).

Date

The date of construction is recorded in the inscription panel as 2 Ramadan 943/12 February 1537. The inscription is identical to the one on Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4) apart from the date. It has been published by van Berchem (1923: 417) and its translation is thus the same as Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4) with the exception of the date.

Founder

The founder of the Sabil is Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66).

Endowment

The *sabil* is one of the nine made a *waqf* in the name of Sultan Sulaiman in 948/1541-2 by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (see cat. no. 4).

Architecture

The fountain is made up of a single block forming a rectangular edifice measuring 3.91m high by 3.6m wide by 1m deep. A recessed niche with a double pointed arch dominates the upper part of the *sabil*. The arches—and thus their decoration—are in secondary use. They were originally Crusader as stated by Buschhausen (1987: 236); in this way they are similar to the arches of Sabil al-Wad and Sabil Bab al-Silsila. The habit of

recycling Crusader or other *spolia* is well known in the architecture of Islamic Jerusalem. It perhaps reflects an appreciation of the artistic value of the earlier work, but could equally reflect a wish to conserve time and money. The extrados of the external arch is framed by a bold quirked ogival moulding and its voussoirs are also decorated with a double quirked ogee separated by a *cyma recta*. Both strata of the quirked ogival moulding are filled by a band of carved foliage.

[Editorial note: The outer band is decorated by a single motif repeated on each of the nine voussoirs. The motif is made up of a central cusp of foliage supporting a central drilled 'flowerhead'; a stalk issues from this central device to each side, terminating in an acanthus leaf that reverses back towards the centre. The inner band consists of a series of small rosettes, with a variety of foliate motifs. Each voussoir at this level is adorned with two rosettes apart from the keystone, which has only one. The lowest voussoir and thus also the first rosette to each side of the arch is missing. SA]

The internal arch is made up of a roll moulding and its intrados is decorated with a series of small rosettes similar to the rosettes that decorate the inner band of the external arch.

Both of the external and internal arches spring from a *muqarnas* impost similarly carved and arranged on either side. This is original Ottoman work, unlike the arch itself and its decoration. Each impost is made up of five small *muqarnas* niches. The first, the third and the fifth niches from south to north are ornamented by a leaf with five ribs, whereas the second and the fourth are plain chamfered niches. Each *muqarnas* niche is separated from its neighbour by a groove and its upper edge is finished by a sloping chamfer. The spandrels of the arch bear an undecorated flat triangle in slight relief. At the top of the arch a billet stone cornice extends around the top of the *sabil*, and directly above it, there is a slightly projected chamfered frame which marks the apex of the rectangular niche.

The two pillars which support the imposts are themselves rectangular, measuring 87cm in width and 1.83m in height, and each is flanked on the two outer corners by two engaged columns. The two inner columns are shorter than the outer ones, being 1.38m in height; their shafts are made up of three parts, the upper and lower parts being fluted, while the central area has a plaited braid. The origin of the plaited braid is non-Ottoman, but here the plaited motif is imitated and integral to the structure of the *sabil* structure. The motif is also found in Sabil Bab al-Silsila (cat. no. 6) and Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8) (for more details see Ch. 36 under *Sabils*). The capitals are a form of debased Corinthian, the upper volutes being replaced by fleshy acanthus leaves. Buschhausen (1978: 236) believes that the capitals are Crusader for they belong to the South Italian sculptural technique like the arches above. It is however not possible to be sure that both the arches and the capitals came from a single source. The bases are square and undecorated apart from a torus, scotia and apophyge. The two outer columns (measuring 2.32m high) are less ornate; they have cylindrical shafts and a *muqarnas* capital consisting of two tiers of small lancet-shaped niches cut in a sloping chamfer. The base of the eastern column is hidden, while the base of the western one is below the raised street level, although the apophyge is still visible.

The tympanum of the arch is filled by a large octagonal medallion. It has a small central rosette from which emerge twelve ribs enclosed in an eight-lobed circle. The recessed plaque with the foundation inscription is placed beneath the medallion on the exact level of the spring of the arch, and two courses below there

is a white stone panel (now painted black) for the water outlet. The shape and the design of this panel is identical with those of the other *sabils* of Sulaiman. The trough (if indeed it still exists) is now hidden beneath an infill at the level of Tariq al-Wad. A band of moulding adorns the inner level of the niche, which takes the shape of a pointed arch. It is made up of a repeated leaf shape carved in relief on a recessed background.

The *sabil* is rectangular in plan and measures 3.6m wide by 1m to the west and 88cm to the east. The difference in

the depth between the two exterior sides of the *sabil* is due to the alignment of the street. The *sabil*, as already explained, is located at a corner where the street of Bab al-Nazir meets Tariq al-Wad. The difference would indicate a slight change in direction of the thoroughfare, for originally the *sabil* would have been set square to the corner. The niche is 1.82m wide and 54cm deep. The west and east sides of the *sabil*, built of the same quality of stone as the main façade, are both simple, solid constructions.



Pl. 7.1 Sabil Bab al-Nazir, general view.

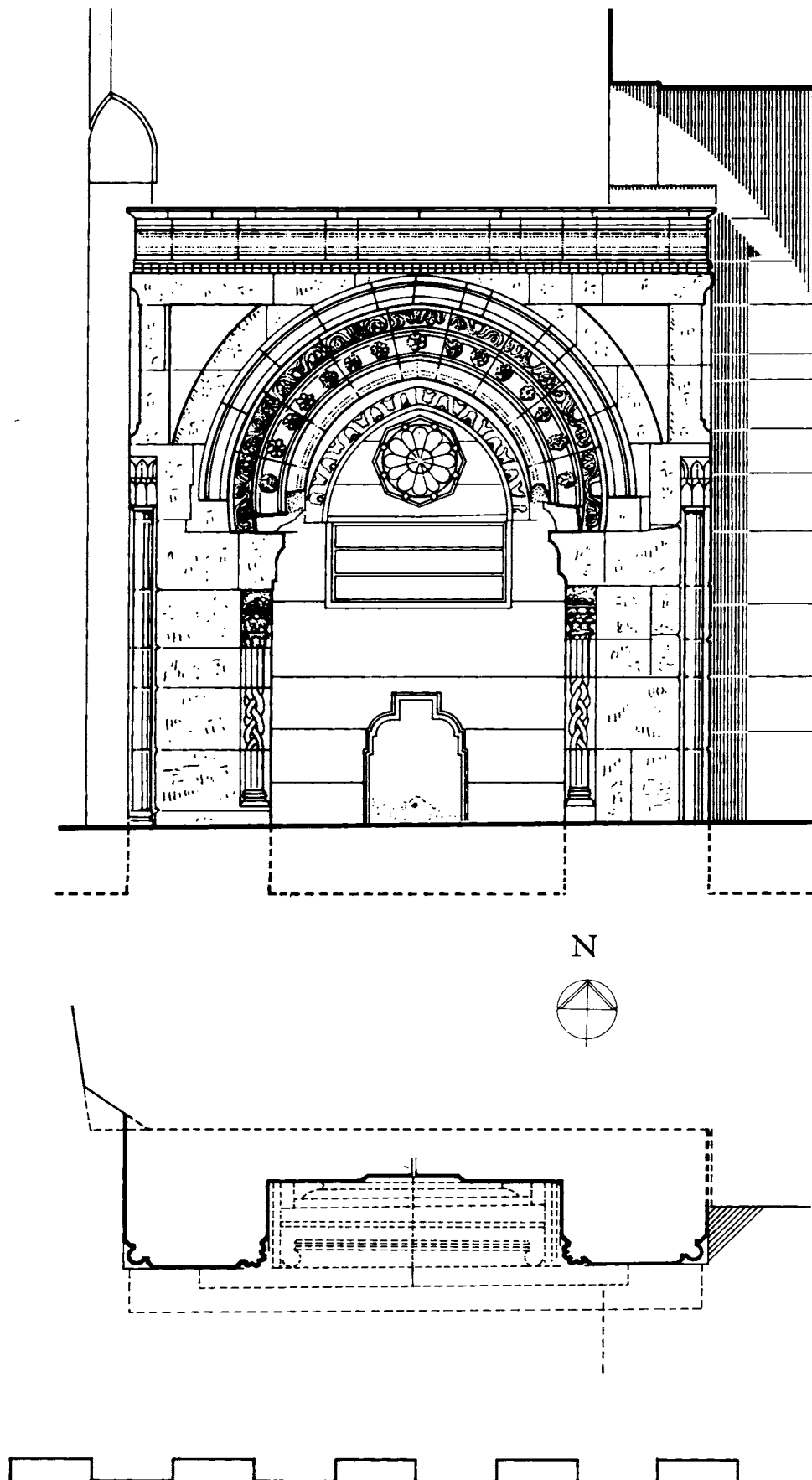


Fig. 7.1 Sabil Bab al-Nazir, elevation and plan.



Pl. 7.2 Sabil Bab al-Nazir, tympanum and archivolt.



Pl. 7.3 Sabil Bab al-Nazir, detail of archivolt.



Pl. 7.4 Sabil Bab al-Nazir, medallion in centre of hood of tympanum.

8 SABIL BAB AL-‘ATM

Name: Sabil Bab al-‘Atm

Date: (A) The *sabil*. Beginning of Sha‘ban 943/mid-January 1537

(B) The *mihrab*. Undated, but renewed during the reign of Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66), probably in 943/1537

(C) The *mastaba*. Undated, but it appears to have been built at the same time as the *mihrab*

Endowment: 948/1541-2

Variants of name: Sabil al-Sultan Sulaiman I, Sabil Qubbat al-‘Ushshaq (van Berchem 1923: 415), the *sabil* opposite the Gate of al-Dawadariyya (*sijill*, cited by al-Husaini 1982: 109-10, 115).

Modern name: Sabil Bab al-‘Atm

Location

The *sabil* is situated on the Haram esplanade to the north, 15m to the south of Bab al-‘Atm.

Site and brief description (figs. 8.1-8.2, pls. 8.1-8.5, col. pl. XLII)

Sabil Bab al-‘Atm is a single-unit structure built of stone and consists of a recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch with chevron designs. This arch springs from two slender engaged columns integrated into the masonry of the *sabil*. A *mihrab* is to be found in the rear (north) wall of the fountain. A rectangular *mastaba* adjoins the *sabil* to the north, and gives it its name—‘Mastabat Sabil Bab al-‘Atm’. To the east, west and south the construction is surrounded by open ground. Qubbat al-‘Ushshaq (Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, cat. no. 50) is situated 5m to the south, which explains the fact that the *sabil* was once known as Sabil Qubbat al-‘Ushshaq (van Berchem 1923: 415, n. 2). Although there has been recent interest expressed in restoring the fountain, it remains out of use at the time of writing.

History

Identification

The *sabil* is securely placed within the early Ottoman period by virtue of the foundation inscription. It is referred to as the ‘*sabil* opposite the Gate of al-Dawadariyya’ in the relevant *sijill* (cited by al-Husaini 1982: 109-10, 115). The *mihrab* as it now exists is equally identified as belonging to the Ottoman period by inscription.

Date

The inscription dates the *sabil* to the beginning of Sha‘ban 943/mid-January 1537. Van Berchem (1923: 415-6) published the text, which corresponds to that found on Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (cat. no. 4) in layout, style and phraseology; the final line, however, differs in that it includes the words ‘on the date of the Hijra’ (*bi-tarikh hijra al-nabawiyya*) before the date, and ‘blessing be upon Muhammad and upon his followers’ after it (the Arabic text is cited in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 8/1). The plaque, which is attached to the centre of the niche, is of marble and measures 1.2m by 50cm; the text is contained in three lines of Arabic set in rectangular cartouches. The translation is as follows:

- (1) (There) has ordered the construction of this blessed *sabil*, our master the Sultan, the greatest King and the honourable
- (2) Khaqan, who rules the necks of the nations, Sultan of

the (land of) Rum, the Arabs and the non-Arabs, Sultan Sulaiman son of Sultan Selim Khan, may God perpetuate his reign and his sultanate.

- (3) On the date of the Hijra of the Prophet at the beginning of Sha‘ban the venerated in the months of the year nine hundred and forty-three, and blessing be upon Muhammad (the Prophet) and upon his followers.

The *mihrab*, as already mentioned, is not dated. However, the renovation is recorded as being undertaken in the name of Sulaiman I, and was probably therefore executed at the same time as the building of the *sabil*. The arrangement and the general layout of the back face of the edifice supports this theory—that is, the quality of the stone, the lines of the joints, and the size of the stones all point to a single building campaign. The lower courses have been repointed in modern times. The inscription recording the rebuilding of the *mihrab* is contained in a rectangular, slightly recessed slab set within a rectangular chamfered frame. It too was published by van Berchem (1925: 169, no. 192). A deep slant-cut groove separates the frame of the panel from the rest of the masonry. The inscription is composed of three lines of Arabic written in a fine *naskhi* script. The three lines of text are provided with diacriticals and a degree of auxiliary pointing. The translation runs as follows:

- (1) This noble *mihrab* was renewed (*juddida*)
- (2) during the reign of our master the Sultan Sulaiman
- (3) son of Sultan Selim Khan—may God support his rule.

Founder

The *sabil* is yet another of the royal foundations of Sultan Sulaiman I.

Endowment

The *sabil* appears in the Shari‘a court records described as ‘the *sabil* opposite the Gate of al-Dawadariyya’ (cited by al-Husaini 1982: 109-10, 115 without giving the *sijill* number). This document, as already shown (cat. no. 4), records that this *sabil* is one of the nine repaired and made a *waqf* by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash in the year 948/1541-2.

Architecture

Sabil Bab al-‘Atm is constructed of dressed white stone and consists of a single block forming a rectangular wall measuring 6.3m high, 4.74m long and 2.24m wide. The *sabil* is built 1.3m below the ground level of the Haram to allow the water to flow into the trough, probably from a channel located nearby.¹ The lower level of the water-trough is reached by way of five steep steps. The upper part of the recess, which measures 2.8m wide by 1.34m deep, is dominated by a pointed arch with chevron patterning. The extrados of this arch is framed by a concave

¹ There were two possible sources of water to serve the *sabil*—either from one of the cisterns on the Haram, which are located at a relatively short distance from the site, or from a subsidiary canal of Qanat al-Sabil. The text of the *waqfiyya* (see cat. no. 4) and the round hole in the eastern corner of the *sabil* would seem to support the second source as being the more probable. *Sijill* 79: 282 dated Safar 1007/September-October 1598, records a dispute which erupted between two individuals over a share of water taken from the ‘*ain* (water source) near Bab Hitta, one of the Haram gates. No further details are provided to confirm the nature of the ‘*ain* and whether it provided the *sabil* with water or not.

moulding. Each spandrel is adorned with an undecorated flat triangle that stands slightly proud of the surface. The arch springs from two identical imposts placed on either side of the block of the *sabil*.

[Editorial note: Each impost is constructed in two sections, the lower part with six small *muqarnas* niches and the upper with five such niches terminating with a semi-niche at each end. The carved ornament that decorates the upper part of each niche of the lower row—a cinquefoil device—is repeated in the main lower area (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament). Each *muqarnas* element is separated from its neighbour by a groove, and is delineated by a chamfered frame. There are two distinct designs in the upper section of the *muqarnas* niches. That of the first and fifth niche (reading west to east) is identical to the design of the lower section, while the third niche is marked out by four vertical grooves. The second and fourth niches—that is, they are arranged alternately—are the most elaborate, being filled by an organic device with ten subdivisions. The semi-niche to the west has half of this more complicated device, while that to the east has two vertical grooves. SA]

An engaged colonette whose central section is carved as if constructed from plaited strands marks the external corner of either side of the wall (the block). The decoration of the engaged columns is in each case identical and consists of three sections. The upper part appears as a double capital made up of two components of small *muqarnas* niches cut in a sloping chamfer. The central area of the column is an interlace forming a plaited braid, while the lower part is made of a roll moulding in the form of a torus base. The pillars and the arch are enclosed in a frame of concave moulding terminating at the level of the first course of each pillar with an inverted volute, or what is called in Arabic a *mim*. The top of the main niche is embellished by four tiers of elaborate stalactite *muqarnas*, the elements of which vary in size and depth from tier to tier. The *muqarnas* is surmounted by a half-dome decorated with five scalloped ribs.

At the base of the niche there is a plain rectangular basin, which was used to catch the water, and measures 2.8m long, 1.34 m wide, and 56cm high. A hollow aperture is opened

at the eastern inner corner of the *sabil* at the level of the top of the trough, which was possibly once connected to the channel that supplied it with water. Directly above the centre of the basin there is a small shallow niche for the water outlet. This now houses a modern metal pipe that does not work and which was probably installed recently, for in 1980 the Auqaf Administration proposed bringing the *sabil* into use again.² A small iron wedge-shaped nail is fixed in this niche, which presumably was intended to provide an anchor for drinking cups.

Above the plaque with the foundation inscription already described there is another smaller inscribed slab of 70cm by 30cm written in Ottoman Turkish. The script is arranged in two lines, and the panel is undated. Van Berchem (1923: 416) considered it to be a restoration text. The translation is as follows:

Tē[ra]düf-i çestemden Ebi [Şati] Oğusun şāhibü 'l-ḥayr dü'ātī

From the sequence/string of [the words of] my song may Ebi Şati [?] sing the praises of the benefactor.

The sides of the *sabil* to east and west are unbroken and built with undecorated masonry. The construction is all of the same dressed white *malaki* stone; although the courses contain stones of different sizes, they have a standard height of 38cm. In the centre of the north wall, which is also otherwise unbroken, there is an undecorated concave niche measuring 1.08m wide by 53cm deep by 1.59m high. This is the *mihrab*. The apex of the *mihrab* is in the form of a fluted shell and is surmounted by a pointed arch, the two voussoirs flanking the key-stone being unusually formed to accommodate its flat top and inward-sloping sides. The keystone projects well into the next course and indeed the masonry of these two courses is notably uneven.

One course above the arch, and two courses below the top of the façade, there is another plaque (described above) which records the restoration of the *mihrab* by Sultan Sulaiman. The height of this northern face is 40cm lower than the one facing south in order to allow for a sloping roof.

Lying north of the *sabil*, the Mastabat Sabil Bab al-'Atm terminates at the *mihrab* just described. The square *mastaba* measures 10m by 10m and is raised by an average 55cm above the Haram esplanade. Its location is only 4.9m from northern *riwāq* of the Haram. The Mastabat Sabil Bab al-'Atm is both constructed and paved with slabs of the same white stone, though the surface of the pavement is more highly finished. The majority of these slabs are of medium size (33cm by 40cm) though some are much larger at 2.2m by 3.1m. Access to the *mastaba* is possible from all sides, though the most convenient access is from the north, for here there are two steps, each measuring 1.71m long, 30cm wide and 17cm high.

² The Auqaf Administration agreed to provide the *sabil* with water from the pipeline at Bab Hitta in 1400/1980. The purpose was to allow visitors to the Haram to make their ablutions there. Despite the approval of the Auqaf the proposal had not been implemented at the time the catalogue entry was first drafted in 1995 (File MAQ, 333,80). However, two years later in 1997 the area which surrounds the *sabil* on the east, south, and west was adapted into a site for ablutions by building square benches equipped with water taps opposite them. The ground level in front of the *sabil* has been raised both by a layer of unnecessary concrete, and by a new stone pavement.

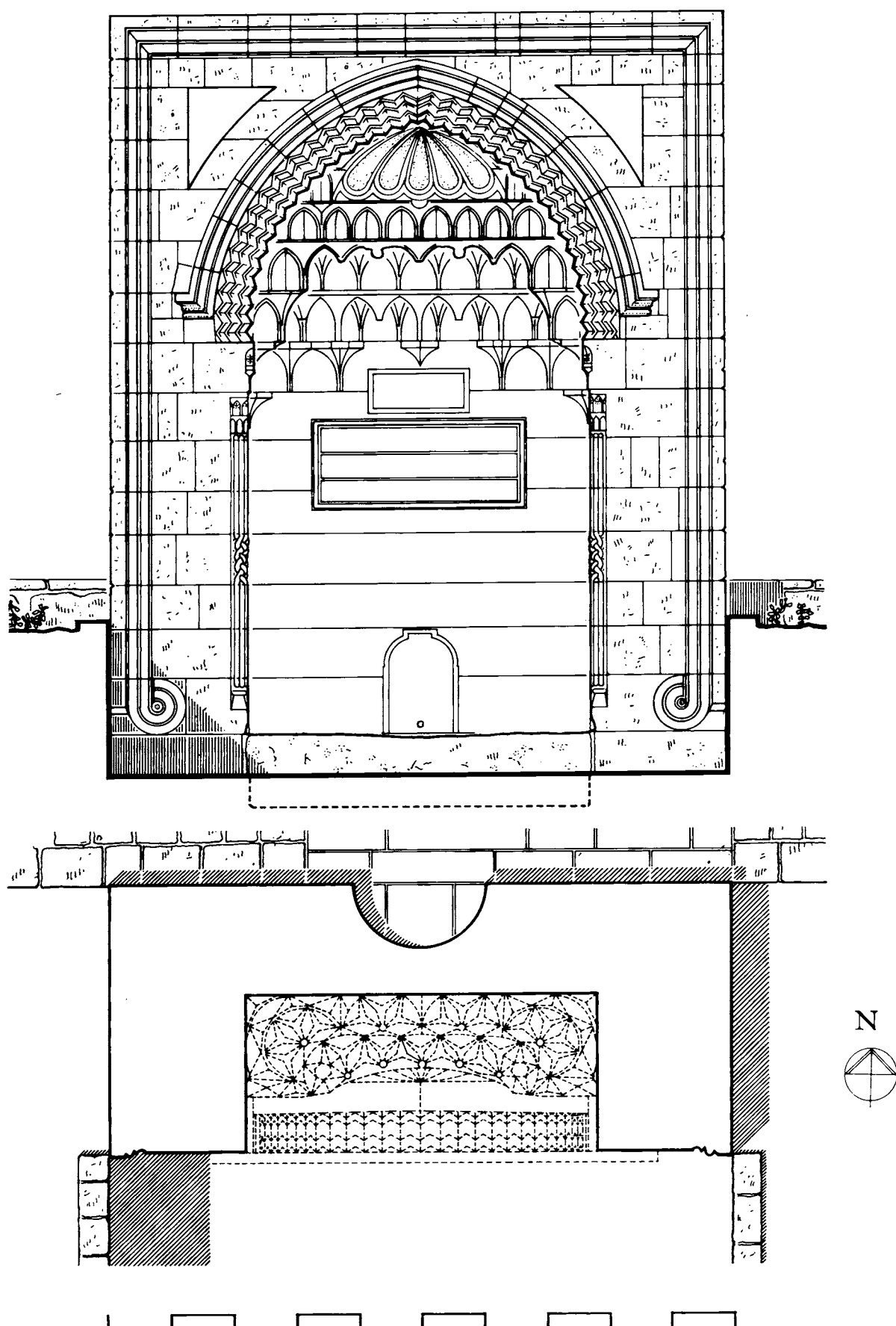
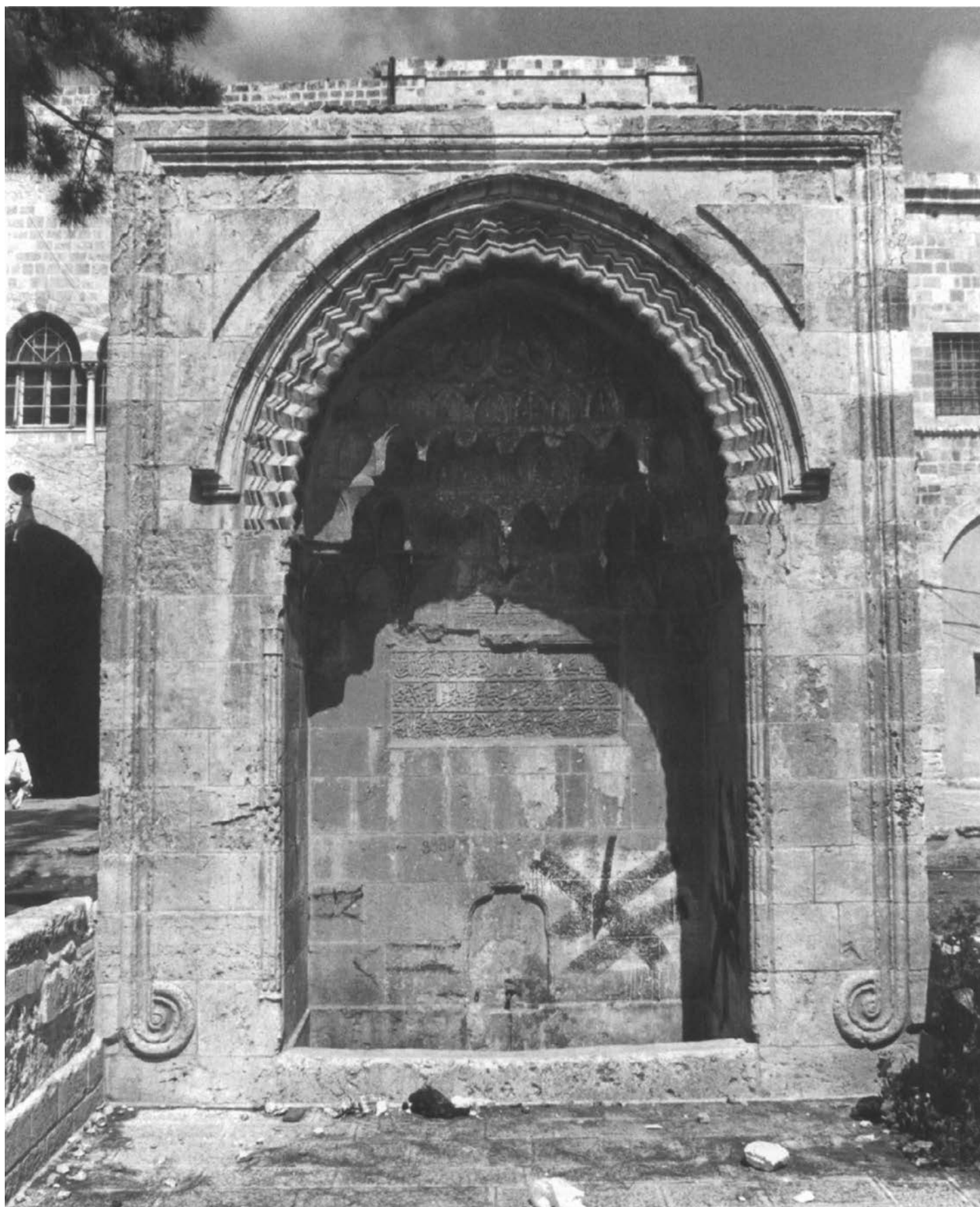


Fig. 8.1 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, elevation and plan.



Pl. 8.1 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, general view.



Pl. 8.2 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, *mihrab* at rear.

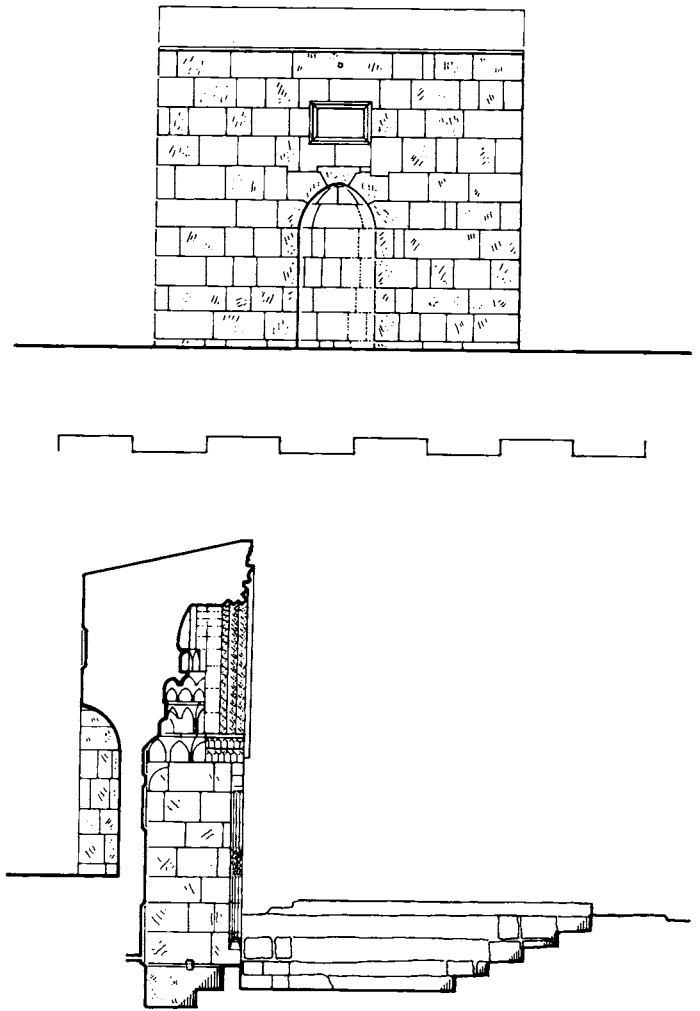


Fig. 8.2 Mihrab Bab al-'Atm, elevation and section.



Pl. 8.3 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, hood of tympanum.



Pl. 8.4 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, tiered *muqarnas* motifs above engaged column.



Pl. 8.5 Sabil Bab al-'Atm, knotwork at centre of engaged column.

9 SABIL BAB SITTI MARYAM

Name: Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (Fountain of the Gate of My Lady Mary)

Date: 943/1536-7

Endowment: 948/1541-2

Variation of name: Sabil Bab al-Asbat (Fountain of the Gate of the Tribes)

Modern name: Sabil Bab al-Asbat.

Location

The *sabil* is located to the north of Tariq al-Mujahidin, about 10m west of Bab al-Asbat. The gate is also known as St Stephen's Gate and the Lions' Gate.

Site and brief description (fig. 9.1, pls. 9.1-9.2)

Here again the *sabil* is situated at a focal point, for on the one hand it is close to the only open gate in the walls of Jerusalem allowing access from the east, and on the other, it is at the start of the road which crosses the Old City from east to west. The recent southern façade of the Greek Convent of the Birth Place of the Virgin Mary forms the back of the *sabil*. Its corner to the east is flanked by the street that leads to the Hammam Sitti Maryam and to Bab Hitta Lane. The fountain is a single-unit structure. Like the other *sabils* built by Sulaiman (cat. nos. 4-8), it consists of a recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch, which is supported by a stone pillar on either side of the opening. The arch and the pillars are contained within a rectangular wall. A trough to contain the water is at the base of the *sabil*. The *sabil* is in poor condition and is no longer in use. A subsidiary underground channel from Qanat al-Sabil used to provide both it and the Hammam Sitti Maryam with water (al-Husaini 1982: 115).

History

Identification

The Sabil Sitti Maryam is identified as belonging to the Ottoman period by a *waqfiyya* in the *sijills* dated 948/1541-2 (see cat. no. 4). The architectural layout also supports this identification (see below).

Date

A comparison with the other *sabils* and the fact that there is a recessed space of the right size suggest that there was once an inscribed plaque which would have supplied a foundation date. The plaque had doubtless already been removed by 1311/1893 for van Berchem has no record of it, although he recorded another inscription relating to the *sabil* which was still in place (see below). As he argued (1923: 417-8), the layout and design of the *sabil*, though lacking some of the decorative features of the others, closely resembles the five examples built in the name of the Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66). All recent references, such as al-'Arif (1961: 306), Burgoyne (1976: no. 128), al-'Asali (1982: 276, 278), Najm *et al.* (1983: 341), Rosen-Ayalon (1989: 600), and Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1990: no. 169), accept van Berchem's argument and concur in dating the *sabil* to 943/1536-7. There is no reason not to agree with them.

There is another inscription still *in situ* located above the frame of the missing plaque. This is undated and is probably a restoration text. It is inscribed on a rectangular plaque measuring 80cm wide by 42cm high; slightly recessed, it consists of two lines of Arabic script written in fine Ottoman *naskhi* calligraphy. The

script has both diacritical and auxiliary points, and it is now painted in black. The inscription was published by van Berchem (1923: 418). The translation runs as follows:

- (1) Peace be upon the soul of the purified Prophet!
- (2) His fingers have made the (pure) waters gush forth like Kauthar.¹

Founder

As already explained above, it is to be supposed that the Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam is another royal foundation of Sultan Sulaiman I.

Endowment

The Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam is one of the nine *sabils* which were made a *waqf* in the name of Sultan Sulaiman in 948/1541-2 by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash (see cat. no. 4).

Architecture

Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam is the simplest of the six founded by Sultan Sulaiman I. The reason for its severe simplicity is not clear—it seems unlikely that there were no *spolia* that could be included or, in view of the expense of the later wall project, that there were no funds. Perhaps there was a pressure on time. Without the discovery of a written comment, no explanation can be given for the apparent break in stylistic continuity with the rest of the *sabils* of Sulaiman. It is made up of a recessed niche with a pointed arch measuring 3.73m long by 4.72m high. The extrados of the arch is framed by a bold double ogival moulding. The spandrels contain undecorated irregular rectangles in stone which project from the façade; each element of the design—one rectangular, one triangular—is cut from a single stone. The pointed arch, as in the other examples, springs from two imposts supported by a stone pillar integrated into the fabric of the *sabil* on each side of the opening. The imposts have a slight salient and a chamfered moulding; sometime after 1967, they were replaced as substitutes for the originals, which were cut away when two modern plaques were attached to the western impost by the Jerusalem Municipality. The modern plaques give directions for visitors to the city.

The tympanum of the arch contains the panel with the restoration text described above. One course beneath an empty stone frame marks the site of the missing inscription. It measures 1.3m by 68cm. In 1982 the Auqaf Administration filled this space with a modern slab containing the same foundation text as that found on Sabil Bab al-Nazir. The lower part of the niche was previously blocked (Rosen-Ayalon 1989: 601), but has more recently been exposed to show a shallow stone niche to contain the water outlet. The water trough at the base of the niche measures 52cm deep and 2m wide. Its south-facing side is now missing, probably damaged when the rubble which once filled the trough was removed. The trough is on the same level as the Tariq al-Mujahidin; it would thus seem that the level of the road has remained unchanged since the *sabil* was first built in 943/1536-7. The façade is framed at its top by a simple stone cornice. Above the cornice runs a modern string course which marks the second storey of the Greek Convent of the Birth Place of the Virgin Mary which was built in 1907. The façade of the *sabil* is framed with the same moulding as the rest of the examples founded by Sulaiman,

¹ Kauthar is the name of a river or fountain in Paradise granted by God to the Prophet (Qur'an CVIII: 1); for its spiritual meaning see 'Ali (1946: 1798).

which duly terminates one course above the level of the water-trough with the same inverted volutes or *mims* found in other *sabils* (cat. nos. 5, 6, 8). The eastern part of the *sabil* is used as the support for a simple segmented arch built over the street leading

to Bab Hitta Lane. The fabric of the arch and the wall built over it are clearly later than the *sabil*. The *sabil* is rectangular in plan, measuring 3.72m long by 1.32m wide. The niche is 2m wide and 50cm deep.



Pl. 9.1 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam, general view before its recent restoration.



Pl. 9.2 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam, detail of Ottoman inscription panel.

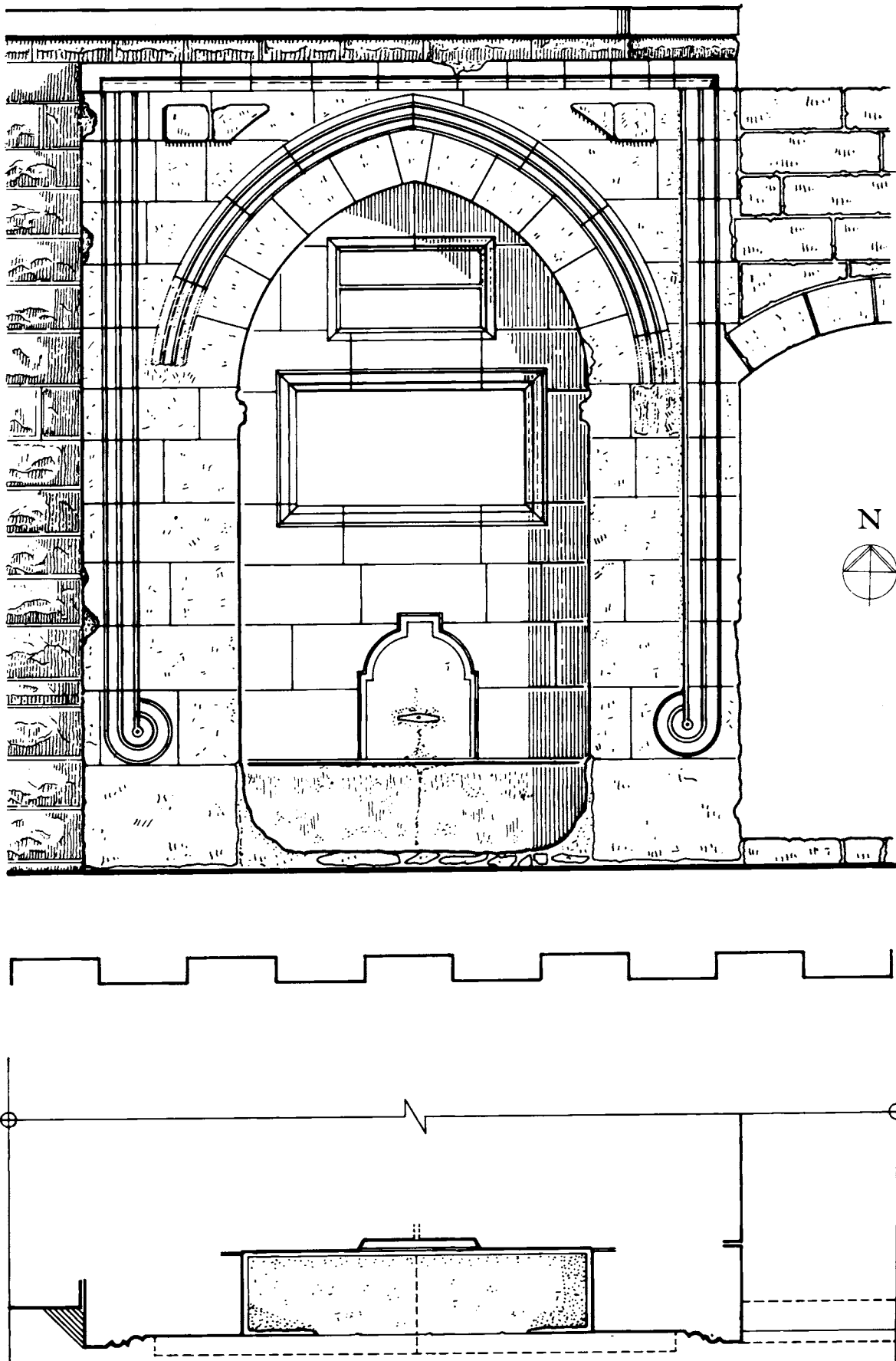


Fig. 9.1 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam, elevation and plan.

10 QUBBAT WA MIHRAB AL-NABI

Name: Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi (The Dome and Prayer Niche of the Prophet)

Date: (A) *Qubba*

(1) The first undated construction was 'dismantled' but was probably Umayyad

(2) The second construction or first restoration is also undated but is Ottoman and is believed to be before 1030/1620

(3) A further restoration by Muhammad Shakir is dated 1261/1845

(B) *Mihrab*

(1) The first phase, the reserved floor *mihrab*, is undated, but is probably to be placed between 693/1294 and 726/1326

(2) The second phase, the walled niche, is dated 945/1538-9

Endowment: The first endowment for the *mihrab* is dated 1037/1627-8, the second is 1091/1680-1.

Variants of name: Various names have been given to the domed structure known now as al-Qubbat al-Nabi. The only contemporary commentator to retain the name given to it by Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20) is Yusuf (1982: 109) who referred to it as the 'Maqam al-Nabi', despite Mujir al-Din's indication that the floor *mihrab* for the dome had not yet been constructed (see below). 'Qubbat Jibril' (the Dome of Gabriel) is another name given Qubbat al-Nabi, this time by Schiller (1989: 188) but this was in error. 'Maqam Jibra'il' (The Place of Gabriel) is yet another misnomer, this time used by Drory (1980 10: 58). 'Qubbat Fatima' (The Dome of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter) is yet a further name used, for no apparent reason, by Drory (1980 10: 58) as well as by Schiller (1989: 118-9), despite the fact that van Berchem (1925: 170) had previously commented on Catherwood's use of the name (Bartlett 1850: 152), noting that it had no basis in any traditional Arabic reference to the Haram al-Sharif known to him. The undated foundation inscription (see below) refers to the site simply as 'Qubbat al-Mihrab'.

In addition to the names listed here for the dome, three names were given to the floor *mihrab*: 'Maqam al-Nabi', 'al-Mihrab al-Ahmar', and 'Mihrab al-Rasul'. Van Berchem (1925: 169), followed by Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 118-9) referred to the walled *mihrab* as 'Mihrab Muhammad Beg'.

Modern name: Most recent writers, such as Burgoyne (1976: no.137), al-Husaini (1977: 21), Najm *et al.* (1983: 351), Sabri *et al.* (1981: 20), Drory (1980 10: 58), and Shafi'i *et al.* (1971: 32) call it 'Qubbat al-Nabi', but some, such as al-'Arif (1947: 77-8) and Bahat (1989: 112), still refer to it as 'Mihrab al-Nabi'.

Location (fig. 10.1, pls. 10.1-10.7)

Both *qubba* and *mihrab* are located between the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra) and Qubbat al-Mi'raj (The Dome of the Ascension), some 19m northwest of the western gate of the Dome of the Rock.

Function: The *qubb*as (small domed structures) are a prominent feature of the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem. They are either integrated into a larger building, or in themselves constitute a separate monument. Of the last category, there are five domes belong to the Ottoman period. Three (the dome under discussion, Qubbat al-Arwah, cat. no. 30, and Qubbat al-Khadr, cat. no. 31)

are similar both in principle and in architectural features. These are:

- all of them are located on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock
- they are free-standing open-sided structures
- the dome is supported on columns and arches
- they all are undated
- they have a *mihrab* reserved in the floor.

The function of these domes is commemorative, for each is associated either with an important figure or a special event related to al-Haram al-Sharif.

The other two domes (Qubbat Yusuf, cat. no. 38, and Qubbat Yusuf Agha, cat. no. 39), although they were built by a single patron and the same master builder, are remarkably different from each other. For a general discussion on the domes dating to the Ottoman period, see Ch. 36 under Domes.

Site and brief description (fig. 10.1, pls. 10.1-10.8)

The site, presumably the same for both the dismantled and the new domed structure (see below), is in a prominent position, close to the western of the four entrances to the Dome of the Rock. It was associated as early as the mid-9th century with the Night Journey of the Prophet Muhammad by al-Wasiti (1979: 73-74) as the site where the Prophet prayed with messengers and angels before his ascension. (On the importance and the growth of the traditional attribution of the site to the place where the Prophet Muhammad prayed, see the references included below under Identification.)

The *mihrab*, which is located within the domed structure, is unusual¹ *vis-à-vis* the others on the Haram in that it consists of two main and apparently distinct parts, the first of which is a reserved area flush with the floor; this predates the second part. This latter *mihrab* consists of a low wall, which is placed around the reserved area of the floor niche. The building is octagonal in plan and is a free-standing single-unit structure. The columns carry eight pointed arches which remain open, and the dome itself begins a single course of stonework above them. The space under the dome houses the eponymous *mihrab*, Mihrab al-Nabi. The dome should thus be identified as a monument erected to commemorate the Night Journey of the Prophet to the Farthest Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqsa*) following his ascension.

History

Identification

The Dome

Confusion surrounds the identification of the minor domes on the Dome of the Rock esplanade which are believed to have been built to commemorate specific incidents or tenets of faith, for there is a good deal of insecure and contradictory evidence. This confusion is found not only in the traditional Arabic sources of most periods, but also in most modern publications where, unhappily, the situation is no clearer, despite the valuable information given by Le Strange (1965: 153-6), van Berchem

¹ There is another similar *mihrab* on the platform of the Dome of the Rock below Qubbat al-Khadr. It is undated, and Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20-1) is the earliest source that mentions it (see cat. no. 31). Another similar *mihrab* is to be found on the Haram esplanade, also undated. It is now known as Mihrab al-Zuhur (see cat. no. 55).

(1925: 38-49), and the recent publication of Elad (1995: 48-50, 74-6) in an attempt to clarify the issue. For example the building considered by most recent scholars to be the Dome of the Ascension is identified by its foundation inscription as the Dome of the Prophet (*hadhihi Qubbat al-Nabi*—see van Berchem 1925: 37). To add to the confusion, al-Suyuti considers the Dome of the Chain to be Qubbat al-Nabi (Le Strange 1965: 155-65).

The first indispensable step in any attempt to identify the Dome of the Prophet is to differentiate between the existing dome, which is under discussion here, and the earlier building which was subsequently dismantled. Ibn al-Faqih in 291/903 (1885: 101), Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in c. 301/913 (1983: 292), al-Muqaddasi in c. 375/985 (1877: 170), al-Wasiti in c. 410/1019 (1979: 79) and Ibn al-Murajja at the beginning of the 5th/11th century (1995: 71, 77, 144) all make reference to the earlier 'Dome of the Prophet', but unfortunately none of them give details, and as Elad (1995: 74) has noted 'it is impossible from their description to give the exact location of the Dome'. When Nasir-i Khusrau (1945: 30-1) visited the Haram in 438/1047 he described Qubbat al-Rasul (al-Nabi) as follows: 'It is located to the northwest of the Sakhra about 20 cubits distant from the Dome of Gabriel, and it is set upon four marble columns'. It is presumed that this earlier dome was built in the Umayyad period. As Le Strange (1965: 155) notes, the use to which the dome was put during the Crusader period is not known. If the accounts (see below) of al-Suyuti (1982 1: 173-4) and Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20) can be accepted as accurate, this first dome remained in place until the end of the 7th/13th century when it was dismantled and replaced by a floor *mihrab* (see below). This is the only clue indicating that the present domed structure was built on the same location as the earlier one.

As to the identification of the domed building now standing, Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 86), who visited the Haram in 1083/1672, is the first and indeed the only commentator to give any information on the second Qubbat al-Nabi. He states: 'Between the Western and the Northern doors of the Dome, looking to the north, and close to the outer walls of the building, there is a "red prayer-niche", Qubbat al-Naby. A small dome rises over it on four small slender columns. Its prayer niche is low and (built) of natural reddish stones ...'. This description of the dome differs from its present state, for, as described above, the building now consists of a dome resting on *eight* (rather than four) columns. The change seems to be a result of the restoration works which were carried out on the dome in 1261/1845. It is certainly noteworthy that the domed building is not included in the mid-16th century *Guide for the Muslim Pilgrim to Jerusalem* (Elad 1995: Appendix 164-173). The guide was written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Rumi, and is included in the author's book *al-Mustaqsa fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (still in manuscript). However, the author of the guide does include a reference to '*al-mihrab al-ahmar*' (Elad 1995: 166—see below). Al-Madani (see below) mentions a dome situated to the north of the Rock, but gives no further details; it is difficult to decide whether he is referring to the Dome of the Prophet or to the Dome of the Ascension, or whether he is confusing the two.

The reserved mihrab within the level of the floor (*al-mihrab al-ahmar*)

The identification of the floor *mihrab* rests on many historical sources. The first is al-Suyuti (1982 1: 173-4, translated by Le Strange 1965: 156) who recorded in 875/1470: 'Now, as to the place where the Prophet prayed in the company of the former

prophets and the angels, it is said that this spot is beside the Dome of the Ascension on the platform of the Sakhra where there used to stand a beautiful dome. When, however, they flagged the Platform of the Sakhra, they did away with this dome, and set in its place a handsome *Mihrab*, the floor of which is laid in a circle with red marble slabs, after the manner of other parts of the Sakhra court'. Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20) later copied the information given by al-Suyuti and added 'it (the *mihrab*) still exists today' (that is, about 900 /1494-5). He called it 'Maqam al-Nabi'. As already stated above, Nasir al-Din (Elad 1995: 166) in the mid-16th century included in his guide *al-Mihrab al-Ahmar* ('the Red Mihrab') as one of the places in the Haram that warranted a visit. Nasir al-Din lists the *mihrab* immediately after Qubbat al-Mi'raj (The Dome of the Ascension) saying that 'then the Muslim turns to al-Mihrab al-Ahmar, which is located west of the Dome of the Rock'. Sijill 183: 290 confirms the identification of al-Mihrab al-Ahmar for it includes the information that the *mihrab* is situated on the platform of the Noble Rock. Another earlier record in that *sijill* refers to the site as Mihrab al-Rasul (for details see below under Endowment).

A few of the travellers and visitors to the Haram in the 17th century have left short references to the *mihrab*. For instance al-Maqqari (al-'Asali 1992: 208), who was in Jerusalem in the period 1029-37/1620-8, wrote '... after I entered al-Masjid al-Aqsa ..., I saw a place in which (Muhammad) led the prayers of the esteemed guided Messengers'. Al-Madani (al-'Asali 1992: 217), writing some forty years after al-Maqqari, reported '... and within (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) to the north of al-Sakhra (the Rock) there is a dome said to be the place of the Noble Ascension, and the Noble *mihrab* in which the Prophet (Muhammad) led the prayers of the Prophets in that noble *maqam*'. Al-Nabulsi (cited by al-'Asali 1992: 259) who visited the Haram in 1011-1105/1690-3, says '... from there we went to Mihrab al-Nabi next to Qubbat al-Mi'raj (The Dome of the Ascension). It is a flagged *mihrab* in the ground (*fi'l-ard*), which has a marble border extending about 1 *shibr* (span)'. Al-Dimyati (cited by al-'Asali 1992: 309), on the other hand, even though his visit to the Haram took place as late as 1143/1731, refers only to a place (*muda*) '... and what is more, there is in this mosque (al-Aqsa) the place where (the Prophet Muhammad) prayed with the Prophets and the angels in this blessed site'. In addition to the descriptions given by these travellers—which can only refer to the combined floor and walled niches—the latter can be identified by a foundation inscription.

Date

The Dome

Modern authors give two dates for the construction of the present Qubbat al-Nabi, both of which are irrelevant. Shafi'i *et al.* (1971 2: 32), Sabri *et al.* (1981: 20), and Najm *et al.* (1983: 351) all give 1261/1845 as the year in which the dome was constructed. This, however, is the date of the restoration work undertaken by Muhammad Shakir, rather than that of the actual construction. Al-Husaini (1977: 21), Burgoyne (1976: no.137), Drory (1980 10: 58), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1992: no. 177), and Taha (1990: 20) all consider the date of construction to be 945/1538-9. This date is also irrelevant, for it refers only to the second, walled *mihrab* which was built by Muhammad Beg. So far, there is no archaeological or architectural reason to assume a relationship between the construction dates of the *mihrab* and of the domed building, apart from the fact that they share the same site.

To date the domed building, however, is no easier in view of the lack of reliable documentation, and the fact that the only description we have of it—that by Evliya Çelebi—does not, as we have seen above, correspond to the dome as it now stands. It is just as impracticable to date it to the 16th century, as Taha has done (1990: 20), solely on the basis of the architectural style, with no proof or comparative study in support of the hypothesis. Furthermore, what one sees today is not the dome as it was built for the second time, but rather the result of at least one of two cycles of restoration—the last one of which was carried out by Muhammad Shakir in 1261/1845. If, however, we can accept as correct the description by Evliya Çelebi of the Qubbat al-Nabi at the time of his visit—that is, it then consisted of a dome resting on four columns—this must mean that the dome as described by him was constructed before 1083/1672, and thus by extension that the present dome cannot be a 10th/16th-century structure as most authors state. This hypothesis does not solve the problem of the date of construction of the dome seen by Evliya Çelebi in 1083/1672, but a new approximate date is now proposed based on a new interpretation of the undated inscription, and on information discovered in the *sijills* of Jerusalem.

The interior of the domed building has no decoration other than the two panels that have been already published by van Berchem (1925: 172-3). Both panels are located to the south and are contained within the curve of the dome, immediately above the zone of transition. Their position must be deliberate—for anyone standing within the *mihrab* area, facing the *qibla* in prayer, is also facing them. In this way, the patron's name has a high profile in the consciousness of the faithful and may be said to be included in his prayers. The first panel is undated. It is of marble and measures 40cm by 20cm. It consists of two lines of Arabic poetry, both of which are framed in relief by a plain fillet. The script is a condensed Mamluk *naskh* and is on the whole contained within the frame, although in the upper line the curving tails of *dal*, *mim*, *ra* and *sin* intrude minimally into the fillet separating the two halves of the inscription. The translation runs as follows:

As completed (or perfected), the Dome of the
Mihrab seemed beautiful / and chanted in praise,
saying 'In the reign of Farrukh the city of Jerusalem
witnessed neither oppression nor treachery.

The new interpretation of the date rests on two words—the first is *kamulat* in the first line, and the second is *farrukh* in the last line. Van Berchem (1925: 172-3) reads the latter as *faruh* meaning 'joyous'. In a footnote (1925: 172, n.2) he qualifies his reading by an alternative reading of *farukh*, meaning 'calm, confident', adding that it could also be read as Farrukh, the name of the restorer. This raises the question of the identity of Farrukh. In the *sijills* dating to the beginning of the 17th century there are many citations with the name Farrukh, and we believe that he is indeed the person mentioned in the inscription. It is true that there is no dot in the inscription above the *ha* in order to transform it to *kha*, but this is a common mistake, either of dictation or omission on the part of the calligrapher or the engraver. If this assumption is correct, and it seems most likely, this means that the so-called first phase of restoration was carried out before the year 1030/1620. This surmise is based on the biography of the Farrukh who was governor of Jerusalem and Nablus to the year 1030/1620 (for details, see below under Founder).

With regard to the translation of the word *kamulat*, van Berchem read it to mean 'to be completed' or 'to be finished', and in consequence considered the panel to be a restoration inscription. Another possible meaning for the Arabic verb *kamala* or *kamula* is 'to be perfect or faultless'. If this is the meaning intended here, then the panel can be seen as a building inscription, and correspondingly this would make Farrukh the founder of the second dome of Qubbat al-Nabi. Although it is tempting to accept this interpretation, there is no decisive proof that this is what was intended by the phrase. Perhaps too, if it is a building inscription, it would be more usual to find an emphasis on the construction by using some such phrase as '(there) has ordered the construction of this dome'. Even if construction by Farrukh is not proven, the dome was in all probability restored by him.

The second panel dates to the year 1261/1845. It is situated to the west of the earlier panel described above. It too is carved in marble, and measures 30cm by 18cm. It contains two lines of Arabic and Turkish, written in *ta'liq*. The second line is highly compressed and is thus dissimilar to the first, upper part, which has space enough for diacritical points and for a small flourish of a floral spray carrying a seven-petalled rosette. Its translation reads:

Mediation, oh Messenger of Allah!
The Colonel of the Imperial Army, the gentleman
Muhammad Shakir, 1261.

The *Mihrab*

The first part of the *mihrab* (the niche area reserved and outlined in red marble within the level of the floor) has no inscription, and neither al-Suyuti nor Mujir al-Din (see above) gives a precise date for its construction. However, they both say that this floor *mihrab* replaced the dismantled dome of the Prophet when the Sakhra court was flagged. So the questions are—when this was done, and by whom? Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 70), in his biography of the Amir 'Ala' al-Din Aydughdi the Blind, describes the paving of the platform (*sahn*) around the Dome of the Rock as one of his numerous charitable acts. Since the *amir* died in Shawwal 693/August-September 1294, and the pavement project took more than thirty years to complete (as Burgoyne 1987: 221 inferred, relying on the dated foundation inscription published by van Berchem 1922: 120-3), the date for the construction of the floor *mihrab* can thus be placed between the years 693-726/1294-1326.²

The second *mihrab* can be dated to the year 945/1538-9, for this date is written on the foundation inscription, which was published by van Berchem (1925: 169). The panel is a single piece of marble, measuring 70cm by 25cm, and is set into the stonework which acts as the topmost course on the south side of the *mihrab* (see below). The inscription consists of two lines of Arabic, written in Ottoman *naskhi* script within two cartouches separated by a fillet. The script is fine and with diacritical points. Despite the fact that the panel has a sloping diagonal crack that runs from top to bottom, and is broken at the upper left hand

² Al-'Arif (1961: 203) was twice mistaken, first in misquoting 'Ali 1927 5: 270 and secondly in confusing Amir 'Ala' al-Din Aydughdi ibn 'Abdullah al-Salihi al-Najmi 'the Blind', and the Amir 'Ala' al-Din Aydughdi ibn 'Abdallah al-Kubaki, who died on Friday, 5 Ramadan 688/22 September 1289. See Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 65, 270-1.

section, the inscription is still in good condition. Its translation reads as follows:

This blessed *mihrab* was constructed by our Master, king of the noble *amirs*, Muhammad Beg, the Governor of Gaza and the region of Jerusalem the Noble—may their ranks be augmented—in the year 945.

Both al-‘Arif (1947: 77) and Yusuf (1982: 110) read *al-amir al-kabir* (‘the Great Amir’) in place of *malik al-umara’ al-kiram* (‘King of the Noble Amirs’). Shafi‘i *et al.* (1971: 32) and Sabri *et al.* (1981: 20) confused the numerals 4 and 2 in Arabic and in consequence misread the date as 925.

Founder

The presumed Umayyad founder of the Qubbat al-Nabi is unrecorded by contemporary authors. As explained above, the name of Farrukh is associated with either the founder or with one phase of the restoration of the second, still extant, domed structure. On the binding of Sijill 85: 1 there is inscribed a note recording the departure of Farrukh Beg, governor of Nablus district, from Jerusalem to Nablus on 10 Rabi‘ II 1014/25 August 1605. Sijill 87: 419 records the events of the year 1016/1607-8 and includes an entry dated 17 Ramadan/5 January 1608 which mentions *qudwat al-umara’ al-kiram Farrukh Beg*, the ex-governor of the district of Jerusalem the Noble. A third *sijill* (113:104) also cites the name as ‘Farkh’. Al-‘Asali (1989: 39), who published the latter *sijill*, commented on the name ‘Farkh’, saying that ‘we believe that the correct form is Farrukh’. Indeed, there is another record in Sijill 112:469 clearly giving the name as ‘Farrukh’, which supports the suggestion of al-‘Asali. Farrukh ibn ‘Abdullah, a Turkish Amir, was governor of Jerusalem and Nablus district, and was the *amir* of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan³ in the first quarter of the 17th century (Rafeq 1968: 197-200). Farrukh ibn ‘Abdullah increased his authority to such a degree that he passed it to his son Muhammad Beg, who ruled after him in Jerusalem and Nablus, after the death of Farrukh in 1030/1620-1. (For details of the political activities and the biography of Farrukh ibn ‘Abdullah, see Rafeq 1968: 157, 197-200, Mandaville 1975: 523, *Palestinian Encyclopædia*:1984 3: 453, Manna’ 1990: 141-45, Ze‘evi 1995: 43-45.)

To sum up then, it is possible that the first recessed *mihrab* is the work of Amir ‘Ala’ al-Din Aydughdi, but it is safe to see the second walled niche as the work of the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem and Gaza, Muhammad Beg.

Endowment

Sijill 113: 786, which contains the proceedings of the year 1037/1627-8, includes an appointment document for Mihrab al-Rasul (the Mihrab of the Prophet). It states that the *qadi* had appointed *maulana* Fakhr al-Din ibn Shaikh al-Islam Zakariyya Efendi, the *ex-mufti* of Jerusalem, to the half post of the *sha‘‘al* (the person in charge of lighting) for the lamp of the Mihrab of the Prophet, located to the north of the Aqsa mosque. He was to be allocated one ‘*uthmani* per day from the income of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. Though the entry does not give definitive information with regard to the name or the location of the relevant *mihrab*, it is most likely that it relates to ‘al-Mihrab al-Ahmar’ in view of the fact that it gives no other definition. In any

case, there is another unequivocal record in Sijill 152: 551 which reveals that Muhammad al-‘Asali was appointed on 2 Muharram 1068/10 October 1657 as an administrator of the *waqf* of Ibrahim Agha the son of Muhammad. That *waqf* was made in the year 1048/1638-39 by the donor for the benefit of lighting of the oil lamp of al-Mihrab al-Ahmar which was located on the Sakhra platform. The caretaker was to receive two *ghirsh* yearly.

A third record is found in Sijill 183: 290 dated the beginning of Shawwal 1091/25 October 1680, which provides a further endowment for al-Mihrab al-Ahmar. The entry states that the *qadi* had assigned Khalil ibn al-Hajj Ahmad ibn Rajab to the position of *al-farrash* (attendant) and *sha‘‘al* (the person in charge of lighting the lamp) of al-Mihrab al-Ahmar which was situated on the platform of the Noble Rock. In return, Khalil was to be given per day two ‘*uthmani*, two bowls of food and eight loaves of bread from the soup kitchen of Khassaki Sultan in Jerusalem. Khalil had replaced his father in this post on the latter’s death. On the basis of these records, it would appear that a portion of the income of the endowment of al-Masjid al-Aqsa and of the *waqf* of Ibrahim Agha were dedicated to the upkeep of the *mihrab*.

Architecture

Exterior

The dome is hemispherical and rests on eight slender, elegant arches. These are constructed of small coloured stones, originally red, black, and white, of which the white stone has now weathered to grey. The eight arches are similar in height and span. A simple iron tie-beam links them at the level of the springing of the arches. The shafts of the columns are cylindrical and are made of grey veined marble; the radius is small, measuring only between 47-57cm. The capitals are fall into four groups.

[Editorial note: All of these are types of *muqarnas* but have different detailing. For the sake of convenience, they are identified as Types A-D in this description, while the columns are numbered 1-8, starting at the NE corner of the base of the floor *mihrab*.

Capitals 1, 2, 7, and 8—that is all those at the northern end of the *mihrab*—are of Type A. These are the most complex and best executed of the capitals, although each one differs slightly, as might be expected from handworked objects. The sharp chiselling, the arrangement of *muqarnas* elements and the detailing are, although somewhat simpler, strongly reminiscent of 16th-century work in Istanbul. The capitals on the columns in the mosque courtyard and portico of the Süleymaniyye or the portico of the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha Cami (Goodwin 1971: pls. 219-220, 273), for example, not only employ a similar carving technique but also a similar veined grey marble. The basic motif used in all the capitals is an almond shape or irregular diaper which has been centered above two wedge-shaped triangles to fill a lancet-shaped niche. The top level of the capital Type A is a square ‘cornice’ with a concave moulding. The whole capital is cut from a single piece of stone and, below the ‘cornice’, the upper section is plain except for the corners, which have been chamfered. Within each slanting cut there is a single large example of the almond-and-triangle motif. The base of these corner motifs forms the top of the next level, where paired almond-and-triangle motifs are angled to each side of a deep recess. The corner is thus further cut away. A similar paired almond-and-triangle motif is introduced at the centre of each face at this middle level. Below again, the base of each of these motifs forms the top of the lowest register. Here the eight projections between the carved niches are outlined by a further cutting away

³ On the Syrian caravan pilgrimage and its importance in the Ottoman period, see Rafeq 1981: 5-28.

of the surface. This occurs twice, to form a stepped recession around the negative shape at the centre of each niche. The niches and corresponding outlines are marked with a sharp horizontal cut across the centre. The capital then meets the top of the column, which is now hidden by a broad metal band.

Type B is used for capital no. 3—the easternmost capital, which is also closest to the Dome of the Rock. The design is much simpler than Type A. The concave upper part is cut from local stone and sits above the marble central section of the capital. Here again, as in Type A, the corners are cut in a chamfer ornamented by the almond-and-triangle motif. Below twelve examples of the same motif run round the capital above twelve plain lancet-shaped niches. The faces of these are left uncarved, although the edge of each niche is cut crisply to continue the wedge-shaped modelling of the main motif.

Type C, which is used for capitals no. 4 and 6, is very similar to Type B. The 'cornice' is again of a different stone and the main difference is one of execution. The almonds are more rounded so that the impression is almost that of a flower motif, rather than a geometric one. They are also more elongated and the T-shaped recesses between the lowest level of stumper lancet-shaped niches is more pronounced.

The final capital, no. 5, Type D, is closest to the *qibla*. Here again the 'cornice' does not form part of the capital itself but is a separate stone. The almond-and-triangle motifs cut the corners, as in all the examples. But here, on Type D, the motif is shortened as if its upper section has been interrupted. The pairs of almond-and-triangle motifs in the next level, set across the corners as usual, are comparatively elongated and this has the effect of making them appear almost the same size as the designs of the four corners set above them. In the centre of each face there is a negative shape, as in Type A, but here the sides are not faceted so that it is a simple recess marked only by a sharp horizontal cut across the centre. The lowest level of twelve lancet-shaped niches, which are marked by a vertical line down their centre, is so arranged that the apex of each lancet meets the stone projection between each motif. This has the added effect of leaving a crisp T-shaped shadowed recess beneath each main motif. The effect is simple but elegant.

The gradation in complexity and execution between the capitals is noticeable. Perhaps the patron could only afford four imported capitals (Type A); perhaps only four were available to him from another site. Or perhaps four of the original eight were fractured in an earthquake and had to be replaced. It is conceivable that such an accident happened at the same time as damage to the columns necessitated the use of metal bands at the top and bottom of each. Not only are the four capitals of Type A the most complex, they are also of the best grade marble and are in one piece with their 'cornice' while all the others are constructed from two different types of stone. The impression that results is not wholly satisfactory, as if local craftsmen tried to emulate a superior but did not fully succeed. SA]

The columns rest on square bases, which each have a square plinth, torus, and apophyge. Where the top of the base meets the shaft, it has been slightly reduced in order to match the cylinder. This reduction is also to be found, and for the same reason, at the lowest part of the capital where it joins the shaft. Although each column is made up of a single piece of marble and match each other, the reduction points to the assumption that the shafts were not originally intended for these capitals.

In order to strengthen the joints, a metal band has been placed recently around the top and bottom of each column at

these junctions. The similarity between the columns probably indicates that they were designed and sculpted by one master, presumably for a specific building, to be re-used either when the dome was constructed or later when it was restored in the Ottoman period.

A cornice made up of a *cavetto* moulding runs around the top of the arched section of the building and marks the beginning of the dome. The dome, which is constructed of a rubble and mortar mixture, is sheathed externally in lead sheets in order to protect it from the elements. It is presumably, therefore, without stone cladding and thus different from other, similar domes of the period. The apex of the dome is crowned by a knopped marble finial in the form of a crescent, and is thus typical of the Ottoman period. It comprises three sections. The lowest section is also the shortest and is plain apart from a central ring moulding. The middle section, the tallest, has a baluster knob at its centre, rising to another ring moulding above. The uppermost section is in the form of an open crescent.

Interior

The building is a centrally planned octagon, surrounded on all eight sides by open arches. It therefore has no main façade, but is designed to be viewed from any angle. Equally, access to the building can be from any side, although the north is the most convenient route in that there is an opening in the wall surrounding the reserved *mihrab*, which is located in the middle of the building and thus directly under the dome.

The first *mihrab* to be constructed (see above) was, as already explained, a reserved area within the level of the floor. Its format is determined by a large slab of white marble, rectangular at one end and terminating towards the south (*qibla*) in a point reminiscent of the profile of the eight arches which surround it. This slab is in turn framed in red marble. A third area of white marble completes the reserved space; at the niche to the south, this outer frame is reduced by being cut into by the curved end wall, so that instead of the pointed profile of the two inner areas, it is semicircular in profile (see note 1 below).

The second *mihrab* to be constructed (see above) is in effect a low wall enclosing the area described in the previous paragraph. Its northern wall is cut to form an entrance of 50cm across to allow easy access into the reserved area to pray. At the southern (*qibla*) end, the outside of the wall has three straight faces, while the internal profile is semicircular. The containing walls to the north, west and east consist of two courses of white marble. The southern, faceted wall is higher than the other three and is more complex, being built with an additional course of red stone sandwiched between the two white courses. The three courses differ not only in colour but also in size, the largest, which measures 70cm by 25cm, forming the upper level. This level contains the foundation inscription described above. The curved inner side of the southern wall has further ornamentation in the form of a series of eleven concave, round-ended gadroons. As far as the author can determine, this design has no parallels in Jerusalem architecture. These are contained by two flanking and integrated colonnettes, each of which has a capital that could be described as a simple *muqarnas* although, as it consists of a single level made up of a concave niche flanked by two half-niches that merge with the wall, it is probably more accurate to see it as a much simplified 'lotus' capital. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the complete niche contains an internal detail in reserve that repeats the shape of the niche and is subdivided in two by a vertical bar. The half-niches to either side are outlined by

a groove and have a faceted cut where they connect to the supporting wall. Both in shape and in the crispness of this chamfering they find a faint echo in the capitals of the eight large-scale columns of the surrounding building. The small colonnettes differ considerably from the columns, however, with regard to their bases, for the colonnettes are supported on a base made up

of two equilateral triangles with a smaller, acute-angled and inverted triangle between them. In each case the triangle has another carved in reserve contained within itself, and a third small triangle, this time solidly in reserve, at the centre. Above the square base a roll moulding marks the transition to the colonnette shaft.

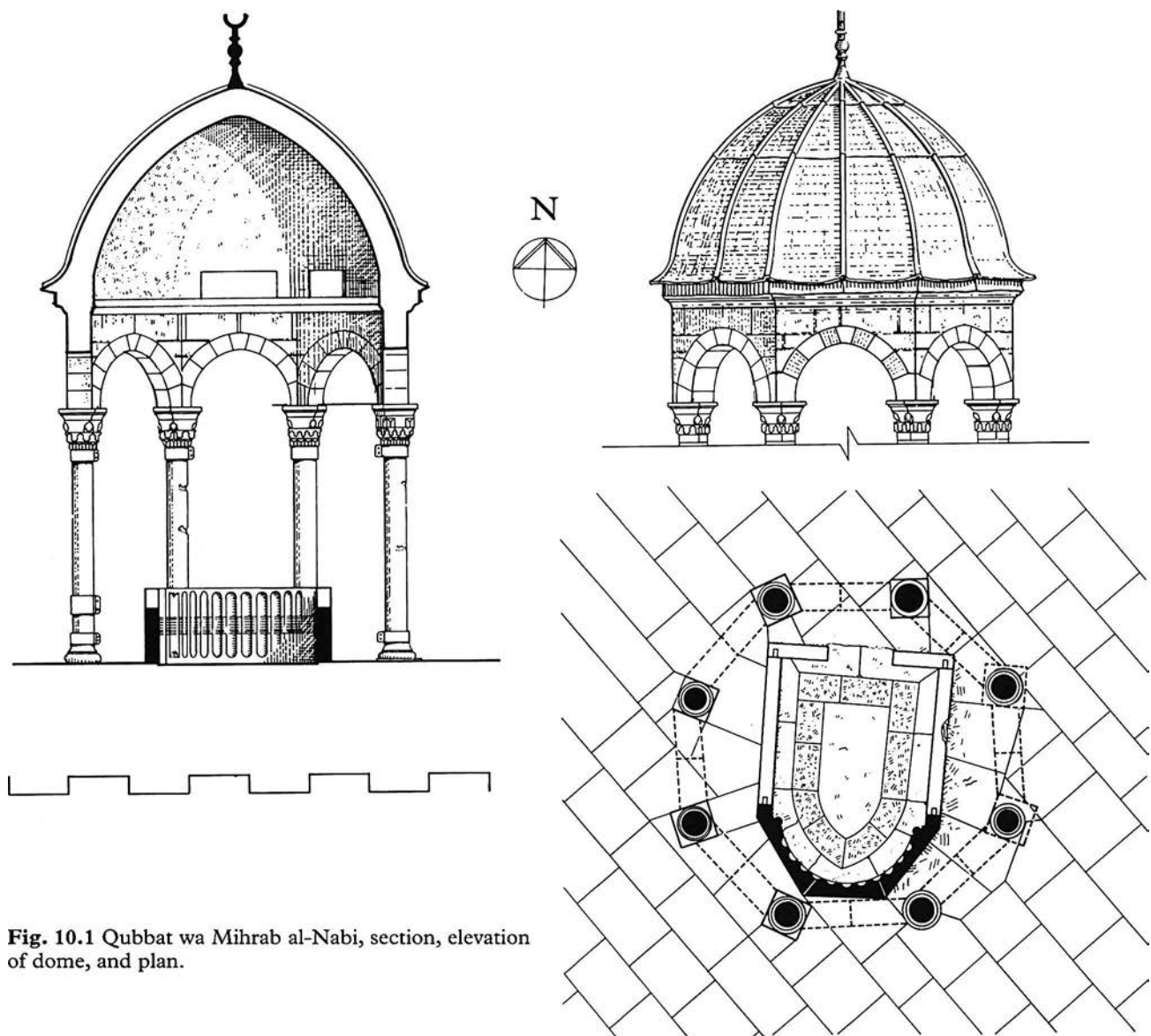
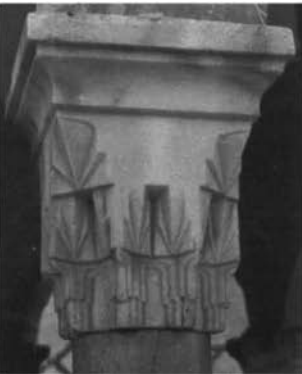


Fig. 10.1 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, section, elevation of dome, and plan.



Pl. 10.1 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi.



Pl. 10.2 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, capital type A.



Pl. 10.3 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi,, capital type B.



Pl. 10.4 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, capital type C.



Pl. 10.5 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, general view.



Pl. 10.6 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, *mihrab* and floor *mihrab* in reserve.



Pl. 10.7 Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi, lower inscription.



Pl. 10.8 Qubbat wa al-Nabi, interior inscription panel.

11 RIBAT BAIRAM JAWISH

Name: Ribat (hospice) Bairam Jawish

Date: 947/1540-1

Endowment: The relevant endowment deeds are dated: 948/1541-2; 952/1545-6; 967/1559-60

Variants of name: Al-‘Arif (1961: 307) and al-‘Asali (1981: 327) both give ‘al-Rasasiyya’ as a variant name for the *ribat*, for they mistakenly identified the Rasasiyya as part of the complex (see cat. no. 28). The *ribat* is also currently known also as the Madrasat (school) Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya because it now forms a major part of that institution.

Modern name: The monument is widely known by the two names given above.

Location

Ribat Bairam Jawish is located at the south-western corner of the junction where Tariq al-Wad meets the streets of Bab al-Nazir to the east and Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya (formerly al-Sitt) to the west.

Function: According to the *waqfiyya* and the foundation inscription, the Ribat of Bairam Jawish functioned as a residential house for the pious poor (*al-fuqara’ al-sulaha*). This means that the *ribat* in the Ottoman period fulfilled a different function from that under the Mamluks or in North Africa. For a full discussion, see Ch. 36 of this study, under the heading ‘Other buildings’. It is not known when the *ribat* stopped functioning as a hospice for the poor and pious.

The building is at present used for different purposes. The main area of the *ribat*, especially the ground and second floor, are annexed to Madrasat Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya. The first floor is used for residential purposes, and there are a series of shops in the eastern façade as well as two in the northern façade.

Site and brief description (figs. 11.1-11.6, pls. 11.1-11.8)

The site is an important one within the Old City for several reasons. Firstly, it forms one of the four corners of the junction between Tariq al-Wad and the streets of Bab al-Nazir and Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya. Al-Wad Street is one of the two main roads that cross the Old City from north to south. Secondly, the site is close to the Haram area; it lies 80 metres west of Bab al-Nazir, one of the main gates to the Haram al-Sharif. Thirdly, the *ribat* is built in the centre of a district which has surprisingly few Mamluk structures, but contains the largest number of prominent Ottoman architectural monuments outside the enclosure of the Haram. The *ribat* is located opposite one of the *sabils* founded by Sultan Sulaiman, Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), and faces Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12) and al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29). Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, mistakenly known until the present study as ‘al-Rasasiyya’ (cat. no. 28), adjoins the *ribat* to the west, and the soup kitchen of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15) lies beyond, located to the west of the Mawardiyya. The Zawiya Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33) and the Zawiya Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) are situated a few metres to the north east of the *ribat*.

Ribat Bairam Jawish has two façades, the north being the principal one, for it contains the main entrance porch and another simple doorway. The second elevation lies to the east. The *ribat* has three levels, the first and the second of which are the original structures built by the founder Bairam, while the third is a later undated addition. The first level is the ground floor,

consisting of a vestibule, an open courtyard surrounded by small cells to the north, east, and south. The first floor consists of a small open courtyard, a narrow passage, six small cells, and a hall divided into three parts. An archway spanning the lower part of Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya was built later and leads to the second floor of the *ribat*. The second floor is made up of a rectangular hall divided into two parts by a large pointed arch.

History

Identification

The date of Ribat Bairam Jawish is secured both by an inscription plaque and by various *waqf* documents in the *sijills* (see below).

Date

The year 947/1540-41 is given at the end of an inscription as the date of construction. The marble panel is to be found above the entrance door in the north façade. It measures 60cm wide by 60cm high and has three lines of Arabic inscribed in Ottoman *naskhi* calligraphy. The script is fine and highly compressed with diacritical and auxiliary points. It has been published by van Berchem (1923: 430) and the translation is as follows:

1. This blessed place (is made *waqf*) as a hospice
2. (by) the poor one (by the mercy of God), the Amir Bairam Jawish son of Mustafa, may his glory be perpetuated
3. its date being 20th Rabi‘ I of the year 947 (25 July 1540).

Founder

According to the foundation inscription and the *waqf* documents (see below), the founder of the *ribat* was Bairam Jawish, the son of Mustafa. Until now, as Meinecke noted (1988: 267), little has been known or published about the founder. His name is unusual and, as will be discussed below, it is possible that he originally hailed from Gaza. Biographical sources on local Palestinian secular activities or commercial connections are scarce, especially in the early Ottoman period. The *sijills* of the Shari‘a Court of Jerusalem have proved to be an indispensable source to research the personalities and patrons who enriched the city by building different types of structures. Thanks to the hundreds of records scattered throughout the *sijills* recording various transactions, it is possible to establish an almost complete sequence—albeit with some gaps—of the role played by Bairam and others, not just in the life of Jerusalem but also in other Palestinian cities. The records show that Bairam was a very important person in Jerusalem during the early Ottoman period; he was given many honorific titles which reflect his rank as the prominent holder of a large military fief. *Timarci* (Sijills 12: 360; 20: 448), *subashi* (Sijills 17: 243; 18: 407), and *za‘im* of Jerusalem district (Sijills 28: 417, 437; 56: 649) are among these titles, in addition to *beg* (Sijills 30: 62; 31: 110), and *amir*—as on the inscription plaque already described above.

Bairam’s activity in Jerusalem extended beyond the military sphere to include secular enterprises within the realms of the social, economic, architectural, and administrative. The earliest reference to Bairam in the *sijills* is dated 16 Shawwal 944/18 March 1538, almost three years before the completion of his *ribat*. It appears from Sijill 7: 435 that Bairam spent the sum of 3,600 *‘uthmani* (silver coinage) to restore al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, where he then resided (for details see cat. no. 28).

Al-‘Arif (1961: 307), followed by al-‘Asali (1981: 325), thought that Bairam Jawish was appointed a supervisor by Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66) for the Jerusalem walls project, and

that Bairam built both the *ribat* and the *maktab* (cat. no. 12) following the completion of the reconstruction of the walls. Unfortunately, neither author supports his statement with a reference. However, Cohen (1989: 470–3), relying on the Jerusalem *sijills*, showed that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was to provide the funds for the entire project in his capacity as *al-amin 'ala al-amwal al-sultaniyya* (the superintendent of the *miri* taxes). In 1990 Cohen (1990: 33) reaffirmed his conclusion and expanded it, once again depending on information in the *sijills*, to show that Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash was *al-amin 'ala sur bait al-maqdas* (the superintendent of the wall of Jerusalem), and further that he was the official responsible for the financial and administrative affairs of the whole project. But it does seem that Bairam had some involvement in the walls project, for a *sijill* (12: 360) dated 18 Rabi' I 947/23 July 1540 states quite clearly that Bairam went to Egypt, probably following instructions by Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash, to bring back master builders (*mu'allimin mi'mariyya*) to work on the construction of the walls of 'Jerusalem the Noble'.

On 12 Dhu'l-Qa'da 947/10 March 1541 the *qadi* (Sijill 13: 87) appointed Bairam to the position of inspector (*wazifat al-nazr*) in al-Diyar al-Muhammadiyya in Jerusalem the Noble. It is difficult to know precisely what the duties of this post were, since no further details are given in the *sijill*. Later, on 3 Sha'ban 951/20 October 1544 Bairam, as representative of the 'amir, the supervisor of revenues in Egypt, al-Hijaz, and the Islamic frontiers' (Sijill 17: 257), declared that he had received the assigned quantity of wheat and barley from the village of Qalonia (West Jerusalem) for the year 951/1544–5. In 957/1550–1 Bairam was the caretaker (*mutawalli*) of al-Kashif or al-Kashi building, which is no longer extant today (Sijills 23: 617; 24: 26). He was in charge of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-mutakalim 'ala qiyamat al-Quds*) in the early part of 960/1552–3. From the *sijills* (Sijills 27: 495; 28: 437; and 31: 110, the latter of which was published by al-'Asali 1989: 98) it is known that Bairam also occupied the post of 'Caretaker of al-'Imara al-'Amira' (*al-'Imara al-Sharifa*—that is, Khassaki Sultan, cat. no. 15). It was one of the most important administrative posts in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, usually given to élite officers of high rank who came down to Jerusalem from Istanbul. 'The Trustee of the Sanctuaries (*al-Amin 'ala hurmat*) of our lord Musa (the prophet)' near Jericho,¹ was another of the prestigious positions (Sijill 36: 334) enjoyed by Bairam in the year 965/1557–58.

As reflected in the *sijills*, Bairam's main contribution to the life of Jerusalem—aside from those mentioned above—was concentrated in two fields. The first was in the realm of architecture and the second in economic transactions. For the first, his involvement was on two levels—private and public.

Examples of his private constructions are the *ribat* now under discussion, the *maktab* (cat. no. 12), his *dar* (cat. no. 13), and the *Zawiya al-Yunisiyya*.² The *Zawiya al-Yunisiyya* no longer exists but from the *sijills* (Sijill 12: 264) it is quite clear that it was situated in Wadi al-Tawahin Street (Tariq al-Wad) and was in a ruined state in the mid-16th century—in other words, it was restored by Bairam. Bairam attested in the presence of the *qadi* that he had made a *waqf* of 150 gold coins (*qubrusi*) for the *zawiya* in Safar 947/June–July 1540. He stipulated that fifty coins should be used for the necessary repairs to al-Zawiya al-Yunisiyya and that the remaining one hundred coins should be used to erect a stone residence (*bina hajar*) for the poor. In a separate document (Sijill 12: 264), it is recorded that Bairam as inspector appointed Asya ibn Khalifa to the position of children's teacher. Asya had to instruct the children in the reading of the Holy Qur'an for two 'uthmani dirhams per day, and he was not allowed to take any money in payment from the children.

As for his public projects, Bairam's contribution to the rebuilding of the walls of the city has already been mentioned, as well as his repair of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28). While Bairam was in the post of Caretaker of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15), he contracted a group of builders to pave the floors of the two bathhouses of al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan complex) (al-'Asali 1989: 98; Sijill 31: 110). Neither bathhouse still exists, but from the architectural description they would appear to have been both impressive and of high quality. Furthermore, Bairam contracted (al-'Asali 1989: 99; Sijill 31: 110) another set of builders (*mi'mariyya*) in Jerusalem to supply a subsidiary canal to run for 150 *dhira'* from the water-distribution point (*maqsam*) situated just in front of the Sabil Bab al-Nazir to the cistern serving the two bathhouses. He also supervised (Sijill 23: 442) the restoration of al-Madrasa al-Finnariyya.³ As for the projects that were carried out beyond the walls of the city, he participated in repairs to the citadel in Bait Jibrin, situated between Jerusalem and Hebron (Sijill 22: 438), and the restoration of Khan al-Lubban (Sijill 24: 69), located on the road between Jerusalem and Nablus. Another aspect of his architectural activity was dealing with the *mi'mariyya* to secure building materials such as gypsum (*jibs*—Sijill 24: 177), and stone (Sijill 18: 10; 39: 480).

Bairam emerges from the *sijill* records as a great businessman, a trader in a wide range of merchandise from the basic necessities of food products to the other end of the spectrum with transactions involving various estates and properties. He was a wholesaler and retailer of olive oil (Sijill 30: 62), sugar (Sijill 26: 41), a great quantity of soap (Sijills 30: 110; 56: 648), pepper (Sijill 30: 208), olives and figs (Sijill 30: 412, 415). It seems that he was one of the great merchants in Jerusalem in the period, if not the greatest. He declared (Sijill 27: 297) on 2 Muharram 961/8 December 1553 that he had undertaken to bring barley, *samn* (cooking butter), honey, and rice to Jerusalem before the arrival of Sultan Sulaiman to the city.⁴ He guaranteed that the

¹ Maqam al-Nabi Musa was—and still is—a big complex. It was extensively enlarged during the Ottoman period. On the history of the *maqam*, see J. Sadan, 'The *maqam* of Nabi Musa' *Hamizrah Hahadash* 28, 1979: 22–38, 220–338, and al-'Asali, *The Nabi Musa Feast in Palestine* Amman 1990 (in Arabic). The position of caretaker for the *maqam*, like other prestigious posts throughout the Ottoman period, was mainly given to al-Ghudiyya family members. For the history of this Jerusalem family and their positions, see 'Abd al-Qadir Juda al-Ghudiyya, *Sulalit al-Ghudiyya* Jerusalem 1991.

² This is a Mamluk *zawiya* mentioned by Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 395). De Jong (1984: 34), basing himself on Kurd 'Ali (1971 6: 149) mistakenly concluded that al-Yunisiyya 'as a construction outlasted the *tariqa* into more recent times'.

³ This monument no longer exists, but it was situated in the eastern section of the north *riwaq* of the Haram. See Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 40–1, 234, 241.

⁴ This piece of information is particularly interesting for it implies an intention—or at the very least a strong rumour of one—on the part of Sultan Sulaiman to visit Jerusalem. In fact, such a visit never took place, for no mention of one is found in any contemporary source; the only Ottoman Sultan to visit Jerusalem in the 16th century was Sultan Selim.

amount of the supplies would be sufficient for the Sultan and his army. Bairam's commercial activities covered not just the Jerusalem area but extended to most parts of Palestine. He rented different estates and land in various towns and villages, for example land (Sijill 23: 234) and a ruined bathhouse (Sijill 24: 97) in Akka, half the (cultivated) land of the villages of Bait Sahur (Sijill 23: 152) and Dair Yasin (west of Jerusalem—Sijill 17: 243), and a *haush* (Sijill 10: 571) and a *khan* (Sijill 23: 396) in Jerusalem itself; he also owned estates in Ramla and Gaza (Sijill 56: 649). As already stated, Bairam appears in the *sijills* as trading in a wide variety of goods, for besides the commodities mentioned above he also purchased houses (Sijills 20: 258; 25: 259; 28: 417), land (Sijill 18: 407, 408), farms (Sijills 17: 117; 18: 162, 185), shops (Sijill 19: 236), stables (Sijill 10: 236), ruined buildings (Sijill 25: 117), and finally slaves (Sijill 21: 169; 23: 503). He also used to loan money to numerous people in several towns, but it is not clear if these loans were interest-free or not. The *sijills* (Sijill 18: 304) record a loan to a Jew, another loan in Syria (Sijill 17: 464), and a third to Qasim the *kikhiya* (deputy) of Hasan Beg (Sijill 22: 20).

The *sijills* also provide information on the personal life of Bairam Jawish and his family as well as details of his wealth and effects. It seems (Sijill 56: 651) that at the time of his death, Bairam's sons were too young to act as trustees, for the inspector of Bairam's *waqf* was to be his daughter Khadija, and Safar ibn Mustafa, Bairam's brother, together with 'Abdi ibn Qubat were to be legal guardians of the children. The list of his effects, auctioned after his death, takes up ten large pages of the *sijill* (41: 55–5). He died most probably between 8 Rabi' I / 5 November and the end of Rabi' II / 26 December 970/1562.⁵ The former seems to be the date of the last administrative action taken by Bairam in his capacity as inspector of his *waqf*. Through his representative, 'Abdi Khalifa, Bairam then assigned 'Abd al-Qadir Çelebi for the duration of his ('Abd al-Qadir's) lifetime as clerk of Bairam's *waqf* (Sijill 56: 650). This raises the question of why Bairam should authorise 'Abdi Khalifa to organise the assignment of the clerk, rather than undertaking to do it himself. It seems possible that Bairam was either sick at the time or had already died, for adjacent (Sijill 56: 651) to the assignment document, there is another dated at the end of Rabi' II of the same year, in which it is stated that Bairam was no longer alive. The term '*al-marhum*' (deceased) is added to his name there. It is likely that this document was written shortly after his death; it was registered in the presence of Safar ibn Mustafa, Bairam's brother, and 'Abdi ibn Qubat, the legal guardian of Bairam's orphans. The document is in fact a declaration from 'Ala' al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sukkari. 'Ala' al-Din declared himself willing, being of sound body and mind and under no duress or connivance, to ratify the sale of the soap-factory and the *haush* by his father to Bairam, and that Bairam in his lifetime had paid his father all the money agreed for the transaction.

From these records, it is clear that Bairam was one of the most famous personalities in Jerusalem in the early Ottoman period. He was obviously of such wealth and standing that not only can he be seen as one of the greatest patrons of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, but he also contributed to the development of the city's commercial life.

Waqf Documents

Apart from the single-page document published by al-'Asali (1989: 122), up to the present almost nothing had been published—or discovered—about the life or *waqf* of Bairam Jawish. But the fact that his *ribat* and *maktab* (below, cat. no. 12) were charitable projects and required a fixed income in order to function meant that an original *waqfiyya* must have been drawn up to lay down the terms and expenditure by the caretaker in accordance with the wishes of the donor. Before the search through the *sijills* began, some scattered fragments were known which implied that endowments had once been dedicated to the *ribat* and the *maktab*. Al-'Arif (1961: 308) pointed to a *sijill* (44: 538) in the year 971/1563–64 which contains the information that the *qadi* had assigned an inspector for the endowments of Bairam Jawish. Furthermore, another *sijill* (522: 15) cited by al-'Asali (1981: 325) records that Bairam Jawish had bestowed the income of the villages of Bani Nu'aim (Hebron) and Bani Shuja', a soap-factory in Bab al-'Amud Lane (Jerusalem), and, finally, a *haush* near the soap-factory already mentioned, for the benefit of his *ribat* and *maktab* in Jerusalem the Noble. Al-'Asali (1981: 325) also quoted another *sijill* (135: 597) which states that in the year 1054–5/1644–5 the structure of the dome of the *maktab* had deteriorated. There is no longer a dome associated with the *maktab* which can be dated to this period (see below cat. no. 12); as the *qadi* was concerned for the safety of the children who were studying there, he issued an order to restore the dome. But all these documents gave information of a secondary nature, and the main objective of the search was to discover the complete, original and definitive *waqfiyya*.

After a long and exhaustive search, a transcribed copy of the complete, original *waqfiyya* has indeed been discovered in the *sijills*. Although the *ribat* and the *maktab* were built as early as 947/1540–41, the *waqfiyya* was drawn up only in the year 967/1559–60—that is, twenty years after the construction of the buildings. But it was actually copied into the *sijill* of the proceedings of the year 982/1574–5 at the end of Sijill 56 instead of the expected Sijill 18 or Sijill 40. For some reason, it seems that the *waqfiyya* was not registered in Jerusalem's *sijills* when it was drawn up in 967/1559–60. It was only because a controversy arose between Bairam's heirs and the *shaikh* of the *ribat* (see below cat. no. 13) that the *qadi* sent a special envoy (Sijill 56: 652) to the Shari'a Court at Gaza⁶ to bring back to Jerusalem a copy of the terms of Bairam's *waqf*. It is not clear from current research why the document was registered at Gaza but it may point to the possibility that Bairam was originally from there. However, while they were waiting for the news from Gaza, Muhammad Jawish, the legal agent of the heirs of Bairam, presented the *qadi* with the formal terms of the *waqf* and a copy of the official register. Later on, Rihan (the envoy) returned from Gaza with a copy of the official register. It is clear that Muhammad Jawish asked the *qadi* for permission to make a copy of all Bairam's *waqf* documents and that the *qadi* approved the request. It is thus only thanks to the dispute that we have an official duplicate of Bairam's *waqf*.

The *waqf* is without doubt one of the biggest and most important endowments in the *sijills* of the Ottoman period,

⁵ Khadr Salameh (1996: 270), using a special *sijill* (192) which contains the opening pages of most of the *sijills*, has surmised that Bairam died on 6 Rabi' I 970/3 November 1562.

⁶ It is not known why the *waqf* was recorded in Gaza and not in Jerusalem. It is surprising for the *sijills* reveal that Bairam habitually frequented the Jerusalem Shari'a court, and his association with Jerusalem was clearly stronger than that with Gaza. Further research may provide an answer.

second only to the *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). It sheds new light on the monuments that were built by Bairam in addition to giving a great deal of information about his life and work. The official register (*al-sijill al-rasmi*) of the *waqf* of Bairam Jawish contains seven long pages (Sijill 56: 646-52), and is divided into two parts, both being written in a clear, legible *naskhi* script with many diacritical points, although by different scribes. The first part of the *waqfiyya* is divided into two sections; the first contains the terms and list of the endowments, written in direct, straightforward dry language without any prologue or epilogue. It is odd to find the terms and stipulations of the *waqf* twice—first separate from the original text, and second repeated with some further details in the text of the *waqfiyya*. The explanation may stem from the profound wish of Bairam that his conditions be binding.

The second section of the document is the *waqfiyya* itself, drafted in a traditional style and including a short, coherent prelude, as well as details about the endowments, covering their location and boundaries, the terms and stipulations for the administration of the *waqf*, personnel, and financial arrangements. It ends with a summary regarding the durability of the *waqf* and the punishment to be expected by anyone who tries to change, substitute, or diminish it in any way. The second part of the official register is made up of eight documents (*hujja*). The first two of these are concerned with the authorisation of Muhammad Jawish (see below), issued in the Court of Damascus on behalf of Bairam's wife and daughter.

The third document is the appointment of a clerk for the *waqf*, probably the last action taken by Bairam before his death (see above). The fourth is the declaration from 'Ala' al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sukkari (mentioned above). Documents 5, 6 and 7 are testimonies by various *qadis* on the legal and lawful status of the *waqf* of Bairam, and the subject of the last is one of Bairam's houses in Jerusalem (see cat. no. 13). The last six documents were written and organised below the signatures of the witnesses of the *waqfiyya*. Because of the importance of the *waqfiyya* and the eight other documents, as well as two other unpublished instruments (see below), a complete Arabic text is provided in Cat. Appendix 1, together with an English summary. Major sections of the *waqfiyya* and the documents will also be translated below.

Endowments

The initial step towards the full endowment of his properties was taken by Bairam for his *maktab* only (see below cat. no. 12); the second stage was taken on 15 Jumada I 952/25 July 1545 (Sijill 17: 127; al-'Asali 1989: 122) when Bairam bestowed 50,000 'uthmani dirhams (silver coins) as a joint *waqf* for the *ribat* and the *maktab* together. He imposed the condition that the inspector (see below) of the *waqf* should deal (*yu'amil*) with the money in a lawful way by investing it with responsible people—probably merchants. The yearly interest (*ribh*) on the money had to cover the various outgoings specified in the *waqfiyya* (see below), and any surplus after this expenditure had to be added to the credit of the initial 50,000 'uthmani dirhams. He further stipulated (Sijill 17: 127; al-'Asali 1989: 122) that if the inspector of the *waqf* were to locate a cultivated property or a prosperous estate he had to purchase it from that capital sum. Sijill 18: 407-8 reveals that Bairam in his capacity as the inspector of the *waqf*, on 4 Ramadan 952/29 October 1546 bought one-quarter (6 *qirat* out of 24) of the whole property belonging to Bani Nu'aim village, as well as the farm which belonged to the village known by the name

'Khutain'. The price was 50 gold pieces from the total of the 50,000 silver coins made *waqf* by Bairam. The final, major stages of the endowment for both his *ribat* and his *maktab* were undertaken in the middle of Dhu'l-Hijja 967/6 September 1560. At that time, Bairam—again in the presence of the *qadi* and other witnesses—made over one hundred *qintar* of soap as a *waqf* for the *ribat* and the *maktab*, its value being equivalent to 100,000 'uthmani dirhams (Sijill 56: 647-8). The completed *waqf* thus reached a total of 150,000 'uthmani dirhams. By any standard this is a huge sum of money. If one compares it with the available information for other *waqfs* (such as the *waqf* of the Maulawiyya (see cat. no. 19 under 'Endowment') or the *waqf* of Islam Beg (see cat. no. 21 under Endowment) it will be seen that it is 3.75 times the size of the two *waqfs* mentioned above, even if the *waqf* of Bairam was to be divided between his two buildings (namely the *ribat* which is under discussion, and the *maktab*, cat. no. 12).

Bairam, as he had stipulated, invested the sum of money in the purchase of various agricultural properties, orchards, portions of village lands, and urban properties in different parts of the country. The properties and estates which made up the endowments of the Ribat and Maktab Bairam Jawish were very numerous indeed. They are listed below according to Sijill 56: 646-9, with the boundary of each item, although much has been changed. Full information is to be found in Cat. Appendix 1. The properties listed in the *sijill* are:

- 1) One-half (12 *qirats* out of 24) of the soap factory situated at Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate) in Jerusalem. The soap-factory was equipped to produce soap and it consisted of numerous rooms which were vaulted with stone and lime, a cistern in which to keep oil, a cistern to store rainwater, a lower-level storage house, a dais over which to spread the soap, two stoves, and many basins.
- 2) One-quarter (6 *qirats* out of 24) of the complete *haush* (complex of buildings) consisting of a roof built of stone and lime, and of a lower-level house.
- 3) One-half (12 *qirats* out of 24) of the house, located in Bab al-'Amud district, formerly known as the House of Ibn al-Saigh. It consisted of two floors, an upper and a lower.
- 4) One-half (12 *qirats* out of 24) of al-Jab'a orchard planted with figs and vines in the village of Bethlehem. The orchard was bordered from the south by the orchard of Bardawil, 'well-known as Abu Khalil', and to east, west, and north by open land owned by Sulaiman, who was from the area of Bethlehem.
- 5) One-half (12 *qirats* out of 24) of the orchard planted with figs and vines in the village of Bethlehem in the valley of al-Rahib (the priest).
- 6) One-third (8 *qirats* out of 24) of the land planted with figs, vines and other trees at Bethlehem. This property was bounded to the south by open land, to the east by the orchard of Abu Khalil mentioned above, to the north and west by open land owned by 'Ulaian.
- 7) One-quarter (6 *qirats* out of 24) of the property planted with figs and vines in the village of Bethlehem. Here the land was bordered to the south by planted land belonging to the *qadi* Shihab al-Din ibn al-Muhandis, to the east by open land, to the north by the orchard of the *qadi* Badr al-Din al-Shafi'i, and to the west by open land belonging to 'Abd al-'Aziz and his partners.
- 8) One-half (12 *qirats* out of 24) of all the property planted with figs and vines in the Christian village of Bait Sahur. This property was bordered to the south, east, north, and west by open land owned by 'Abbad ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad from Bait Sahur.

9) One-half share (12 *qirats* out of 24) of the complete plot of land planted with figs and vines in the village of Bethlehem. This plot was known as 'al-Jab'a' and was bordered to the south by open land, to the east by land belonging to the donor (Bairam), to the north by the land of al-Mahruq, and to the west by an orchard owned by the *qadi* Shihab al-Din ibn al-Muhandis and the *qadi* Badr al-Din al-Shafi'i.

10) One-quarter (6 *qirats* out of 24) and one eighth (3 *qirats* out of 24) of the ground planted with figs and vines in the village of Bethlehem. It was bordered to the south by an open space, to the east by an orchard belonging to Fawwaz, to the north by the orchard of Ahmad ibn Husain al-Tawashi, and to the west by the orchard owned by 'Umar ibn Dawwa, who was from the area.

11) A share of one quarter (6 *qirats* out of 24) of the lands of Bani Shuja' village, known by the name of Bani Nu'aim in the district of Jerusalem, and a quarter share (6 *qirats* out of 24) of its estate (*muzara'a*) known as 'Khutin'.

12) Sixteen Turkish brass bowls (*tasa*), and five Turkish rugs. These were intended for use in the *ribat*, for the *waqfiyya* states that each resident should receive one and that the duties of the doorkeeper included maintenance the bowls and basins (see below under 'Duties of the personnel'). The right to a bowl probably included the right to a meal: it acted like a meal ticket.

13) The whole share of the lands of Saihan village in the district of Gaza the Protected.

14) The share of 14 *qirats* out of 24 of the land of Bait Tafa village at Gaza.

15) The whole *khan* building known as the Dar al-Wakala, once in al-Qayasina Quarter, and located in al-Zaituna quarter at the time of the endowment.

16) All that remained of the mill building and its ruins, together with the land that belonged to it, located on the river of the Prophet of Allah Rupin, in the district of Ramla.

Purpose of construction

The patron (Bairam) had bought these sixteen properties with the 150,000 silver coins that had been made *waqf* by himself. It is noticeable that much of the land was bought from Christian locations. The reason for the availability of this property is not immediately clear, but further research may resolve the question. The income from the purchases was intended to serve the interests of the *ribat* founded and constructed by Bairam and for the benefit of the *maktabkhana* opposite it (Sijill 56: 649). The *ribat* was to function as a dwelling place for the poor and the pious to allow each of them to reside in a separate room (Sijill 56: 649).

Description of the building

The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 56: 649) states '(Bairam) the donor (*al-waqif*) established his *waqf* for the benefit of his *ribat* and his *maktabkhana*. The *ribat* was built and constructed by the donor with his own money (*min malihi wa sulb haliha*). It is located in the city of Jerusalem the Noble, in the lower part of 'Aqabat al-Sitt where the junction of the roads is placed. The *ribat* is near the fountain (*çesme*) (cat. no. 7) and adjacent to the Madrasa Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) that is situated in Noble Jerusalem the Protected.'

Terms of the Endowments

Bairam reserved for himself during his lifetime the post of inspector (*nazir*) of his *waqf*, the post thereafter to pass to his sons and the sons of his sons, and to the descendants of his family (Sijill 56: 646, 649). The position should be conferred by merit of seniority and competence (*al-arshad fa'l-arshad*). In the event of

the line of Bairam's family dying out, the role of inspector would be filled by the superintendent (*nazir*) of *al-Haramain al-sharifain*—that is, the superintendent of the Great Mosque of Hebron and the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem (Sijill 56: 646, 650). This marks a change from the earlier abrogated *waqfiyya*, because the *sijill* (17: 127) published by al-'Asali (1989: 122) omitted any reference to his descendants, Bairam's successor as inspector being named as the commander of the Citadel. In addition, Bairam reserved for himself alone the right to increase or decrease, to add or delete any of the *waqf* properties (Sijill 56: 650). No successor was to have this prerogative. The inspector had to collect the income of the *waqf* deeds in the presence of the *shaikh* of the *ribat* and the *faqih* of the *maktab*, if it was possible for them to meet in person, and if they could not, then one of them was to suffice (Sijill 56: 650). Any surplus income was to be distributed among the descendants of the founder. In accordance with the law, the male members were to take double the amount allotted to the females. The inspector of the *waqf* was to give priority in his administration to the maintenance and restoration of the *ribat* and the *maktab* constructed by Bairam. The inspector (*nazir*) of the *ribat* was obliged to provide dwellings for the needy, pious poor, each to reside in one room (a cell). The *ribat* was not to provide accommodation for a teacher, and the income must be spent as described and stipulated by the *waqfiyya*. Bairam reserved for himself the right to appoint the personnel listed thereafter, and after him the *qadi* of Jerusalem was to decide on the staff in consultation with the inspector of the *waqf*.

Financial Arrangements

The details of the financial arrangements (Sijill 56: 649, 650) were to be as follows:

Position, etc.	Daily figures in dirhams
16 residents of the retreat (<i>mujawirs</i>)	
one <i>dirham</i> each	16
(Literally a <i>mujawir</i> means a 'neighbour'; in the early Islamic period the meaning was extended to someone living in a specific religious site, like Mecca or Jerusalem. In the Ottoman period it took on the connotation of a Sufi resident in a <i>zawiya</i>).	
<i>Shaikh</i> of the <i>ribat</i> and the <i>mujawirs</i>	5
Door-keeper (<i>bawwab</i>)	2
Elementary-school teacher (<i>faqih</i>)	3
Inspector (<i>nazir</i>), if one of Bairam's descendants	4
Clerk (<i>katib</i>)	1
Oil to illuminate the <i>ribat</i> and the tomb in the <i>maktab</i>	1
Total of daily expenses	32
Total of yearly expenses	11,680

Unfortunately the *waqfiyya* does not give any specific information about the income from the endowments. However, to give a rough idea of the level of the yearly income, it is possible to calculate the probable interest on the original 150,000 *dirhams*, according to the rate at the time when Bairam first set up the *waqfiyya* (see above). The interest rate of lawful *mu'amala* (dealing) at the end of the 16th century in Jerusalem stood at 15 percent. This rate would have produced a total of 22,500 *dirhams* yearly; this means that, after the cost of the expenses had been subtracted, a yearly surplus of 10,820 *dirhams* would have been available to be used for maintenance; any residue was divided among Bairam's descendants.

Duties of the personnel

The *waqf* inspector was to provide each *mujawir* (resident), together with his stipend, one of the sixteen bowls (*tasa*)⁷ donated by the *ribat* for use while he was resident within the foundation. If the *mujawir* were to leave, he had to return the bowl to the *bawwab* of the *ribat*. The poor of the *ribat* should be provided with a *shaikh*—he was to be learned, pious and had to recite daily a certain portion of the Qur'an in the northern assembly room (*majma'*) of the *ribat* (Room D). The benefit from the recitation of the Qur'an should be dedicated to the presence of the Prophet (Muhammad), to Ibrahim the Prophet, to the soul of the donor (Bairam), to the soul of the donor's parents and sons, and to all his Muslim brothers. The *shaikh* of the *ribat* was to have the right to live in the *tabaqa* (literally 'upper units'; hereafter it is referred to here as 'the first floor of the *ribat*') built above the *ribat* rent-free for the term of his life. The *bawwab* (door-keeper) of the *ribat* was to clean and sweep the *ribat*, to look after its latrines, to open and close the gate, and to maintain the bowls (*tasat*) and the carpets mentioned in the *waqfiyya*. The door-keeper was to cover the floor of the northern assembly-room with three of the five carpets specified, the remaining two to cover the western assembly-room and the *iwān*. The clerk was to register the income and the expenditure of the *waqf*. The *faqih* (elementary-school teacher) was to teach the children at the *maktab*; he was to be allowed to live rent free during his lifetime in the house adjoining the *maktab* to the north.

Subsequent History

The *sijills* (56: 646; 59: 47) reveal that after the death of Bairam, his daughter *Sitt al-Dunya* Khadija became the legal inspector of the *waqf* of Bairam. Khadija, together with her mother Laila, Bairam's widow, on 16 Shawwal 982/29 January 1575 appointed her husband, Muhammad ibn Qaraquz Jawish, to be their agent (*Sijill* 56: 646). He was fully entrusted to sell any of their part of Bairam's inheritance or estates in Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus, and Ramla. In 1989 al-'Asali (1989: 265) published *Sijill* 68: 48 which gives the names and daily wages of the personnel of the *ribat* and the *maktab* for the year 975/1657-68. The employees were 'Abdullah Sinan, the *shaikh* of the *ribat*, for five (silver coins); Zakariyya Khalifa, the inspector, for five (according to the terms of the *waqfiyya* it should have been four) silver coins; Shaikh Salah al-Din, the teacher in the *maktab*, for three (silver coins); and Mansur ibn Muhammad the door-keeper, for two (silver coins). Shaikh 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was appointed clerk (*Sijill* 64: 250) for the *waqf* on 8 Rabi' I 993/10 March 1585. A dispute occurred on 6 Muharram 1044/2 July 1634 between Muhammad Çelebi Darwish and Muhammad al-Khalili over the post of inspector of Bairam's *waqf*. It seems that all the posts involved in Bairam's *waqf* continued to cause arguments, for the *Sijill* 202: 128 cited by al-'Asali (1989: 85) contains reference to a dispute over the position of *faqih*. The dispute was between Shaikh Khalaf

ibn 'Uthman and his brother Ahmad; this time the dignitaries of the *maktab* district intervened in favour of Shaikh Ahmad because he was already in post teaching the children, in addition to which he had mastered the rules governing Qur'anic recitation.

Architecture

The building complex is one of the most complicated Ottoman structures in Jerusalem. It consists basically of three engaged levels, but many parts are the result of later restorations, additions, and alterations that were carried out at various times with no documentation to aid interpretation. As a result, the building has a variety of types of stone and masonry dressing and no common factor to unite them. To add further to the confusion, the *ribat* complex, the Mawardiyya and the complex of Khassaki Sultan (al-'Imara al-'Amira), are all today partly merged with one another. All these edifices can be entered through the same doors, and each leads into the other. The Ribat Bairam Jawish and al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15) are the largest Ottoman structures in Jerusalem. It is only necessary to take a superficial look at the drawing of the north façade or at one of the plans of the complex to appreciate the puzzling layout.

In the first place, anyone wishing to study the complex of the Ribat Bairam Jawish has to attempt an answer to two basic questions—although there are many others. First—what parts constitute the original structure of the *ribat* as erected by Bairam in 947/1540-1 and which were added later? And second—do the structures which flank the *ribat* to the east (the archway over Tariq al-Wad) and to the west (the Rasasiyya, which it is now known should correctly be called al-Mawardiyya) really belong to the original structure of the *ribat*, as some scholars have believed (see cat. no. 28), although they have cited no evidence? It is possible to some extent to read the phases of construction, especially of the northern façade, and to try to differentiate between them, but this is less than satisfactory, for this stylistic approach remains pure speculation founded on the less than scientific skill of architectural analysis. To answer the questions, it is really necessary to provide firmer grounds. It is therefore particularly gratifying that when eventually I discovered the *waqf* documents relating to the *ribat* (see above) and the *dar* (house) of Bairam (cat. no. 13) in the *sijills*, some of the speculation could be supported with incontestable proof. Once again the indispensability of the *sijills* as a prime source of information for the study of the Ottoman architecture of Jerusalem is demonstrated. By means of the relevant *sijill* and its component documents it has proved possible to follow the development of buildings like this very involved complex and to provide long-awaited answers to such questions as whether or not the mistakenly called Madrasa Rasasiyya is part of the *ribat*. The simple answer is that it is not (see below cat. no. 28).

Exterior—the north façade

The principal façade of the Ribat Bairam Jawish is to the north, facing the southern elevation of Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12). What is considered today as the north façade of Bairam's *ribat* is relatively long. It runs 36m from east to west, and for the most part is made up of two levels. The façade can be divided into four vertical sections (A), (B), (C), and (D). Section A is furthestmost to the west, its length being 10m; it lies between the east end of the north façade of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15) which it separates from the so-called Madrasa Rasasiyya. Only the lower part of this section is visible, for its upper part is obscured by an archway dwelling (*qantara*). It is very simple, dominated by

⁷ It is difficult to know the exact purpose of the *tasa*. It could have been merely an empty vessel to be used for eating, or it could mean the right to a share of the food distributed by the soup-kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15), a close neighbour, as indicated above. It is attractive to consider the second possibility because the early *waqf* (*Sijill* 17: 127) mentions that two loaves of good bread should be given per day to each resident (*mujawir*). Unfortunately this suggestion lacks certain proof, for the final *waqfiyya* contains no mention of the arrangements for food distribution.

three doorways, each surmounted by a semicircular arch. The span of the western arch is the smallest of the three. There are two identical window-openings above the central and eastern arches. Each window has a simple sill and lintel, both of which are fashioned from a single block of stone. This part of the façade is undecorated and is similar in its individual features to the architecture of other domestic Ottoman buildings elsewhere in the Old City of Jerusalem. This would suggest that this Section A does not belong to the original *ribat* building. To a limited extent supporting evidence for this hypothesis can be seen in the *waqfiyya* for it is stated that the *ribat* is adjacent to the Madrasa Mawardiyya (the Madrasa Rasasiya, see above), and the only building which conforms to the layout of a *madrasa* is located to the east of this section. It is believed therefore that this section was probably either built or rebuilt some time in the late Ottoman period. Its interior will not therefore be described here. The upper part of Section A comprises an archway, its entrance gained through the doorway of what it is suggested should be called 'the second floor of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya' (cat. no. 29). It is described and studied elsewhere under the relevant catalogue entry.

The second section (B) to the east of section A has been called up to now 'al-Madrasa al-Rasasiyya' and, as said above, was considered by some to be part of the *ribat*. The correct name is al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya and it is not part of the *ribat*. It will therefore also form the subject of a separate entry (cat. no. 28).

The third section (C) extends 15.5m from the eastern boundary of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya to the west side of Tariq al-Wad. It is this section that is the original area of the *ribat* according to the *waqfiyya* (see above) and it is noticeably taller than the Mawardiyya. Section C is made up of two vertical parts to the east and to the west. The western part runs from the east side of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya up to the second, newly-opened, entrance to the *ribat*. It is dominated by a large door, 2m by 3.8m, surmounted by a semicircular arch. This is very simple, being made up of a double tier of voussoirs and springing from the walls to either side; there are no jambs or lintels. The masonry surrounding the door is rusticated masonry of a lesser quality and different in colour from the stones of the eastern part of this section. The simplicity and different natures of the two parts of section C may imply that this section was not part of the original construction of the *ribat*, but was probably built at a later period. Since this part is similar to the western section of the southern elevation of Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12)—considered to belong to the original construction—and since the *waqfiyya* (see above, Description of the Building) clearly states that the *ribat* was bordered to the west by al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, it is quite correct to consider this part of Section C as belonging to the original *ribat* despite its different appearance. However, the likelihood of a restoration at some later period must be borne in mind. A doorway is located at the east end of this section, leading into the interior of the *ribat*. Simple in form, it measures 1.7m by 85cm; it has recent iron doors and is surmounted by a slab lintel. The door is used today only by the family living in the cells of the *ribat* and the chamber of the second floor. It was opened in late 1967⁸ after the ground floor of the *ribat* was annexed to the newly-opened secondary school named Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya. The upper western part of section C is blocked by the archway spanning the road of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt); it runs between the Ribat and Maktab Bairam Jawish.

The western part of section C contains the main entrance to the *ribat*, set into a recessed porch with a pointed arch. The door is rectangular, measuring 1m wide by 1.65m high, and is flanked on both sides by a white stone bench. Each bench measures 50cm wide by 50cm deep by 40cm high. The door is surmounted by a slab lintel measuring 1.35m wide by 40cm high, and two courses higher, directly above the lintel, there is the stone panel described above, giving the foundation inscription. A slightly recessed square marble panel has been inset two courses above the keystone of the pointed arch. It measures 50cm by 40cm and is decorated in relief. The scheme of the decoration is made up of a combination of geometrical and floral motifs which form octagons. Each octagonal element of the design is filled with small roundels separated by a triple-headed leaf. There is a star pattern at the centre of the panel, and the four corners are filled with a vegetal trefoil. The pointed arch of the porch entrance is flanked on both sides by a rectangular window. The two windows are not on the same level, nor are they the same size, but both are surmounted by a slab lintel and are fitted with an original iron grille. The east window measures 75cm wide by 1m high; it has a relief arch made up of three stones, the keystone being trapezoid. It is noticeable that there is a break in the lines of masonry built to the east of this window. This is a clear indication of the alteration to the stone courses that occurred when the fourth section (D) of this northern façade was built. It also indicates the probable point at which this section used to finish before the addition of section D (see below and cat. no. 13). The west window measures 70cm wide by 1.4m high, and almost three courses above there is a small window in the form of an eight-pointed star to light the interior at first-floor level. It seems that the two courses which were built directly above the star mark the end of the first level of this part of the façade and the beginning of the second level of the *ribat's* façade. Although the masonry courses of both levels of this part of the façade (C)—where the first level meets the second level two courses above the star-window—might appear to be coherent and of the same fabric (especially in the drawing) it was in fact apparently built in two phases. There are three reasons for saying this—firstly, the stonework, despite its superficial similarity, is of differing qualities and colour. Secondly, the second level can only be approached through the eastern archway, and this archway is certainly a later addition, for it blocks part of the northern façade and its wall is not engaged with the *ribat* building. And finally, neither this second part nor the eastern archway are mentioned in the *waqfiyya*. On the contrary, it is clear from the text that the *ribat* building once terminated at the level of the western window where the chamber for the use of the *shaikh* of the *ribat* was located (Sijill 56: 652). It is unfortunately difficult to be sure because of lack of information how the first level of the façade was finished before the second level was constructed; but presumably some sort of alteration must have occurred.

The second level of the façade is overlooked by three identical rectangular windows placed five courses above the octagonal star. Each window measures 75cm wide by 1.2m high; they are all surmounted by a slab lintel and fitted with an original iron grille. A buttress 50cm wide by 3.5m high by 25cm deep has been built between the middle and eastern windows, terminating at the same level as this part of the façade. A slit window 20cm wide by 60cm high occurs five courses above the windows at the central point between the middle and western windows. Two shallow domes finished with stone slabs are built above the roof of the second level, each covering part of the two rooms that form

⁸ According to Mr H. Qassas, a current (1995) neighbour of the *ribat*.

the third floor.

Section D is the fourth and last, forming the easternmost part of the façade. It consists of the *qantara* (archway) that spans Tariq al-Wad. Section D represents another separate monument built after the *ribat* was finished. This is the Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13). A straight vertical break down the courses is clearly visible between Sections C and D, in addition to the discrepancies in the lines of masonry courses east of the window located to the east of the main entrance already described above. These must indicate, as already explained, the additions and the alterations to the façade that took place when Bairam built his house. The *sijill* provided the necessary proof to allow this part of the façade to be treated in a separate entry (see cat. no. 13).

The eastern elevation of the Ribat Bairam Jawish provides a sharp contrast to the north façade, for its masonry fabric is coarse and undecorated. It runs 16.1m from north to south, and five rectangular openings are cut in the lower part of the elevation. These openings, together with the five bays of al-Wad archway, divide the elevation into five similar parts. Each is fitted with a wooden door. Thick black lines of pointing are visible between the masonry courses above the doors, probably the result of recent unskilled repair work. A small rectangular window is to be found in the upper level of each part, with the exception of the fourth which seems to have been blocked later. The measurements of the first three windows (from north to south) are identical, each measuring 55cm by 70cm, and all are fitted with an iron grille. The last window measures 40cm by 53cm, probably indicating a later reduction by partial blocking up. The purpose of these windows was to illuminate the cells built above the five shops already described as a sort of intermediary level between the ground and first floor levels. At the level of one course above the windows the remainder of the elevation is obscured by the western side of the archway that spans Tariq al-Wad. The interior of the cells is rectangular and at present they are used as shops. Unfortunately nothing is mentioned about these shops in the various *waqf* documents of the *ribat*. This is unusual. If these openings were originally built for use as shops, there should have been a reference to the fact in the *waqfiyya*, for they would have provided additional income for the endowments. However, the fact that they are not mentioned in the *waqf*, as well as the extreme simplicity of the openings and the lack of any arch, jamb or lintel, may indicate that these were originally intended to be used as cells to provide accommodation for the poor. Sixteen individual cells were to be available for the inmates according to the terms of the *waqfiyya* already discussed, for each *muwajir* was to have his own cell. If one counts the six cells on the first level H1-H6 (see below under 'Interior') plus these five rooms on the ground floor and then adds the five of the intermediary mezzanine, a total of sixteen cells is reached. It seems that at some later date the intermediary cells were transformed into shops, probably after the deterioration in the *waqf* system in the later Ottoman period, although there is no evidence as to when such a transformation took place. Access to the cells of the lower and upper level is still visible and clear, but how the intermediary cells were approached is not visible today. There are, however, two possibilities—either through the main entrance of the *ribat* in the same way as the rest of the cells, or through Tariq al-Wad in the same way as the shops are entered today. Since there is no indication on the interior of the east wall which might infer a blocked entrance, the access to the mezzanine floor was most probably by way of Tariq al-Wad. It is worth mentioning that, regardless of the original function of

this part of the *ribat*, it was a necessary construction measure to bridge the difference in levels (3m) between the west and east sides of the building because of the slope of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya towards the east.

The Archway (*qantara*) of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya

Two archways (*qantar*as) span the lower part of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt), the first to the east between Ribat and Maktab Bairam Jawish, and the second to the west between what is proposed here should be called al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29) and the anonymous building situated between al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya to the east and the eastern end of the north façade of al-'Imara al-'Amira (section A, in the northern façade discussed above). The latter *qantara* is described as part of the first floor of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya; the former will be studied here. The eastern archway is made up of a long cross-vaulted bay supported by two pointed arches. The arches spring from the northern façade of Ribat Bairam to the south, and from the southern elevation of Maktab Bairam to the north. The four elevations of the eastern archway are visible. The eastern and the western ones can be seen from the road of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt). To view the southern elevation is a little more complicated—it can be seen either when standing within the *ribat*'s open courtyard, going west by way of the staircase (see below), or, on entering the main entrance of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya or al-'Imara al-'Amira complex, by turning east through a complicated series of stairways. The north elevation is visible as the interior of the *qantara* is left by way of the door in the north wall of the archway.

The south façade of the eastern archway is the most elaborate though it was not constructed as a street-front, as was the common practice for such façades. It is built of high-quality white masonry. The main feature of this south façade is a trefoil-arched portal recess which contains the main entrance. The archivolt of the trefoil arch is curved and decorated with a series of plain *muqarnas* lancet panels. The entrance door measures 93cm by 1.9m, and it is flanked on both sides by a stone bench, each measuring 45cm by 50cm by 85cm; it is surmounted by a marble slab lintel. A relieving arch is built directly above the lintel of the door, consisting of seven voussoirs set at an angle. A recessed stone panel measuring 40cm by 50cm is set above the arch, contained within a decorative billet frame. The background of the panel is filled with four glazed tiles. These have a floral decoration consisting of a pair of split arabesque 'petals' in blue, ringed by a turquoise or yellow band. The petals meet at the tips to form a cruciform motif, which contains a secondary floral motif in yellow. The ground is yellow. The tiles are almost identical in pattern, but not in colour, to tiles of the Dome of the Rock which were made by order of Sultan Mahmud II in 1233/1817. A sample of the Dome of the Rock tiles is displayed at the Islamic Museum of Islamic of al-Aqsa Mosque (col. pl. XLIII). The closeness of design may provide a clue as to the construction date of this eastern *qantara*, but it cannot be considered conclusive because the tiles could have been inserted at a later date into an already existing panel. A slit window is placed eight courses above the trefoil arch; it measures 20cm by 60cm. Two courses above this there is a masonry frame marking the apex of the elevation. An irregular vertical break in the masonry marks the meeting point between the east end of this elevation and the west end of the south elevation of the second floor of the *ribat*.

The north elevation of the eastern archway is

undecorated. It has a simple doorway 80cm by 1.6m, and there are two windows east of the doorway, all of them opening towards the north over the courtyard (A) on the first floor of the Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12). The windows measure 85cm by 1.4m; they are fitted with an iron grille and surmounted by a slab lintel. A slit window similar to the one in the southern elevation is placed two courses below the summit of the façade. The exterior transition zone begins three courses below the top of the wall. The pointed dome, covered with small flagstones, is set on the octagonal transition zone. No drum can be seen from the exterior.

The west elevation begins with the pointed arch which supports the archway to the west. It is made up of a double tier of voussoirs, and a projecting flat segmented arch is constructed directly above. The arch springs from a two-stepped corbel stone to the south and from the wall of the south elevation of Maktab Bairam to the north. Five flat stone slabs protrude from the course set above the arch and support a large rectangular stone. This flagstone appears to be a floor, the only remaining vestige of a small balcony. Two identical rectangular windows, each measuring 85cm by 1.4m, are placed immediately above the slab. They are fitted with an iron grille and are surmounted by a slab lintel. A relief 'eye-brow' arch of three voussoirs is built above each lintel. The masonry courses, of a high quality black and white stone, continue without interruption from the arches of the two windows to the octagonal transition zone of the shallow dome that covers the main chamber of the *qamara*.

The eastern elevation, although beginning like the western façade with a double-tiered pointed arch, has a different design. It is made up of two parts, divided by a decorated string course that projects slightly. This frieze-like dividing line is composed of double triangles, forming a dentate design of repeated lozenges. The lower part is constructed with fine *ablaq* masonry of red and white now weathered to grey. In this lower section there are two identical rectangular window-openings, 85cm by 1.4m, now blocked; they have fitted iron grilles and white marble lintels. A relieving arch of five joggled red and white *ablaq* voussoirs is built above each lintel. The upper section of the façade is a solid wall of fine white masonry. There is an off-centre slit window which has a trefoil head framed by a finely carved groove cut into the stonework. A single course above the little window the upper part of the building is terminated by a slightly projecting chamfered coping.

Interior—the Ground Floor

Access to the ground floor of Ribat Bairam Jawish, as explained above, is through two gateways. The first is the main entrance with the foundation inscription. It is 75cm below street level and has two steps down, leading to a rectangular vestibule (A). Vestibule A measures 75cm wide by 3m long and runs from north to south. Its floor is paved with old flagstones, and it is covered by a tunnel vault. There is a recessed blind niche in the east wall, 75cm by 35cm, adjoining the first cell (shop) to the north of the five which make up the lower part of the eastern elevation. A door is opened in the southern end of the west wall of the vestibule. It measures 85cm by 40cm. At the southern end of the vestibule there is another door which was supposed to give access to the open courtyard of the *ribat*. It is now blocked with modern concrete blocks to allow vestibule A also to be used as a shop, together with room B.

The second doorway is located to the west of the main entrance; it leads to the antechamber (C) which is square in plan, measuring 2.1m by 2.15m. The ground floor of antechamber C is

paved with flagstones, and steps were built recently, soon after the door was opened in 1967, as explained above. Antechamber C is covered by a cross vault. There is a rectangular window opening (75cm by 70cm) in the west wall giving onto chamber D which is situated to the west. A door in the south-east corner of the antechamber gives access to a small *ivan*, 65cm by 70cm, and opens towards the courtyard of the *ribat* through a semicircular arch. This is simply built with small rough stones. The *ivan* has a cross vault and its floor is paved by modern stone slabs. Chamber B is situated between the two doorways; it is rectangular in plan with internal measurements of 3.65m by 2.35m. It opens towards the courtyard of the *ribat* through an arch similar to the one in the *ivan* of antechamber C. Chamber D has a separate entrance from 'Aqabat al-Takiyya as mentioned above, and forms the westernmost border of the *ribat*—although the ground plan and the façade make it appear to be a separate unit. As already discussed, it is however clear from the *waqfiyya* that it is part of the *ribat* proper. Chamber D is simple in form with no opening apart from the main door and the window in the east wall. It measures 3.3m by 4.2m and its walls are plastered; it has a cross-vaulted roof. It too is used today as a shop. It is not known when this shop came into operation, but in the past it was the place where the residents (*mujawirs*) used to gather to perform the daily recitation of the Holy Qur'an. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 56: 649) mentions two assembly rooms (*majma'*) in the *ribat* which were built by the donor Bairam. The first is termed the northern assembly (*al-majma' al-shamali*), and was assigned to the residents, so that they could perform their recitation. The second, in the west (*al-majma' al-gharbi*), although mentioned, was not specified as being for a particular function. It is not easy today to locate precisely the position of the western *majma'*, but it is possible that it was the unrecorded area which is situated south of room D, and west of courtyard E.

The open courtyard (E) is rectangular in plan, 9m by 5.2m, and has been recently paved with modern flagstones. Four walls surround it. The north wall is a huge elevation, corresponding to the north façade seen only from the interior. It is masonry-built throughout and consists of two parts. The lower section represents the original part of the *ribat* built by Bairam, including the ground and first floors. There are two windows of different sizes in this lower part; both are rectangular, fitted with an iron grille and with a slab lintel. A slit window (25cm wide by 50cm high) is placed three courses above the lintel of the big window. A clearly visible break in the masonry courses occurs two courses above the slit window. It marks the end of the first floor and the start of the second, and is much clearer here than the corresponding break in the northern elevation. In addition to the break, both the stone colour and the dressing technique of the two parts of the elevation are dissimilar, strongly suggesting that they were built at different times. The upper part is lit by four windows, three placed at the same level and belonging to chamber M of the second floor (see below). They have similar iron grilles, lintels and 'eye-brow' arches. A buttress is built between the eastern and the central windows. Another slit window pierces the masonry four courses above the lintels of the three windows. It is placed off-centre and two courses above the summit of the elevation is reached. The shallow dome is not visible from this point.

The fourth window belongs to the archway (L) and has a different layout. A vertical break in the joints of the masonry courses can be seen one block of stone beyond the eastern jamb; beside this, a little further to the east, the surface of the wall is

slightly recessed. These distortions must indicate that the upper part was not built at the same time as the lower, and that one section preceded the other. Since the only approach to the second floor is through the archway (see below), it is probable that the second floor of the *ribat* was built after the construction of the eastern archway *qantara*. The *waqfiyya* is of considerable help in recognising the different phases and sequence of the construction; probably the architectural units which form the Ribat Bairam Jawish today were built at three different times (see below).

The east wall of the courtyard is conceived as two small shallow *iwans*; each opens towards the courtyard by means of a simple semicircular arch similar to that in the *iwān* of antechamber C. The northern *iwān* measures 1.4m by 3.6m, and the southern *iwān* measures 1.6m by 2.85m; both share the same type of pavement as the courtyard, have plastered walls and are tunnel-vaulted. A relatively large *iwān*, 2.2m by 3.5m, is built in the south wall of the courtyard, opposite the *iwān* of antechamber C. The arch gives onto the courtyard and has a pointed profile, with the springing to the west obscured by the adjoining building. Once again, the *iwān* is covered by a tunnel vault. The west side of courtyard E is taken up with a stairway. It has eighteen steps running 7.5m north-south; its width is 1.15m and it has a central landing. The stairs allow access both to the first floor of the *ribat* and to the entrance of the Dar Bairam Jawish (see cat. no. 13). There is a small open court (area F) built above the roof of the southern *iwān* on the ground floor and it is from here that one enters the buildings of the first floor.

The First Floor

The courtyard (F) on the first floor referred to above measures 3.5m by 6.85m. It is paved with old flagstones of red and white, and is bordered to the south by a wall belonging to a later construction, and to the west by a wall pierced by a doorway 2m by 95cm, which has been fitted with a very simple, modern iron gate. This gives access by way of another stairway to an open courtyard (K) on the level above (see below, the second floor) which in turn gives onto the interior of the eastern archway, to the second floor of the *ribat*, and to the interior of the Madrasa Mawardiyya. At the south-eastern corner of courtyard F, there is another elaborate entrance. It is at present blocked with rough masonry, and as it is above the level of the courtyard, it is likely there were once steps up to it. The function of this entrance was to give access to the Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13) according to the *sijill* (56: 652). Only the upper part is visible—a semicircular arch composed of counterchange joggled voussoirs of yellow and white. A rectangular recessed foundation inscription, not yet published, is to be found above the arch (see below cat. no. 13 for details). An open passageway (G) runs along the east wall of the first floor, extending 9m from south to north with a width of 1.4m. It is paved with flagstones. The passage leads to six cells (H1-H6) and to the main hall (J) of the first floor of the *ribat*.

Cells H1-H6 are presumed to have been for use by the residents when the *ribat* was still functioning. Cell H1 has two adjoining areas, unlike the other five which have only one and are located above the five cells (now shops) built between the ground and first floor levels. Cells H2-H5 have similar doorways with a simple slab lintel, all opening towards the west and fitted with a door. The interiors are also similar—all have a rectangular plan, are paved with flagstones, and have tunnel-vaulted roofs. A window in each (the only exception being cell H3 where the opening has been closed recently with concrete) opens east towards Tariq al-Wad where the *qantara* of Dar Bairam is situated.

These cells are now used as store-houses while cell H1 is used as a latrine. Cell H6 is approached through the vestibule of the main hall (J) of the first floor. It is bigger than the other cells, for it is located on the north-eastern corner of the *ribat* and is covered by a cross vault. Two windows illuminate the interior, the first opening north and the second east. The floor has the same pavement as the other cells of this floor. Its greater size and better lighting suggest that it had a different purpose to the other cells.

Hall J is made up of a main central chamber, flanked to west and east by two small *iwans*. According to the *waqfiyya* this hall was assigned as the rent-free dwelling for the *shaikh* of the *ribat* (see above), but today it is used as housing for a family. Access to unit J is through a doorway in the south wall of the eastern *iwān* at the north end of passage G. The door has a slab lintel. A relieving arch is set directly above the lintel made of simple voussoirs. The east *iwān* has a simple rectangular plan, measuring 3.5m by 1.6m. It is paved with flagstones and is cross-vaulted. Chamber J is square in plan, and is again paved with flagstones. Two rectangular windows provide light for the interior, the first to the north, being part of the north façade, and the second to the south, opening towards the open courtyard E within the *ribat*. Four pointed arches spring from the four corners of the chamber to support the roof of the chamber. The vault is a double-folded cross vault with a small, shallow saucer dome at the centre. The western *iwān* is similar to the eastern but here there is both a window and a blind niche. The window is in the south wall, measuring 75cm by 1.4m, and is covered by an iron grille. It is surmounted by semicircular arch. A blind niche, 80cm by 70cm, is placed in the north wall. The walls of chamber J have been recently coated with plaster.

The eastern archway and the second floor of the *ribat*

Access to the interior of the eastern archway and the second floor of the *ribat* is, as already explained, through courtyard K. However, it is possible today to reach courtyard K by three main routes. The first is through one of the two gateways of the *ribat*, and then up the stairs to courtyard F. The second route is through the main entrances of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya directly into courtyard K; and the third way is through the main north entrance of al-ʿImara al-ʿAmira complex. In courtyard F a door in the west wall leads to a staircase (1.45m wide by 2.8m long) with seven steps, running towards the north and terminating in courtyard K. This open courtyard is made up of two parts, separated by a stone step. The first is to the north; it is higher by 18cm than the second lying to the south, and it runs from south to north. It has a rectangular plan with an internal measurement of 6m by 3.6m. The second part, rectangular in plan and measuring 3.1m by 8.3m, runs east-west. Both parts are paved with small antique flagstones, most of which are broken. It now gives access to the interior of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28). At the north end of courtyard K, described above, there is the south façade of the eastern archway. The archway leads into the main chamber of this level (L), one of two chambers (L and M) which make up the second floor of the *ribat*.

Today room L is used as a classroom for Dar al-Itam School, but it is the assumption of the writer that its original purpose was to serve as a dwelling place; and, because of its size and position, it was probably the house of the resident *shaikh*. The floor of this large chamber is of uneven height. It is rectangular in plan with internal measurements of 9m by 5.6m and it is paved with good-quality antique red and white flagstones of different sizes. Chamber L is divided into two sections by a huge pointed

arch, running east-west and springing from the east and west walls. The southern section of the chamber, measuring 3.5m by 5.6m, gives the appearance of a small *iwān* or antechamber. A simple opening, later in date, at the western end of the *iwān* connects the mosque of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya to chamber L. It can be stated with some confidence that this wall was opened when the main entrance of the mosque lying to the west was closed (cat. no. 28). The *iwān* is covered by a folded cross vault with a shallow ribbed saucer dome at the centre. The second northern part of chamber L is almost square in plan, and measures 5.6m by 5.5m. A later concrete partition divides the chamber into a room and a passage. The passage leads through a doorway opening onto courtyard A belonging to the first floor of the Maktab Bairam Jawish (see above).

In all, as already described, there are six identical windows arranged in the east, the north, and the west walls respectively, and above each pair of windows there are two identical blind (60 cm by 1m) niches. These niches are surmounted by another large blind niche measuring 1.8m by 1m. There are another five blind niches in the lower section of this part of chamber L. Two are in the east wall; the first (45cm by 35cm), to the south, is between the two windows, and the second to the north measures 60cm by 35cm. The third niche is placed in the north-eastern corner of the north wall, and measures 60cm by 40cm. The remaining two niches are in the northern part of the west side; the first is comparatively small, measuring 35cm by 35cm by 1.6m with the appearance of a slit window; and the second, larger, measures 60cm by 35cm by 1.6m. All the lower niches are surmounted by a frame moulding, while the upper niches have semicircular arches. The function of them all was to serve as wall cupboards; they all seem to be original and it is on the basis of this clue that it is proposed here that this chamber was used as living space. This section is roofed by a spacious dome which has a tall pointed profile on the exterior and is expressed inside as a huge, shallow, undecorated saucer. The dome is carried on four large pointed arches, which spring from the four corners of the chamber, and four equally impressive pendentives, which act as the transition from square to octagon.

The second chamber of the second floor of the Ribat Bairam Jawish (M) is approached by way of two steps to the east of the antechamber *iwān* (L). A simple doorway measuring 80cm by 70cm by 1.8m gives onto the interior of rectangular hall M. The current function of chamber M is a classroom for Dar al-Itam School. There can be no doubt that originally, like room L, it was used for habitation, and together with that room made up a residential unit. Room M measures 5.5m by 3.8m and its ground level is raised 1.1m above the level of chamber L, though they share a similar pavement. A big pointed arch divides hall M into two parts. The first is a square chamber roofed by a folded cross vault with a ribbed saucer dome in the centre. Four windows (each measuring 80cm by 65cm) provide light and air for this section, two in the north and two in the south walls, each with a pointed arch and moulding. This western part is covered by a cross vault with a small saucer dome at its centre. The second smaller section to the east is rectangular in plan, 3.8m by 1.8m and it has a similar pavement. This part is lit by two windows placed opposite each other in the north and south walls, each fitted with an iron grille and with the same measurements as the windows described above in the main section of the chamber. There are three blind niches in the east wall, the one to the south measuring 70cm by 35cm by 1.4m, the central one 1.3m by 40 cm by 1.6cm, and the north one 75cm by 40cm by 1.4m.

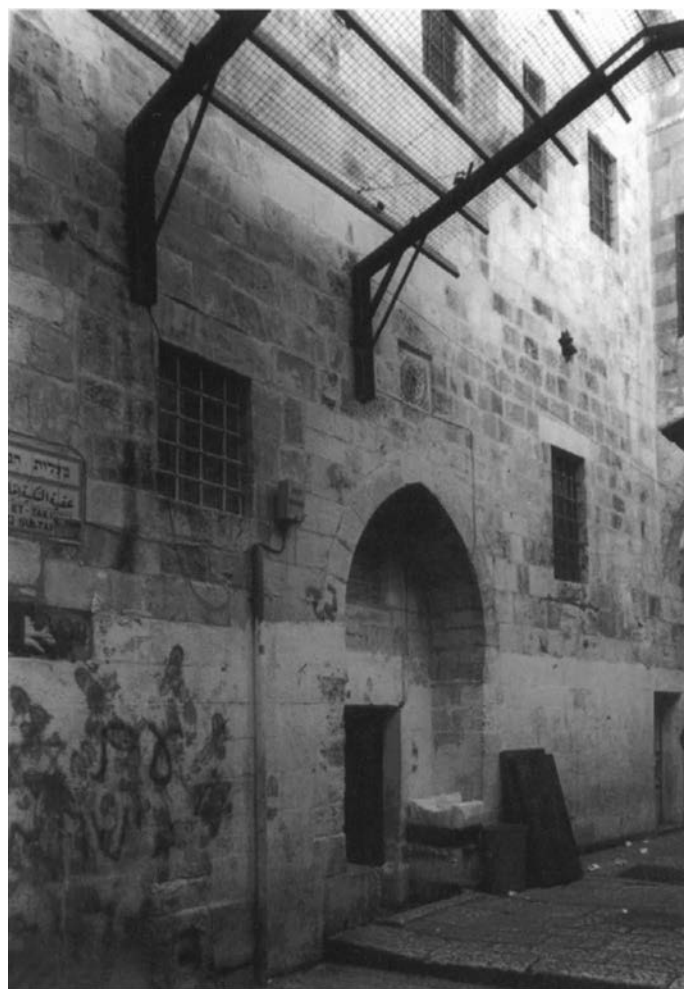
Sequence of construction: a summary

Following what has been described above, it seems probable that the sequence of construction of the Ribat Bairam Jawish can be summarised thus:

- (1) Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya was already standing before Bairam began his various building projects (see above, the biography of Bairam, and below, cat. no. 28).
- (2) In 947/1540-1 the construction of the Ribat Bairam was finished up to the second floor—that is, the equivalent of the first level of the façade—and the Maktab Bairam opposite the *ribat* was renovated (cat. no. 12).
- (3) After finishing the *ribat*, Bairam went on to build his house, probably some time in 959/1551-52—or more safely between 947-70/1540-1562-63—by constructing the archway that spans Tariq al-Wad (cat. no. 13).
- (4) Later, an archway was built over the street of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, and some time after this archway had been constructed, the third floor of the *ribat* was added, probably during the 17th century.

Bibliography

Van Berchem 1922: 430; al-‘Arif 1961: 307; Burgoyne 1976: no.139; Walls and Abu’l-Hajj 1980: 13; al-‘Asali 1981: 327, 1989: 122; Najm *et al.* 1983: 360; Meinecke 1988: 267; Bahat 1990: 26; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 2: 359.



Pl. 11.1 Ribat Bairam Jawish, north façade and doorway.

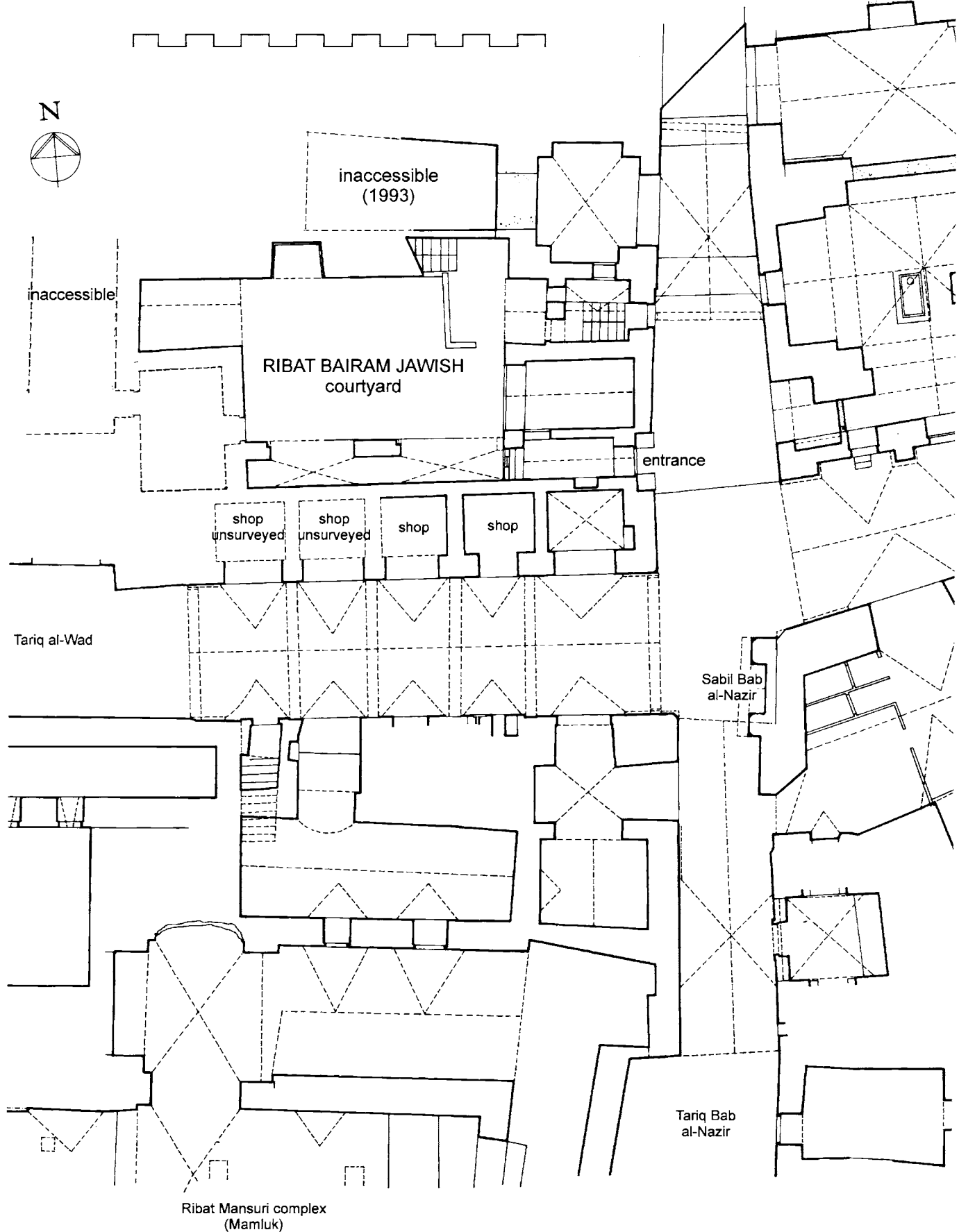


Fig. 11.1 Ribat Bairam Jawish, ground plan of complex.

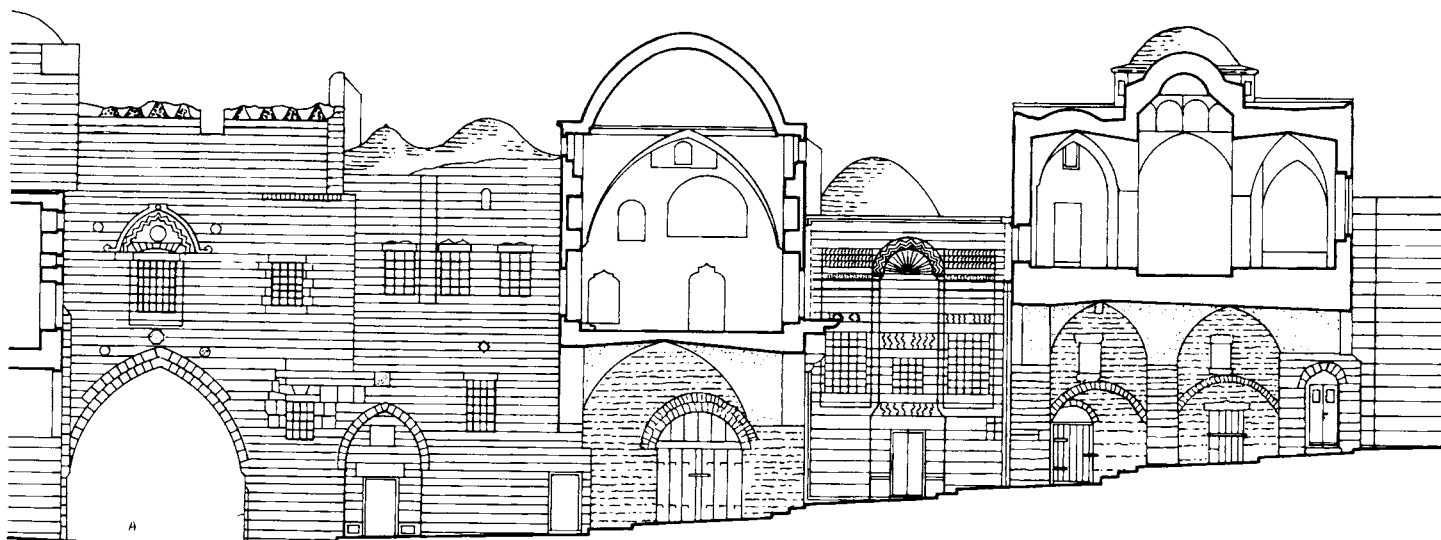


Fig. 11.2 Ribat Bairam Jawish complex, façades and section.

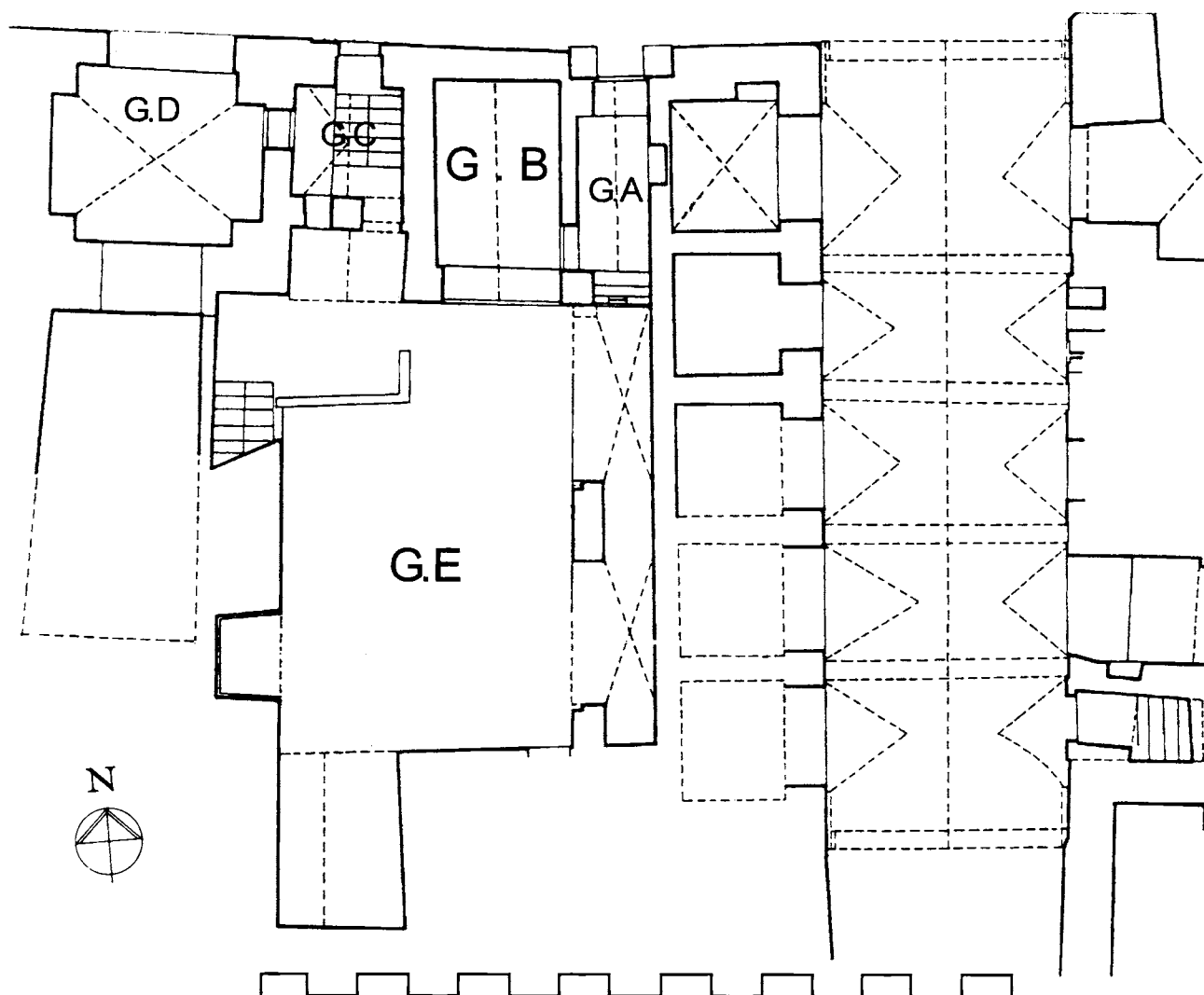


Fig. 11.3 Ribat Bairam Jawish, ground floor plan.

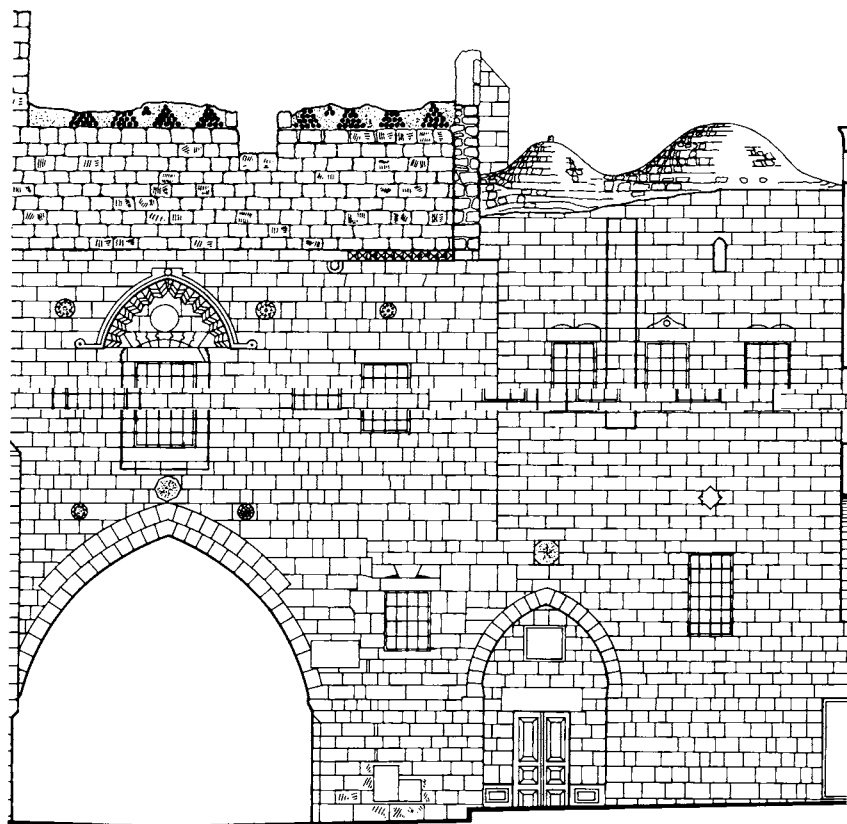


Fig. 11.4 Ribat Bairam Jawish complex, detail of Dar and Ribat, façade,

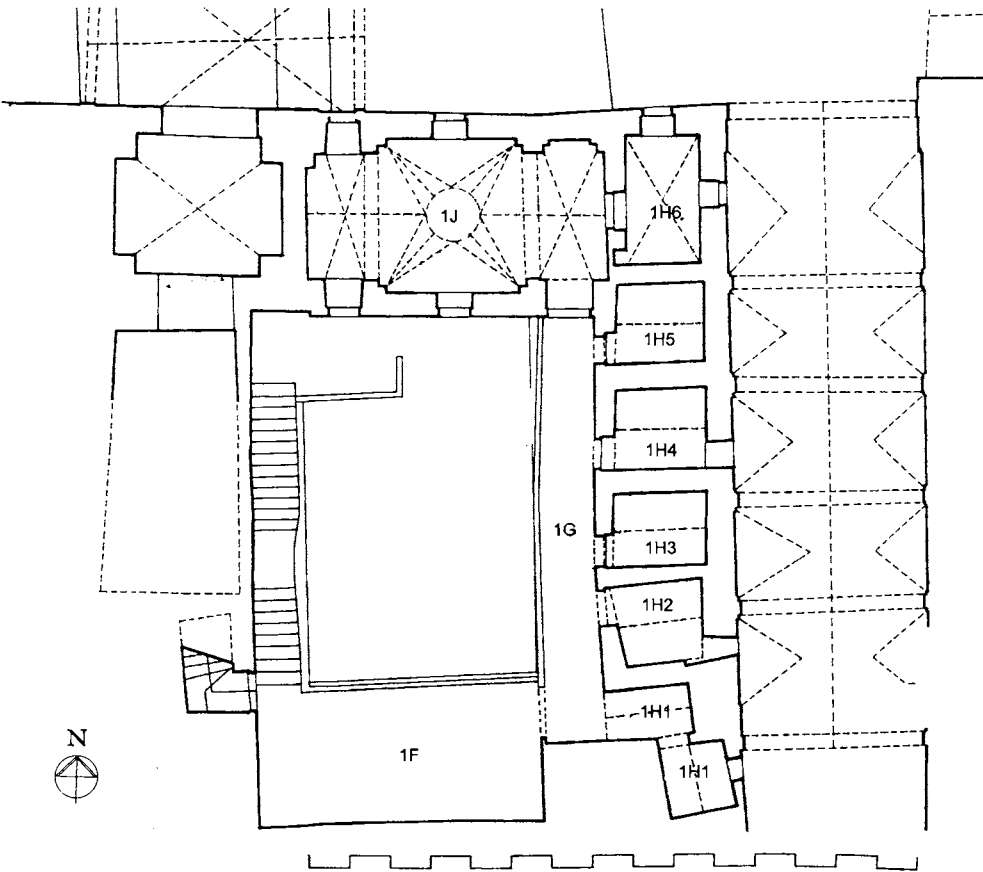


Fig. 11.5 Ribat Bairam Jawish, first floor plan.

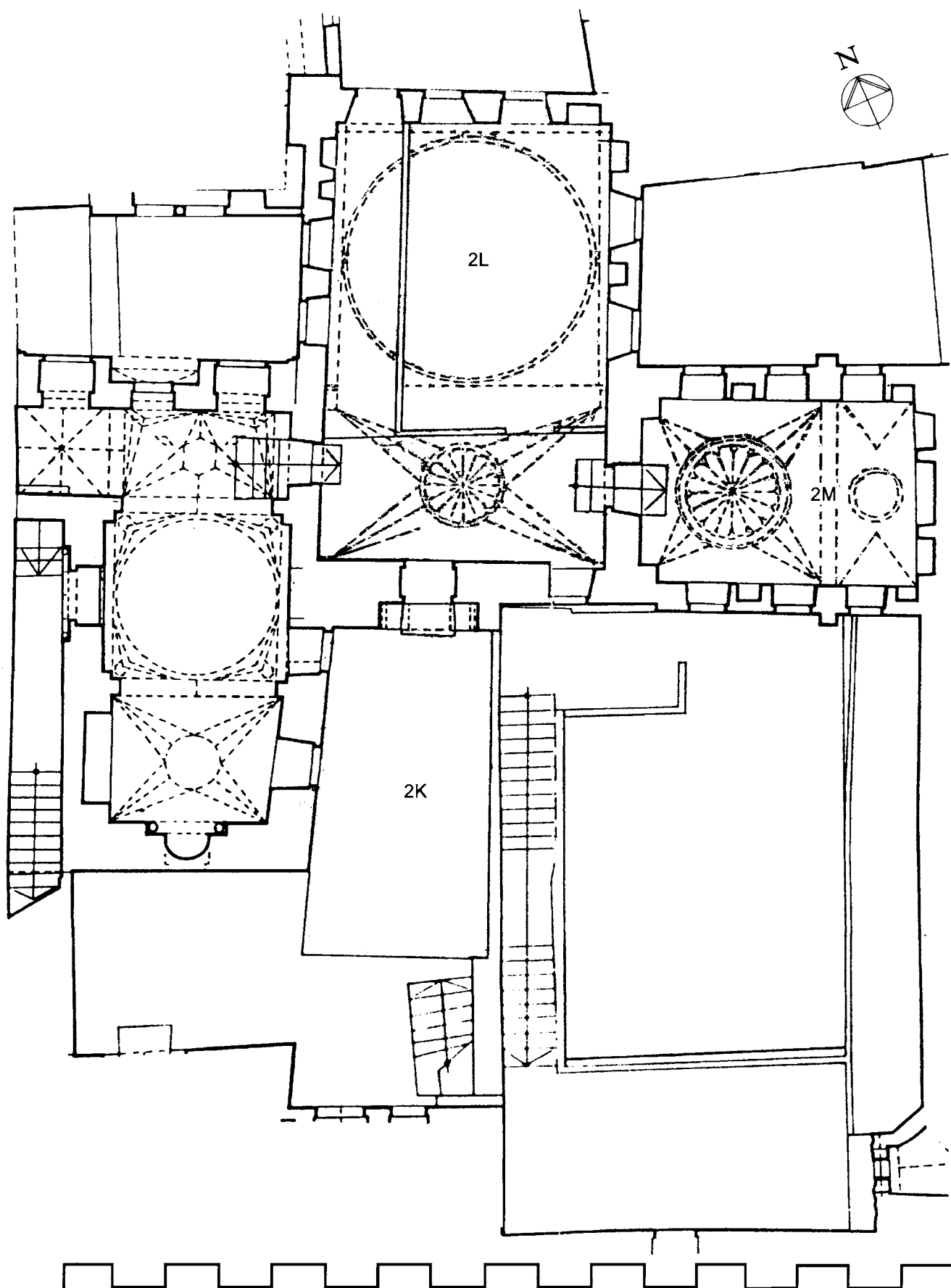


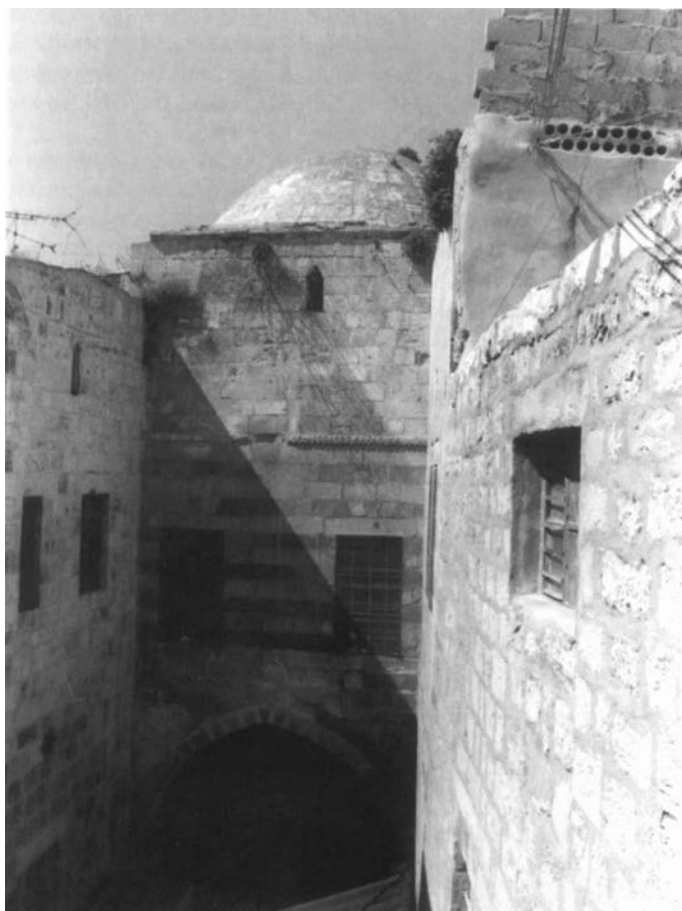
Fig. 11.6 Ribat Bairam Jawish, second floor plan.



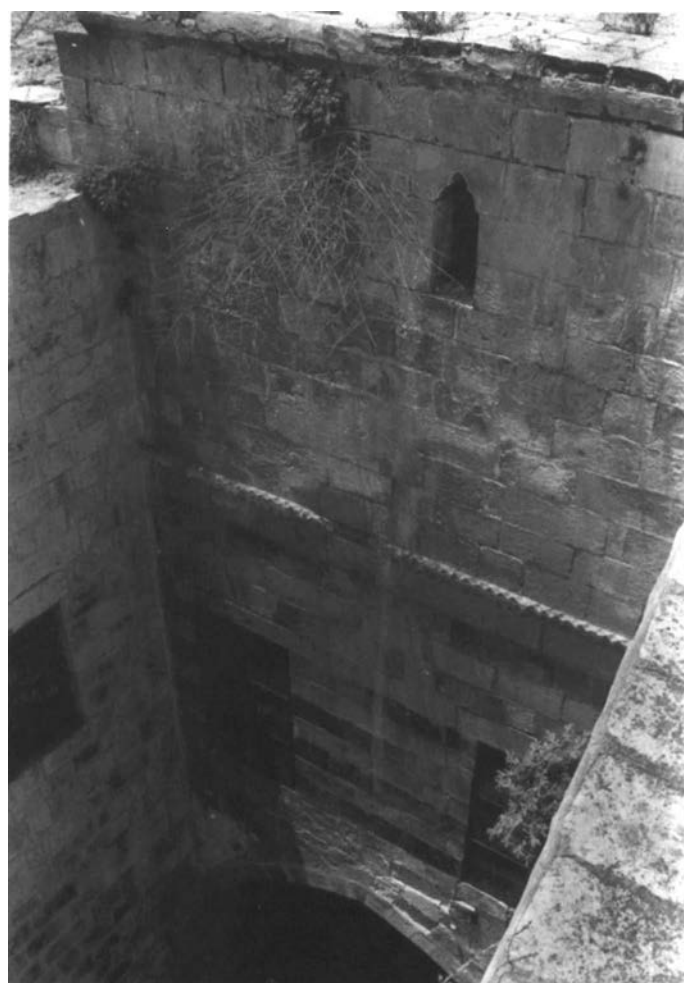
Pl. 11.2 Ribat Bairam Jawish, west elevation of *qantara*.



Pl. 11.3 Ribat Bairam Jawish, upper west façade.



Pl. 11.4 Ribat Bairam Jawish, *qantara*.



Pl. 11.6 Ribat Bairam Jawish, west elevation at *qantara*.



Pl. 11.5 Ribat Bairam Jawish, upper elevation.



Pl. 11.7 Ribat Bairam Jawish, decorative medallion.



Pl. 11.8 Ribat Bairam Jawish, tilework.

12 MAKTAB BAIRAM JAWISH

Name: Maktab (a primary school for orphans) of Bairam Jawish

Date: 947/1540

Endowment: The endowments have three different dates, the first 952/1545, the second 953/1546, and the final, major one 967/1559-60

Variants of name: Different names have been given to this monument. In the *waqfiyya* it is called *maktabkhana* (Sijill 56: 649), *kuttab* (Sijill 14: 155), *maktab* (Sijill 202: 128 and see the foundation inscription described below); at other times it is named *madfan* (Sijill 56: 646; 649). In the Auqaf file (31/64: *passim*) it is called Maqam or Masjid Bairam Jawish and often the title ‘Wali Allah’ (saint) is affixed to the name. Neither al-‘Arif (1961: 307) nor al-‘Asali (1981: 327) differentiates between the buildings of the Ribat and the Maktab, and therefore they both also give al-Rasasiyya as a variant name of the Maktab (see above cat. no. 11)

Modern name: Maktabat al-Sadaqat (The Alms Bookshop).

Location

Maktab Bairam Jawish is located at the north-western corner of the junction where Tariq al-Wad meets Bab al-Nazir to the east and Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya to the west.

Function

The literal translation of the word *maktab* is ‘office’. According both to Mamluk documents (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 115) and the *waqfiyya* of the *maktab* under discussion (see below), the meaning here is a place where children were educated, ‘the place where the teaching of writing occurred’. Usually a *maktab*, which was also known as a *kuttab* in Mamluk and Ottoman Cairo (see al-Husaini n.d: 19, 34, 85; Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 115), was annexed to either a *sabil* or a religious structure, in which case it had the further specialised meaning of a place of education for orphaned children. Maktab Bairam Jawish is not only the sole example to have survived in Jerusalem from the Ottoman period, but also from any other Islamic period, including Mamluk or Ayyubid. It is therefore important if only for its uniqueness.

*Maktab*s were usually attached to other buildings. In Ottoman Cairo fifty of the sixty-three Ottoman *sabils* had a *kuttab* (*maktab*) in the upper floor (al-Husaini n.d: 34). The Maktab of Bairam Jawish differs from the norm in that it is an unattached structure. It consists of two large chambers that were originally a single T-shaped space (see below), and in this too it is different from the *kuttabs* of Cairo which consist either of a single square or rectangular chamber (al-Husaini n.d: 87).

The T-shaped chamber is separated by a monumental ashlar arch spanning the opening between the two parts, which is now blocked. This raises the question of function. Were both parts of the room used for the same purpose, or were they used differently? The *waqfiyya* does not specify the original form of the building. Its main function is fixed by the foundation inscription (see below) where it is called a *maktab*. It would seem logical, therefore, to see both parts as being intended for the teaching of children. There is, however, a tomb in the middle of the front of the chamber (GA), and the *waqfiyya* is clear that the intention of the patron Bairam when he restored the building (the *maktab*) was that it was also to be used as *madfan* (burial place) for himself and for his family. It thus seems that Maktab Bairam Jawish was

intended to serve a dual purpose. The first of these was as a family *madfan*, and the second as a *maktab* for orphans. It would be clearer if the building widely referred to in modern writings as Maktab Bairam Jawish were rather to be called the Maktab and Madfan of Bairam Jawish.

Although the function of the two parts of the room is different, Bairam Jawish seems to have wished to combine the two within a single edifice. Doubtless when the children joined their teacher for their lessons, they would recite the *fatiha* in the name of the patron as they passed the tomb on the way to the inner chamber (B) and thus, by his charitable acts, Bairam Jawish would be remembered and the mercy of Allah would be granted to him.

Al-‘Asali (1989: 83, 170), working from the *sijills*, has found evidence for two other *maktab*s in Jerusalem but neither of them still exists. The first dates to the Mamluk period and was located close to the Citadel. The second was Ottoman, and was built by Turghad, the caretaker of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). Some older Mamluk structures, like al-Madrasa al-Taziyya (Sijill 64: 73) and al-Madrasa al-Jauhariyya (Burgoyne 1987: 70), were used as places to educate children. Qadi Ahmad ibn Nassuh established a *maktab* named after himself in Jerusalem in the middle of the 16th century (Sijill 67: 65) but unfortunately no further details are available. There are other references to the appointment of teachers in *maktab*s in Jerusalem (Sijills 22: 182; 80: 149; 83: 253; 145: 292); but again, no further information is available.

Site and brief description (figs. 12.1-12.2, pls. 12.1-12.8)

Maktab Bairam Jawish is located opposite his *ribat* (for details see above cat. no. 11). The *maktab* is bordered to the east by the main road al-Wad, to the south by the street of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt), to the west by an elaborate monument probably to be identified as al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (see cat. no. 29) and to the north by an unrecorded building which was once used to house the teacher of the *maktab*. The *maktab* building has two street frontages. The first, the principal façade of the building for it contains the entrance, is the eastern one; the second is the southern elevation. The *maktab* building today consists of two levels. The lower, namely the ground floor, comprises the large T-shaped chamber, divided into two parts by a monumental ashlar arch which is now blocked. The first (eastern) area (A) contains the tomb of Bairam. This ground level is the original part built and then renewed by Bairam. The second level is made up of a small open courtyard flanked by chambers to the east and the west. It is most probably a later addition.

History

Identification

The dating of Maktab Bairam Jawish to the Ottoman period is established by an inscription plaque and by *waqf* documents (see below).

Date

The year 947/1540, which is given at the end of the inscription panel to be found above the entrance door of the east façade, is a restoration date. It is thus possible to infer that some form of construction was previously on the site, which was renovated and altered to serve as a *maktab*—a primary school of orphans—by Bairam Jawish. The inscription panel measures 40cm wide by 59cm high and is made up of two lines of Arabic written in Ottoman *naskh*. The script is fine, slightly interlaced and greatly

compressed with diacritical and auxiliary points. It was published and edited by van Berchem (1923: 431). The translation is as follows:

- (1) Bairam Jawish has renovated the building of this blessed place and has made it
- (2) a school for (orphaned) children for (the sake of) Allah—dated in the year 947 (1540).

Founder

According to the inscription panel, the founder of the *maktab* is Bairam Jawish. For his biography see cat. no. 11.

Endowments

On 7 Shawwal 948/24 January 1542 Bairam initiated his *waqf* by donating the income of a share of land to his *maktab* (Sijill 14: 155). This share was to be 18.75 *qirat* out of 24 of the whole site, which was planted with olive trees and vines. It was located in the Christian village of Bait Sahur, then known by the name of 'the Monastery of the Shepherds'. At this early stage Bairam distinguished between his *maktab* and the *ribat* (for details see cat. no. 12). For the second and third, major, *waqf* see the endowments of Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11). Although the *maktab* was architecturally separate from the *ribat* when both were originally built by Bairam, it is more practical to treat the *waqfs* together, both to avoid repetition and because they appear together in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 56: 649-51). For details of the *maktab* endowments, therefore, see cat. no. 11.

Purpose of Construction

As already discussed, Maktab Bairam Jawish was constructed with two purposes in mind—a *maktab* for orphaned children and a *madfan* for Bairam and family. This is obvious from the inscription panel (see above) and the *waqf* documents where it is stated that 'the *maktab* contains the *madfan* (burial place) for the donor' (Sijill 14: 155). In another citation it says that 'the *maktabkhana* (*maktab*) which is located at the same site where the *ribat* was built and constructed by the donor (Bairam), is prepared for use as a burial place (*madfan*), to bury the body of the donor, his sons and his descendants' (Sijill 56: 649). Al-'Arif (1961: 307) mistakenly states that Bairam is buried in his *ribat*, when it should rather have been in his *maktab*. It is worth stressing once again that Maktab Bairam Jawish is the only extant example of this architectural type known in Islamic Jerusalem. Apart from the salary and a free house for the teacher, the *waqfiyya* (see above cat. no. 11) gives no further information on the *maktab* with regard to such details as the number of children, the curriculum, and conditions of acceptance. Clues gleaned from the *sijills* (80: 149) relating to other examples of *maktabs* in Jerusalem suggest that the number of children would have been close to ten, and that they would have had to be orphans or impoverished in order to be accepted. The curriculum would have been based mainly on recitation of the Qur'an and the teaching of the *hadiths* of the Prophet.

Description of the building

The building of the *maktab* is briefly described in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 14: 155)—'as it is situated opposite the *ribat* in Wadi al-Tawahin district, it is bounded to the south by the passable road (*al-dadrah al-salik*), to the east by the road (and on this side is the entrance), to the north by the house of the *waqf* of al-Sharkasiyya, and to the west by the house of the sons of the deceased *al-shaikh* Muhibb al-Din'.

Architecture

Exterior—the East Façade

The east façade is 8.8m long, and although shorter than the south façade, it must be considered the principal elevation the Maktab Bairam Jawish, for it fronts the main street of al-Wad. It also contains the main entrance door, houses the inscription panel and it employs coloured stone. Its upper part is blocked by a *qantara* (archway dwelling) over al-Wad road, constructed some time after the *maktab*. This *qantara* is named today after the Quttinah family, to whom it belongs and who occupy it, and it has no architectural relationship with the *maktab*. The façade is divided equally into two parts, each contained between two of the three piers which support the *qantara* on the west. A rectangular door is opened in the south part, measuring 1m wide by 1.6m high, and surmounted by a stone slab lintel. The inscription panel described above is set one course above the lintel, and only two courses above the inscription are today visible, the rest of the building being concealed by the archway. The stone used for the south section of the east façade is heterogeneous, and the courses are arranged irregularly, which would probably indicate that some of the material, especially the big stones, is in secondary use. Traces of recent restoration, such as the thick bands of pointing between the masonry courses and the new iron door, in addition to the dilapidated state of the *qantara*, add to the unattractiveness of the façade today. A rectangular window measuring 1.29m wide by 1.73m high, fitted with an elaborate iron grille, dominated the north part of the east façade up to early 1992. The height of the window was then increased by 1m when the first four lower courses were demolished. The reason for the enlargement was to transform the window-opening into a door in order to have better access to the interior. The jambs of the window (now a door) are built of *ablaq* dressed stone of yellow, black, and white of the same quality as the jambs and voussoirs of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29). The window is surmounted by a slab lintel and directly above the lintel is a relieving arch made up of simple joggled voussoirs. The lintel marks the end of the visible part of this section.

The south elevation of Maktab Bairam Jawish is at present made up of two floors in the same way as the north façade of Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11). The street of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya ('Aqabat al-Sitt) runs between the two façades, but an archway was constructed across it at some later date (for its description, see above cat. no. 11). This spans the road, connecting the two fronts at the level of the first floor. The south elevation runs from al-Wad Street to the east along the northern side of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya to the west. It extends 28m in length by 10.8m in height and is made up of two integrated floors. The lower section (the ground floor) was originally rebuilt by Bairam Jawish in 947/1540 (see above). The construction is simple and undecorated, consisting of rough rectangular masonry that was originally white but has now weathered to black. The upper section (the first floor) is a later addition, probably built to serve as a residential area, and its fabric contrasts markedly with the masonry of the lower section, for the stones are finely chiselled and carefully placed, and the depth of the pointing between its courses is thinner than that of the ground floor. Unfortunately it is hard to give a specific date for the construction of the upper level because of the lack of information and of any external precise dating control.

The south elevation can be divided at a glance into three parts—A, B, and C. When the façade was first surveyed ten years ago, and then reviewed recently, the three parts were considered

as belonging to a single structure. However, three separate architectural elements still exist in the third western-most part and this has raised questions about the credibility of this surmise, that is, that the western part (C) originally belonged to the *maktab*. These discrepancies are: the vertical break in the courses of stone down the whole height of the façade; a 25cm set-back along the break in the courses; and the remarkable difference both in masonry fabric and in layout of the western part, as compared to the eastern and middle sections. These doubts, albeit serious, remained without supporting evidence until a piece of information was detected in the *siyills* which indeed gives another pointer to the fact that this part does not belong to the *maktab*, but is rather another monument named ‘al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya’ (see cat. no. 29). Thus it is now possible to say with some certainty that the south façade of Maktab Bairam is made up of only two parts—those to the east and to the west (A and B).

The first and eastern part A is longer than part B to the west. It adjoins al-Wad Street, and its lower section is very simple, being unbroken except for a door opening and a single window. The door opening is rectangular, measuring 3.9m by 2.8m; today it leads into a rectangular area used as a shop, and it was apparently opened quite recently, for it has neither jambs nor lintel and the door itself is modern. A rectangular window, measuring 1.13m by 1.83m, is located to the west of the shop-door, set at just 1m above the level of the street. The window is fitted with an iron grille and surmounted by a simple stone lintel. The upper section of the eastern part (which is actually the first floor and was built later above the roof of the ground floor) is partly blocked by the archway (*qantara*). This upper part is also a simple unadorned building, its only feature being a double window. Each window opening measures 80cm by 1.35m, and they too are fitted with an iron grille and surmounted by a slab lintel. An eight-pointed star aperture is set two courses directly above the lintel of the windows; its function is to give added light and air to the interior. The elevation terminates six courses above this star opening.

The western part B, although as high as the eastern section, is narrower, for it is only 4.2m wide. A large simple opening, 2.7m long by 3.5m high with a semicircular arch and a door, cuts the lower section of this part. The opening is fitted with a wooden door, and it gives access to the second chamber of the *maktab*. This opening does not seem to be original because of its simplicity and lack of jambs or lintel, and was probably either cut or restored at a later period. It was probably originally a window which was later converted into a wide doorway. Directly above the arch of the door, five courses higher, this section ends at the same level and height as the eastern section A, which actually marks the end of the ground floor and the beginning of the first floor levels. A double window is placed off-centre in the upper section of the western part, each window measuring 75cm by 1.35m; fitted with an iron grille, it is surmounted by a slab lintel. There is an eight-pointed star aperture two courses above the lintel of the windows and a slit window is located directly above this star, two courses higher. The slit window is rectangular, measuring 30cm by 65cm, and four courses above it is the apex of the building.

Interior

The Ground Floor

The ground floor of Maktab Bairam Jawish consists of two main architectural components, called here respectively the ‘eastern’ (GA) and ‘western’ (GB) chambers, although they were originally

a single T-shaped space, as already described. The function of the former eastern room was to be the burial chamber of Bairam Jawish and family; today it is used as a bookshop. The function of the other western chamber was to provide a place in which the children could study; today it houses a carpentry workshop. The eastern chamber A is a single-vaulted rectangular space with internal measurement of 7.34m wide by 8.58m long; the wall thickness in some parts is as much as 1.1m. It is now reached, as described above, through a door in the southern part of the east façade. At the south-east corner of chamber GA there is a small area measuring 2.15m by 2.3m, today used as a shop (GC), as described above, and separated from the main part of the room by a wall. The ground level of this room GA is raised 50cm above the level of al-Wad Street, the approach being by way of two steps. The room was paved in the early 1980s with modern square flagstones, each measuring 30cm by 30cm. A rectangular stone tomb, four courses high, occupies the centre of the chamber. It has a low cylindrical head-post of stone, probably intended to show the position of the head of the occupant of the tomb, or to represent the hat either worn by him or in use at the period. The head-post and tomb are covered by a green pall set over wooden ribs. Al-‘Arif (1961: 307) identified the occupant of the tomb as Bairam Jawish, the son of Mustafa, the builder of the *maktab* and the *ribat*. Though al-‘Arif gives no reference in support of his claim, he is quite right, for the *siyill* (see above) clearly shows that the main purpose of the *maktab* was to provide a *madfan* for the donor. Chamber GA is covered by a cross vault supported on four huge pointed arches; the north arch is no longer visible, for this side is now blocked by the dividing wall.² The arches spring from four bases, only the two on the south side being visible. The two bases on the north side cannot now be seen, which suggests that the area of the present chamber must have been reduced at some time. A possible explanation might be that a recent building adjoins the north side of the room so that chamber GB is now longer than chamber GA. The recesses of the southern and the eastern arches are deeper than those of the other two arches, so that the impression of the southern recess is of a small, narrow *iwan* or ante-chamber measuring 1.6m wide by 4.2m long. The southern *iwan* is further marked out by having a small window opened in the south elevation (see above). The west side of chamber GA—which constitutes the east side of chamber GB—is now blocked, although it was most probably previously open. A huge pier is integrated into the middle of the north wall of chamber GA; it measures 1m by 1.5m and is built of stone. It is hard to determine its function, but possibly it was added later at the time when the upper ground floor was built to give additional strength and support. The walls of the chamber are built of large-sized stones, particularly at the base, while the vault is constructed of small rubble masonry held together with a mixture of lime and mortar; the vault is no longer plastered. As already described, there are two windows and one door in all which belong to chamber GA—one small simple window to the south, and another, more elaborate and larger, in the east wall to the north of the door.

² Editorial note: The plan, fig. 12.1 is misleading; the dividing wall shown as a dotted line to the west of chamber GA should be removed and the line of vaulting running west from the north-west corner of the cenotaph should continue to the western edge of the blocking wall where it meets room GB. This mistake only became apparent after the initial survey had been completed, during a later visit to the *maktab* after permission had been granted by the current occupier.

This is the only example that I know where a *maktab* is used as a *madfan*. In the majority of Mamluk examples in Jerusalem—the Auhadiyya (Burgoyne 1987: 167-78), the Jaliqiyya (Burgoyne 1987: 184-91), the Kilaniyya (Burgoyne 1987: 325-36), or the Tashtamuriyya (Burgoyne 1987: 460-75)—it will be found that the tomb chamber is covered by a dome supported on an eight- or twelve-sided drum. There are, however, other Mamluk mausolea which are covered by cross vaults like the Maktab of Bairam Jawish—the Sa'diyya (Burgoyne 1987: 195-200), the Arghuniyya (Burgoyne 1987: 356-67), the Taziyya (Burgoyne 1987: 399-411) and the Qiramiyya (Burgoyne 1987: 476-8) for example. But in no example is there a secondary function of a school. This is also true of the wider scene—I know of no *maktab* which is also a tomb chamber in Egypt, where most are either adjacent to, or form part of, a *sabil* (al-Husaini n.d. *passim*).

Chamber GB to the west is reached today by way of the large door in the southern elevation. This was probably originally a window. The ground level here is lower than the level of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya by 25cm for the road climbs the hill. The chamber is rectangular in plan running south-north; it measures 10.2m long by 4.3m wide and has a recent concrete pavement. The roof is covered by a cross vault. It is noticeable that the chamber would have been badly lit, but it would seem nonetheless to be the place where the children were taught. It is the only alternative to the tomb chamber, and it would seem unlikely that lessons took place within the tomb itself, although the lack of light and air in the now unfenestrated chamber GB is surprising; perhaps enough were filtered through the large archway leading to the *madfan* (Chamber GA), but it would always have been somewhat dark and airless. Although there is no evidence in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 56: 649-51) to suggest the age group or the size of the classes, the term *atfal* is used which would indicate that the orphan pupils would have been aged approximately between 5 to 10. Their instruction would have included recitation of the Qur'an, principles of the Arabic language and repetition of the Hadith and biography of the Prophet, although none of these is specified in the *waqfiyya*.

With the exception of a rectangular recess measuring 1.6m wide by 0.8m deep in the west wall, the chamber is plain, with no decorative or architectural feature. Chamber GB is used today as a carpentry workshop and, in order to adapt it for that purpose, an attic has recently been built to the north.

The First Floor

The first floor built above the Maktab of Bairam Jawish today consists of a courtyard (1A), a hall (1B), and another hall (1C). The courtyard 1A is reached through the chamber (L) which leads to the second floor of the Ribat of Bairam Jawish (see the description of the archway (L) in cat. no. 11). As noted above, it is difficult to date the first floor of Maktab Bairam Jawish, although it is probable that it was built at the same time as the archway and second floor of the *ribat*, or perhaps some time later. The open courtyard 1A is almost rectangular in plan. It measures 4.2m wide by 9.5m long and its ground has been paved with modern stone slabs, apparently as part of recent repairs.

The hall 1C is located to the west of courtyard 1A. It is a simple elevation built of regular masonry courses. Moving from south to north, there are respectively one window and two doors in the east façade overlooking courtyard 1A. The doors give access to the interior. The first door is located north of the window and measures 70cm wide by 1.95m high; it is surmounted by a slab

lintel. The window is rectangular, measuring 80cm wide by 1.1m high, with a slab lintel and it is fitted with an iron grille. The second door which gives access to the northern *ivan* of hall 1C measures 90cm wide by 2.05 m high.

A single re-used band of ten and a half triangular *muqarnas* panels occurs in the middle of the east elevation. It is 2m from the ground level and 1m in length. Each panel is different. The one common element that unites them is that the uppermost part of each is treated separately from the main rectangular section below.

[Editorial note: Numbering the lancets from left to right as 1 to 11, the rhythm of these upper section is: A, three parallel inverted T-grooves; B (half) rays to right; C, radiating from the centre; D, four petals; E, rays to left; A; A (? worn); and then repeats of motifs B; D; C; A. The lower part of the lancets have: LA, a central hexagon with sunburst, double horizontal triangles above and below (half too worn to discern); LB, a central disc with a whirling rosette, double horizontal triangles above, split double vertical triangles below; LC, a superimposed cross and saltire; LD, a central diaper, edges extended to the corners; and then repeats of LA, LA, LD, LB and LA. SA]

A small, shallow saucer dome covered with stones laid face up covers the centre of hall 1C on the outside. The internal measurements of hall 1C are 4.9m wide by 10.3m long. It is made up of a central chamber flanked to south and north by two small and differently vaulted *iwans*. The northern of these, which is rectangular in plan, is 3.5m wide by 4.1m long, and is separated from chamber C by a pointed arch which has been recently blocked by a wall; access to it is through the door described above. It is lit by a double window within the recessed niche to the north (2m wide by 40cm deep). Each window is rectangular, measures 80cm wide by 1.7m high, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. Each is fitted with an iron grille. This northern *ivan* is vaulted.

The greater part of the floor of the main, central part of chamber 1C is paved in red, black and white marble tiles laid in geometrical patterns, but unfortunately this floor is in a seriously dilapidated state. The tiles differ in measurement, ranging from 26cm by 15cm to 1.03m by 30cm. The roof is covered by a shallow ribbed saucer dome, the inner decoration of which consists of a central radiating 'pleated' fan, surrounded in an unusual fashion by nine unequal concave divisions. The dome is supported by three pointed arches and a wall, the arches springing from the walls and the transitional zone consisting of *muqarnas* niches.

The south *ivan* is rectangular in plan, measuring 1.95m wide by 4.2m long. A double window opens in the south wall, set within a recessed niche surmounted by a semicircular arch. This double window dominates the upper western part of the south elevation and was described above. Two recessed blind niches are opened laterally in the south *ivan*, the first in the west wall with a semicircular arch measuring 80cm wide by 40cm deep by 1.45m high, and the second in the east wall. The south-eastern and corner recess is the larger, measuring on the east side 1.25m wide by 70cm deep by 1.9m high and is surmounted by a slab lintel. The *ivan* is covered by a cross vault with a central saucer dome which is decorated in the interior with ribs arranged in a whorl pattern.

Hall 1B is built opposite hall 1C, above the tomb chamber of Maktab Bairam Jawish at ground level. It now comprises, like hall 1C, two parts, a northern and southern, and not three parts as hall 1C has. The original north *ivan* is now

separated from the rest of the structure by a blocking wall. Thus originally chamber 1B echoed the layout of chamber 1C. Access to each part is through a single door placed in the west elevation of this eastern unit. The door into chamber 1B measures 75cm by 1.96m high, the depth of the wall being 80cm. The door has a slab lintel and above it, an ogival relieving arch, filled with five recessed voussoirs that radiate from a central semicircle. A rectangular window 1m wide by 1.45m high with a similar treatment is to the south of the doorway. An oculus window is set two courses above the level of the arches, centred between the doorway and the window. There is another small door to the north of the elevation, measuring 70cm by 2.24m, and this gives access to the original north *ivan* of hall 1B. The elevation is constructed of white masonry which has now been toned down to grey and black by the weather.

The interior of hall 1B is another distorted rectangle in plan. Like hall 1C, it is dominated by a square central chamber flanked to south and north by two small *iwans*. There are two identical blind niches (50cm by 40cm) in the internal west wall, one north of the doorway and the second south of the window. Presumably these served as cupboards. The main chamber is paved with old coloured flagstones of various measurements (34cm by 18cm; 40cm by 30cm), and the walls and dome have recently been coated in plaster. The room is covered by a shallow ribbed dome; the ribs take the form of a 'pleated fan' which radiate out from a central knop divided into two sections. The dome is supported on four pointed arches which spring from the four corners of the room. The transition zone is achieved by four pendentives at these corners.

As with hall 1C, the northern *ivan* of hall 1B is divided from the main chamber by a recent wall, with access through the second door mentioned above, in the western wall. The *ivan* is rectangular in plan, measuring 2.1m wide by 3.9m long; it has a cross vault with a small saucer dome in the centre. Room 1E is a recent construction of concrete.

The south *ivan* of room 1B is lit by a double window in the south wall, each window a rectangle measuring 75cm wide by 1.4m high, fitted with an iron grille, and surmounted by a semicircular arch. These windows dominate the upper eastern part of the south elevation. It is vaulted with a small central saucer dome as in the north *ivan*.

The rectangular chamber 1D, consisting of the archway that spans Tariq al-Wad between the eastern façade of the Maktab and the western side of Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7), is located to the east of the hall 1B. It is covered by a folded cross vault. It was constructed some time after the first floor above Maktab Bairam Jawish had been completed. It was therefore not part of the original *maktab* and is indeed much grander both in scale and in vaulting.

All parts of the first floor of Maktab Bairam Jawish are now in use as classrooms for the school of Dar al-Itam. In all probability, they were originally intended as residential units.

Bibliography

Van Berchem (1923: 431); al-'Arif (1961: 307); Burgoyne (1976: no. 139); Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 13); al-'Asali (1981: 327); Najm *et al.* (1983: 363); Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 II: 359-60).



Pl. 12.1 Maktab Bairam Jawish, ground floor façade.



Pl. 12.2 Maktab Bairam Jawish, first floor entrance.

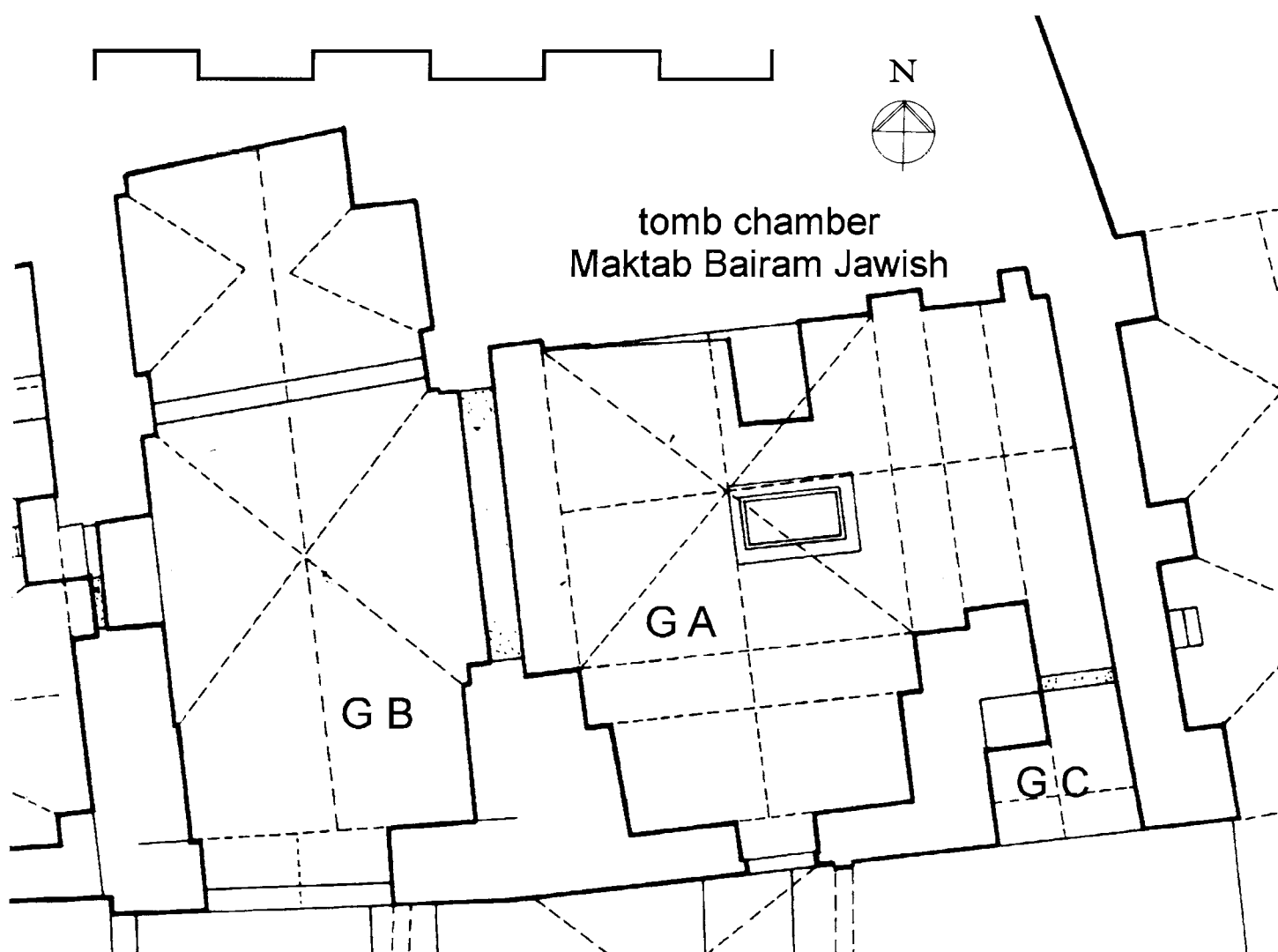


Fig. 12.1 Maktab Bairam Jawish, ground plan.

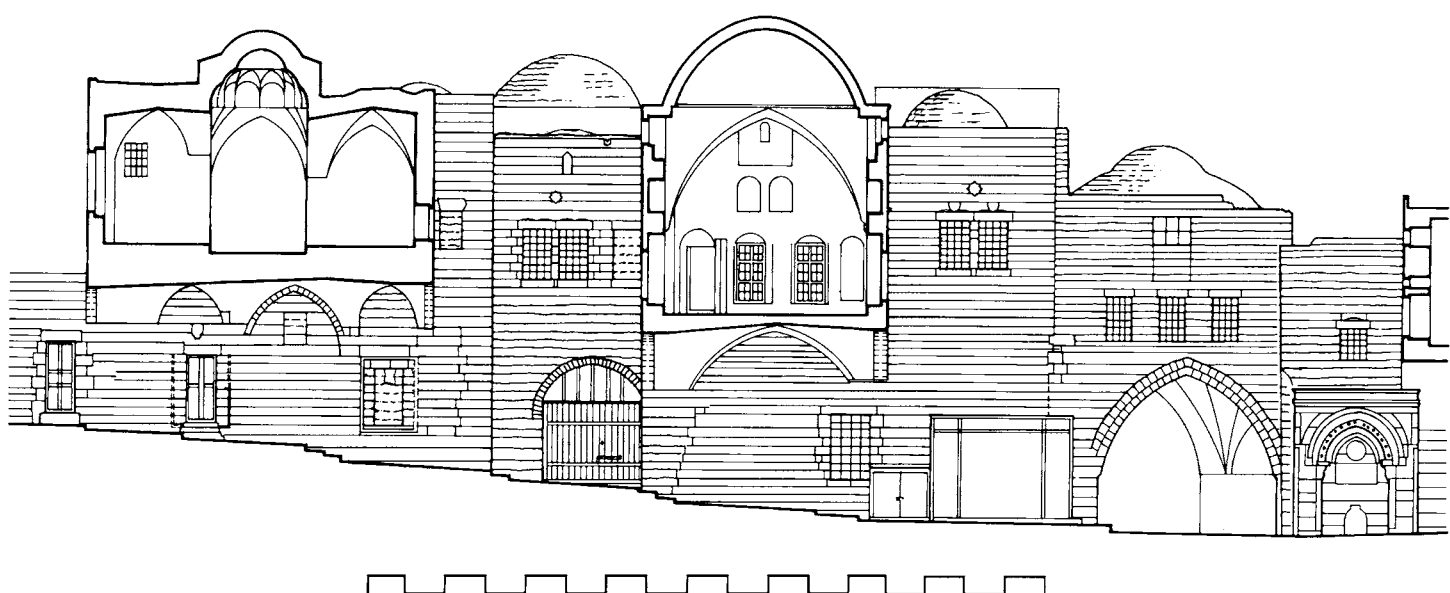


Fig. 12.2 Maktab Bairam Jawish complex, elevation.



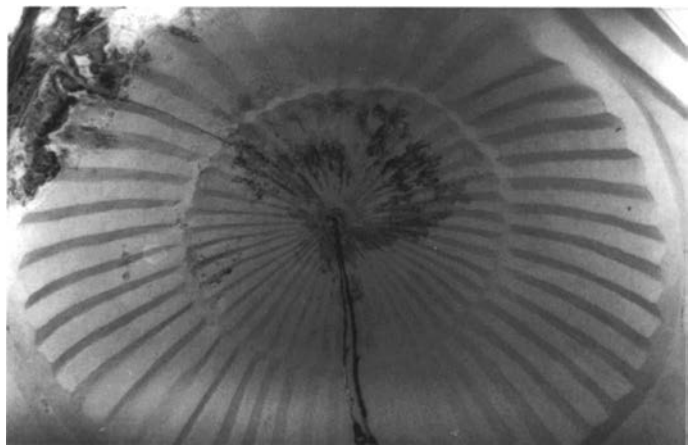
Pl. 12.3 Maktab Bairam Jawish, upper chamber, now used as a school room.



Pl. 12.6 Maktab Bairam Jawish, epigraphic panel and counter change ornament over door.



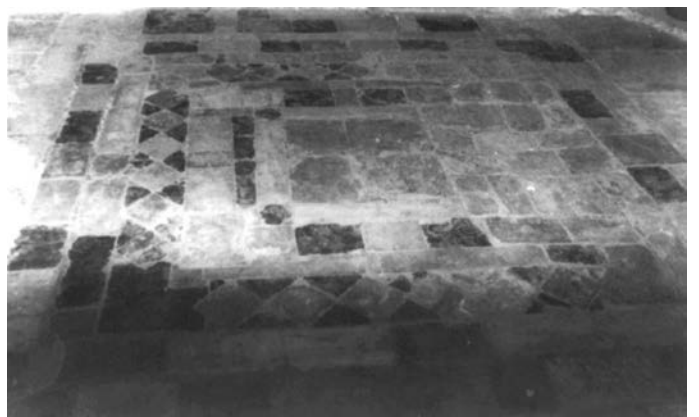
Pl. 12.4 Maktab Bairam Jawish, fluted saucer dome.



Pl. 12.7 Maktab Bairam Jawish, first floor ornamental dome.



Pl. 12.5 Maktab Bairam Jawish, tomb chamber with tomb of Bairam Jawish.



Pl. 12.8 Maktab Bairam Jawish, ornamental stone floor.

13 DAR BAIRAM JAWISH

Name: Dar (house) Bairam Jawish

Date: Probably 959/1551-2 or, more securely, between 947-70/1540-62

Endowment: None known (see below)

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: The house is now known by the name of the families who are currently occupying the property, 'Dar al-Asmar' and 'Dar al-Da'as'.

Location

The House of Bairam Jawish is to be found south of the junction where Tariq al-Wad meets the streets of Bab al-Nazir to the east and Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt) to the west.

Function

Dar and *bait* are Arabic words which indicate a private house. Jerusalem as a religious centre attracted many people who wished to live within the city limits. Most of them were ordinary citizens, although a small proportion were representatives of the higher ruling class, who administered and governed the city. It seems extraordinary that none of these private houses have so far been identified, apart from Dar Bairam Jawish and Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq¹. It is possible that they still exist and only await identification, although the criteria for defining such medieval houses have yet to be established. Until proper surveys of the *sijills* and the buildings (other than the monuments) of the Old City have been completed, the question of identification must remain unanswered. In the meantime, one answer would be that some of the public buildings in Jerusalem were in all probability used as residential complexes; a similar situation continues today. Being able to identify and date Dar Bairam Jawish is thus of considerable interest, for the house is the first private residence known certainly to date from the 16th century.

Site and brief description (figs. 13.1-13.3, pls. 13.1-13.6)

The house is built directly over the archway (*qantara*) that spans Tariq al-Wad south of Sabil Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7). The house is currently bordered to the west by the second floor of Ribat Bairam Jawish, to the east by buildings that have not yet been surveyed, known in the past (see below) as the house of the Nusaiba family, and to the south and north by the open space of Tariq al-Wad. It is constructed over an archway made up of five cross-vaulted bays supported on six pointed arches. The arches span Tariq al-Wad east to west. Access today is gained through a recently opened doorway on the east side of Tariq al-Wad. It now consists of two floors, the first larger than the second. This floor was built by Bairam. The second level is a later addition built some time after his death. Both are now in use for residential purposes.

So far nothing is known or has been published about this monument.

History

Identification

It is possible to identify Dar Bairam Jawish as belonging to the Ottoman period by means of a *sijill* (56: 652). An eroded

foundation inscription, still *in situ*, probably also gives the name of Bairam and the date of 959/1551-2.

Date

An unpublished foundation inscription is to be found above the arch of the original entrance to Dar Bairam Jawish. Its dimensions are approximately 80cm by 30cm; the two lines of Arabic script in Ottoman *naskh* are cut into a recessed stone plaque. The panel (approximately 1.35m by 80cm) is framed by a billet moulding. The inscribed surface is very badly eroded to the extent that only a few words of the text are still legible. However, it would appear to contain the name of Bairam Jawish ibn Mustafa and possibly a date of 959/1551-2.

It is clear enough in the *sijill* (56: 652) that the house was built by Bairam during his lifetime—that is, before he died (*hal hayatihi qabla wafatihi*). As Bairam Jawish built his *ribat* (cat. no. 11) in 947/1540, and as part of the house is built above the *ribat*, the house must have been built some time after 947/1540-1, and before Bairam's death, the date of which is secured by the *sijill* (for his biography, see cat. no. 11) to some time between Rabi' I and the end of Rabi' II 970/5 November-26 December 1562. It is thus possible to conclude with certainty that the house was constructed between 947-70/1540-62, even if the erosion of the plaque makes the reading of 959/1551-2 debatable.

Founder

Both the *sijill* (56: 652), and the admittedly problematic inscription refer to Bairam Jawish as the founder of the house. The *sijill* states that 'Bairam during his lifetime before he died, built and constructed (*'amaraha wa ansha'ha*) the above assigned house, and he had paid for that from his own money.' For his biography see cat. no. 11.

The *sijill* document

The reference to Dar Bairam Jawish contained in the *sijill* (56: 652) is found in the context of a lengthy document (*hujja*) of 47 lines. The script is clear and fine but extremely small and condensed. The document is dated 12 Sha'ban 982/12 December 1574 and is not an endowment for an institution but a legal case presented to the *qadi*. The contestants, two husbands, were the representatives of the two daughters and wife of Bairam Jawish, and the defendant was one Zakariyya Khalifa, the *shaikh* of Ribat Bairam Jawish. The contestants claimed that Zakariyya Khalifa was occupying the house illegally, while the defendant maintained that it was his right to reside there, in accordance with the *waqf* lodged for the *ribat* (see cat. no. 11) for he was the *shaikh* of Ribat Bairam. The details of the case need not concern us here but the reference within the document allows the identification of the previously anonymous building and we can thus add it to the list of Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem. The contents of the document (Sijill 56: 652) provide vital information about the exact location of the house, its architectural components, and the limits of its borders, as well as other data.

According to the document the house was located 'at the lowest part of 'Aqabat al-Sitt at the junction of the roads opposite the fountain (cat. no. 7). The house is built over the Sultan's street (also known as) Khat Wadi al-Tawahin.' For the complete Arabic text and English summary, see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 13.

Description of the House

Sijill 56: 652 describes the house thus: 'The house [of Bairam

¹ See Burgoyne 1987: 485-504, although here the building is better described as a palace than a house.

Jawish] is made up of an open courtyard paved with a well-constructed *mizi*² pavement; within the house there are two halls, a western *ivan*, an eastern kitchen and a bathhouse. The first hall is on the south side; it has a door that opens to the north and a window opens towards the street. The second hall is on the north side, it has a bedchamber (*makhda*) with a door opening towards the south and a window opening to the street (north). There is also a step that extends from south to north; it leads to an open courtyard paved with the same quality of paving as mentioned above. It has a door opening towards the south, a western *ivan* with a door opening towards the north, conveniences (*marafiq*) and a latrine (*manfa'a*).²

The house was reached through the entrance of the *ribat*. The *sijill* continues: 'It is bordered to south by the street, to the east by the house of the Nusaiba family, to the north by the street and within it is the entrance of the *ribat*, and to the west by the *ribat* of the now-deceased Bairam Jawish'.

Purpose of Construction

It is explicitly mentioned in the *sijill* (56: 652) 'that Bairam lived in this house while he was alive, and he used it and later it was included among his estates to be divided as part of his inheritance.' Most probably Bairam also died in it.

Architecture

Exterior—the North Elevation

The west part of the north façade of Dar Bairam Jawish is built above the east side of Ribat Bairam. When the second floor was added over the first floor of the *ribat*, the two façades were so well integrated that at first they appear to be a single unit. However, a long vertical line shows a break in the stone coursework on both sides. This line marks the borderline between the two parts of the façade, and it is a clear indication that the two parts of the façade were constructed at different times. A close examination of the architectural scheme, as demonstrated under cat. no. 11 and here, makes it possible to an extent to discern the different phases of construction of the northern façade, and to attempt to identify them. Further evidence in support of the conclusions was gained with the discovery of the *waqf* documents pertaining to the Ribat (see cat. no. 11) and Dar Bairam (see above) in the *sijills*. By means of the relevant *sijill* and its various component documents it is possible to follow the development of buildings such as this very complicated façade.

The north front of Dar Bairam Jawish is made up of a huge pointed arch, consisting of a double tier of voussoirs. The arch spans Tariq al-Wad, one of the six that spring from the walls to west and east on either side of the street. The arches support an archway (*qantara*) running from south to north, made up of five cross-vaulted bays supported on six pointed arches. Only the northern and southern arches have a double tier of voussoirs visible, but the rest are plastered and it is not possible to see more than the extrados. The eastern profile of this northern arch appears to have been rebuilt, which has resulted in an abrupt stilt just above the springing. This sudden change of angle corresponds to the height of the window on the right, and this window also seems to have been rebuilt in recent times. The apex

of the arch has preserved its original form from the level of the window lintel upwards. The elevation drawing does not reflect these inconsistencies.

There is an octagonal stone panel placed directly above the keystone of the northern arch. The panel is well carved; its decorative scheme is made up of two patterns. The inner one at the centre is composed of a floral rosette motif made of a series of interlocking circles emanating from a central point, and it is enclosed within a thin fillet border. The second outer pattern is made up of eight small circles formed out of and connected to the frame. Two other roundels are to be seen on either side of the extrados. These are smaller and placed one course lower than the inset octagon. The decoration of both is carved in relief and takes the form of a geometric interlace centred on an octagonal star-polygon. It is not easy to see the three roundels clearly, for they are now partly obscured by a grille recently installed over al-Wad junction for security purposes. A rectangular window within a recessed pointed-arch niche is placed directly above the middle roundel. It measures 1m wide by 1.9m high and is fitted with a recent iron grille which most probably replaced an older one. The window is built with *ablaq* stones and has a bevelled sill. A relieving arch of seven joggled voussoirs is constructed above the slab lintel. A pointed chevron arch frames the niche. The extrados of the chevron arch has a reversed volute (*mim*) decoration, and the tympanum is further decorated by a blind oculus window decorated with a recessed rosette. Another rectangular window is to the west of the main window, measuring 80cm by 1.2m, and is also fitted with an iron grille. To either side of the chevron arch there is a roundel, which is similar but not identical. The roundels project slightly and each decorative scheme consists of a carved relief of geometrical patterns consisting of superimposed and interlocking circles, forming a sunburst or flower, with a rosette at the centre. Further west of the western roundel there is a third example with another variant of the design. It occurs two courses above the slab lintel of the second window. Three courses above the level of these roundels, there is an elaborate waterspout to control rainwater, and beside it there is a short band of lavishly decorated stones. Their decorative scheme consists of a series of *muqarnas* niches with geometric motifs. The location of the decorative band at the top of the north elevation might suggest that it was a remnant of the original cornice that marked the top of the original building. But the fact that the band is debased and does not continue along the east side of the façade probably indicates that it is in re-use. A similar band but with a different decorative motif is found in the middle of the eastern elevation of the western unit in the first floor of Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12).

Above the decorated band there are now a further nine courses before the top of the façade. As the masonry of these uppermost courses is of a different quality to that of the rest of the façade below, this area would seem to be a later addition. The façade terminates with a parapet partly constructed of clay pipes built up in triangles. This type of construction was used in the late Ottoman period throughout Palestine before concrete prevailed, and this may give a possible date for the later addition. The clay pipes allowed air to circulate but provided an effective screen for privacy for anyone wishing to use the roof, in the same way as the *mashrabiyya* served to screen the interiors of the houses.

The South Façade

The south façade of Dar Bairam Jawish has the same pointed arch as the north façade. Both have the same span, a similar double-

² *Mizi* stone is particularly hard; it is quarried from a deep stratum and is so compact that it is only slightly affected by weathering. There are two varieties: *mizi hilu* (sweet *mizi*) and *mizi yahudi* (Jewish *mizi*). It occurs in blue, red, white and yellow. For further details, see Canaan 1932: 223-47 and Schick 1887: 50.

tier of voussoirs and three decorative medallions. These project slightly, the middle example being larger than those on either side. All three have a geometrical decorative pattern. There is a rectangular window within a tall narrow recess which is surmounted by a trefoil arch directly above the central medallion. This is another fine example of Mamluk revival work and is similar in profile to the northern portal of the Khassaki Sultan complex. The recessed niche is fitted with a modern iron grille. The window measures 1m wide by 2.2m high. It has a bevelled sill, and is surmounted by a slab lintel made of a single piece of marble. A relieving arch of nine joggled voussoirs is built above the slab lintel and directly over this arch there is a decorative medallion, now ruined, surrounded by six joggled voussoirs set in a circle. Two decorative octagons, filled once again with geometric motifs, are placed on either side of the window at the level of the eighth course. A simple relieving arch is built three courses above the trefoil arch, and it marks the beginning of the second floor of Dar Bairam.

A small buttress is to be found to the east of the upper part of the southern elevation. The buttress is partly blocked by a later chamber of the second level (see below). The arched masonry course and the buttress were probably both built to give extra strength and solidity to the second level. Two identical windows are set in the upper part of the south elevation. They are constructed one course above the relieving arch and each is fitted with an identical antique iron grille. Each window is surmounted by a slab lintel of white marble in re-use. Above each there is a shallow 'eye-brow' arch. Nine courses above these the southern façade comes to an end, but the beginning of the transition zone of the main chamber of the second level can be seen at the level of the sixth course. An odd unfinished dome with a truncated pyramidal profile has been constructed over the main chamber of the second floor, covered with small paving stones. Both sides of this southern elevation are obscured by later constructions.

The many architectural features characteristic of the late Ottoman period in Jerusalem suggest that the second floor of Dar Bairam was built some time after the completion of the first level. These diagnostic features are the buttress, the 'eye-brow' arches over the windows, and the semicircular relieving arch. In addition to these features, it is noticeable that the masonry of both parts differs considerably in quality and colour, and finally there is the odd shape of the dome. All this points to later modifications.

Above all, the *waqf* documents describe a single level. Since there was a dispute, it would be expected that a second level would have been mentioned if there had been one. It is unfortunately difficult to say when the upper level was added, but it was probably in the late 17th or early 18th century.

To the east of the upper part of the south façade there is a small rectangular elevation. This belongs to the chamber of the second level of Dar Bairam, and it is made up of seven courses of stone dominated by two rectangular windows, each of which is fitted with an iron grille. A heavy rectangular buttress is in the south-eastern corner. It is noticeable that the north end of the chamber is built over the buttress. This is yet another indication that this part of the second level of the southern façade was built some time after the main part.

Interior

Access to the interior of Dar Bairam Jawish is at present through a doorway situated in the east wall of the southern bay of the archway which spans Tariq al-Wad and carries the dwelling-house. Three recent stone steps raise the door 50cm above street

level. The door is very simple, measuring 90cm wide by 1.75m high. It is surmounted by a semicircular arch of undecorated stones and above it there is an oculus made up of five simple voussoirs. The doorway is fitted with a modern single-panel iron door. The entrance leads to a tunnel-vaulted passage. A staircase of 23 steps with two rectangular landings runs east and then north. The stairs lead to two doors, the first to the north gives access to a small antechamber (H). The chamber measures 3m wide by 3.3m long and gives direct access to another rectangular chamber (I). Both are not part of the original Dar Bairam, for this is not the original entrance, and neither are mentioned in the *sijill* document. The second door to the west gives access to the main open courtyard of the house (A).

Courtyard A is rectangular in plan, measuring 3.4m wide by 5.2m long. It is described in the *sijill* (56: 652) document as an open courtyard, '*saha samawiyya*', and it is unfortunate that the beautifully executed (*muhkam*) *mizi* pavement no longer exists, for it was replaced by a modern pavement.³ The northern hall (B), as described in the *sijill*, is located to the north of courtyard A. It must have been for use by the patron, for in the *sijill* it is described as containing a bedchamber (*makhda*); it is approached through a door opening 80cm wide by 1.75m high. Hall B is divided into two parts by a wall. The first section is almost square, measuring 4m wide by 3.65m. It has a modern floor and the walls have been recently plastered. There are two blind niches in the south wall; the one to the west of the door measures 50cm by 40cm, and the other to the east of the door is 80cm by 40cm deep. A window in the north side, described above, provides light and air for the room. There is an elaborate folded cross vault with a small saucer dome in its centre. The vault is supported on four pointed arches which spring from the corners of the room. The eastern one has a 50cm deep recess forming a shallow *iwān*.

A door cut in the southern section of the dividing wall leads from this chamber to the second part of the northern hall. It is a simple chamber, rectangular in plan, with internal measurements of 4.35m by 3m. It was probably this area that is described in the *sijill* (56: 652) as the *makhda*. It has a new floor, and it is lit by a window to the north. The chamber is covered by a cross vault; both vault and walls have been recently plastered.

The southern hall (C) is located across courtyard A opposite hall B, and it has a similar layout. It is approached through a door in a rectangular recessed niche with a chamfered frame. The recessed niche has a semicircular blocked arch above it. The door measures 90cm by 1.9m, and is surmounted by a slab lintel. Five T-joggled voussoirs are set above the lintel, and directly above the arch there is a rectangular panel. The panel measures 30cm by 70cm, and is carved in relief with a small central vase in the form of a pomegranate, from which four leafy branches emerge in a symmetrical arrangement. The leaves each have a bevelled inner profile. The branches also carry two forms of flower-heads—one type with three petals, the other a more typical rosette. Both forms are marked by a central boss and have bevelled inner profiles. A rectangular window is placed above the decorative panel.

Above the blocked arch, the masonry courses merge into the second level of Dar Bairam. Two rectangular windows with slab lintels and double 'eye-brow' arches are the main features of this part of the elevation. A slit window four courses above is now

³ The description of the courtyard in the *sijill* (56: 652) is *al-mushtamila 'ala saha samawiyya muballata bi'l-balat al-mizi al-mukham*.

blocked. At this level, all four corners of the building are set back to form an exterior octagonal transitional zone for the unfinished pyramidal dome, which has eight sloping sides and covers the main chamber (C) of the second level.

The interior of the first floor hall C consists of two parts divided by a pointed arch. The first, to the west, is rectangular in plan, measuring 4.2m by 3.4m. It has a modern paved floor and its roofing system is the same as hall B, although here the saucer dome is ribbed, and the arches to west and south have a recess 90cm deep, giving the impression more of a small *ivan* than a very deep niche. There is a large window in the south wall, acting as the main source of light and ventilation. This window is flanked by two blind niches, the one to the west measuring 40cm by 35cm while that to the east is 50cm by 40cm. The second part of hall C lying to the east is very simple and undecorated. It measures 3m by 3.35m, and it is cross-vaulted. It has no window, but a door in the south-eastern corner gives access to yet another rectangular chamber, also covered by a cross vault. A window in the west wall here is the only means of fenestration. The window looks west over Tariq al-Wad; it is fitted with an iron grille.

The chamber D is apparently the 'west *ivan*' mentioned in the *sijill*. It is small and rectangular, 2.4m wide by 2.55m long. It is blocked with concrete to the east but it was probably designed to overlook the open courtyard A. There are three blind niches in room D—one in the west wall is original. The other two in the blocked east wall are more recent; both are 25cm deep by 50cm wide. A door in the south wall leads to a small antechamber, 2.2m by 1.8m. It has a blind niche in the west wall and two doors to the south. Each of these gives onto a long, narrow passage, the eastern one 5m long by 70cm wide leading to a tiny square area, used now—and probably in the past—as a latrine. The western passage is 6m long by 90cm wide and it leads to a small space used in the past as an antechamber which was situated directly behind the single main entrance to Dar Bairam. In the *waqfiyya* it is quite clear that access to the house was through the *ribat*⁴ (see cat. no. 11). As mentioned above, this entrance to the *ribat* is today blocked. Both passages are covered with a tunnel vault, and are plastered. It is worth noting that there appears to have been only one entrance, and an inconvenient one at that since it was so indirect. One would have expected a secondary, private entrance.

Access to the second level of Dar Bairam Jawish is by way of the open courtyard A, leading to stairs in the north-east corner. These run north, then east and then west. The second floor consists of a small chamber (B), a rectangular open courtyard (E), a rectangular hall (D), and the main domed chamber (C). The open courtyard E is situated east of courtyard A, and measures 3.5m by 5.4m. It has been recently re-paved, and in the south-eastern section there is a small, modern, concrete-slab structure. It is used as a bath-house for the second level of the house. There is a single step up to the door which leads to the interior of the small chamber B. The door is surmounted by a simple slab lintel. The interior of the room is a square, measuring 3.3m per side, and the paving is modern. Two windows open to the west and provide light for the interior; each is surmounted by a slab lintel and is fitted with a simple iron grille. There are two

blind niches, the first, in the north wall, is large, being 2.3m long by 40cm deep. The second to the west of the door in the south wall is smaller, being 80cm by 50cm deep. The walls are plastered and there is a shallow dome. This is carried on four pendentives.

Two semicircular steps in the centre of the south side of courtyard E lead through a doorway into the rectangular hall D. This long room measures 3m wide by 8.3m long. It is divided into two parts by a recent concrete wall and is covered by a modern wooden roof. The first, northern, part is today used a kitchen, and the second area to the south is a living room. Both parts are a later addition built after the construction of room C. This is evident from the fact that the masonry courses of the two areas are not integrated, but are adjoining.

The interior of chamber C is a square measuring 4.5m by 4.5m; and it is reached through a door in the east wall. The door measures 90cm wide by 1.7m high, and it is flanked by two identical windows, today blocked, each measuring 90cm by 1.2m and surmounted with a slab lintel. Another six identical windows light the interior of the chamber, two in each of the west, north and south walls. Three identical blind niches are placed between the windows, one in each side. Each niche measures 50cm by 70cm. Once again the floor and the walls have been recently paved and plastered. A big ribbed saucer dome covers the chamber, expressed on the exterior, as said before, by the truncated pyramidal dome. The interior dome is carried on four huge pointed arches which spring from triangular wall pendentives.



Pl. 13.1 Dar Bairam Jawish, overall view of upper level.

⁴ The *waqfiyya* states 'and to the north the *dar* is bordered by the air of the street which contains the door of the *ribat* and through it is the legal access to the *dar*' (*wa shamalan huwa al-shari' wa fihi bab al-ribat al-mutawassal minhu ila al-dar al-mazbura bi-haqq al-istaraq al-shar'i*).

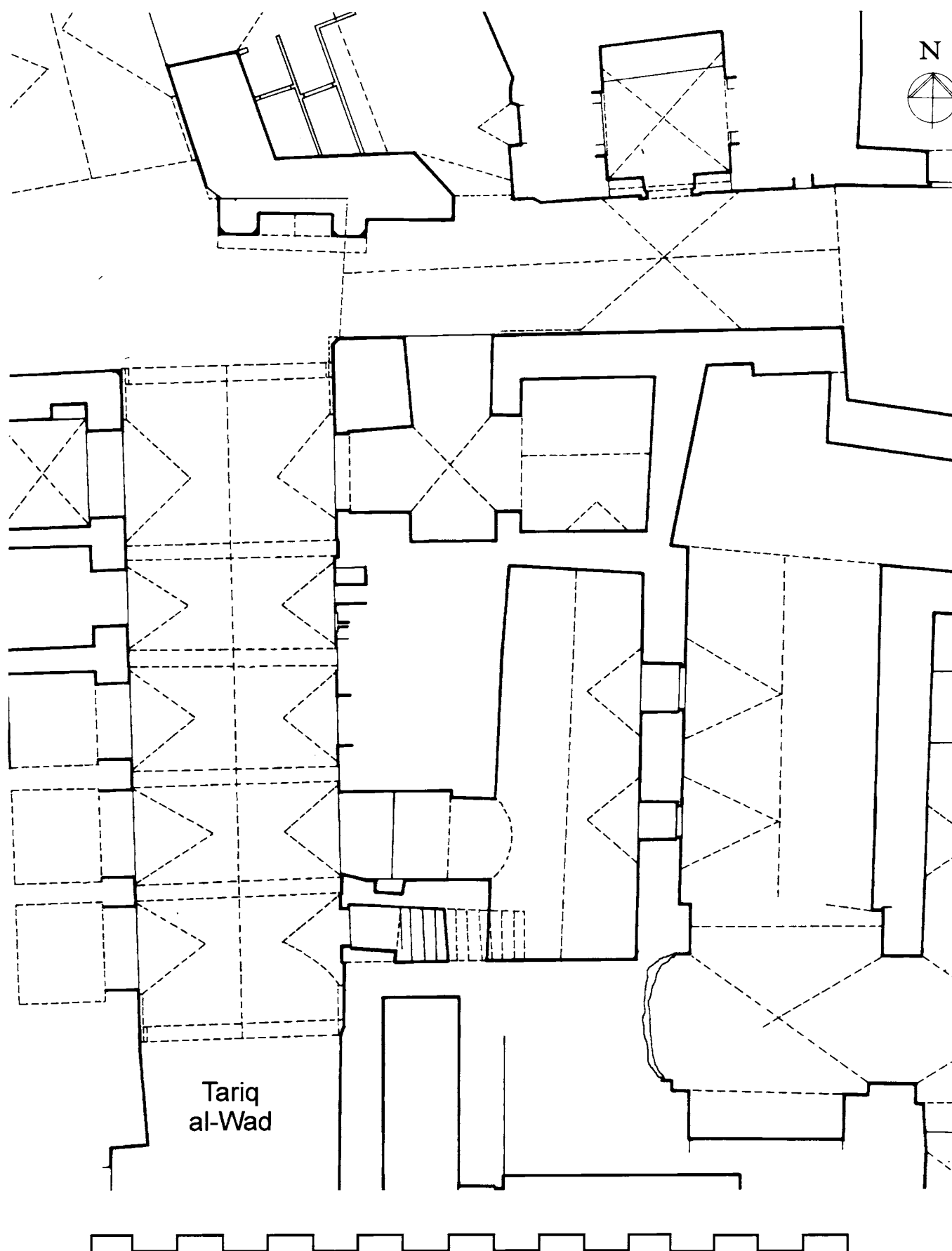


Fig. 13.1 Dar Bairam Jawish, plan of ground floor.

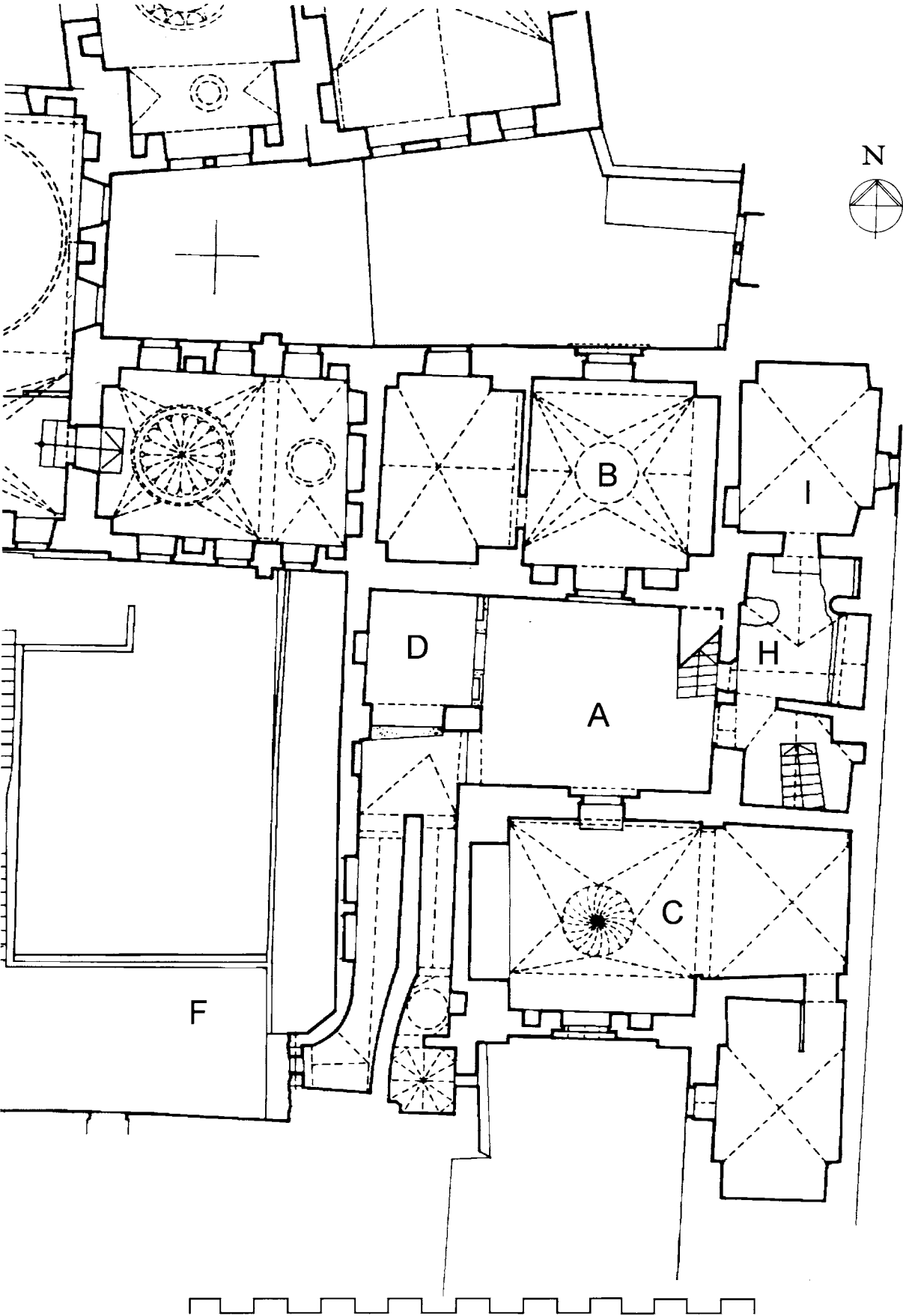


Fig. 13.2 Dar Bairam Jawish, plan of first-floor level.

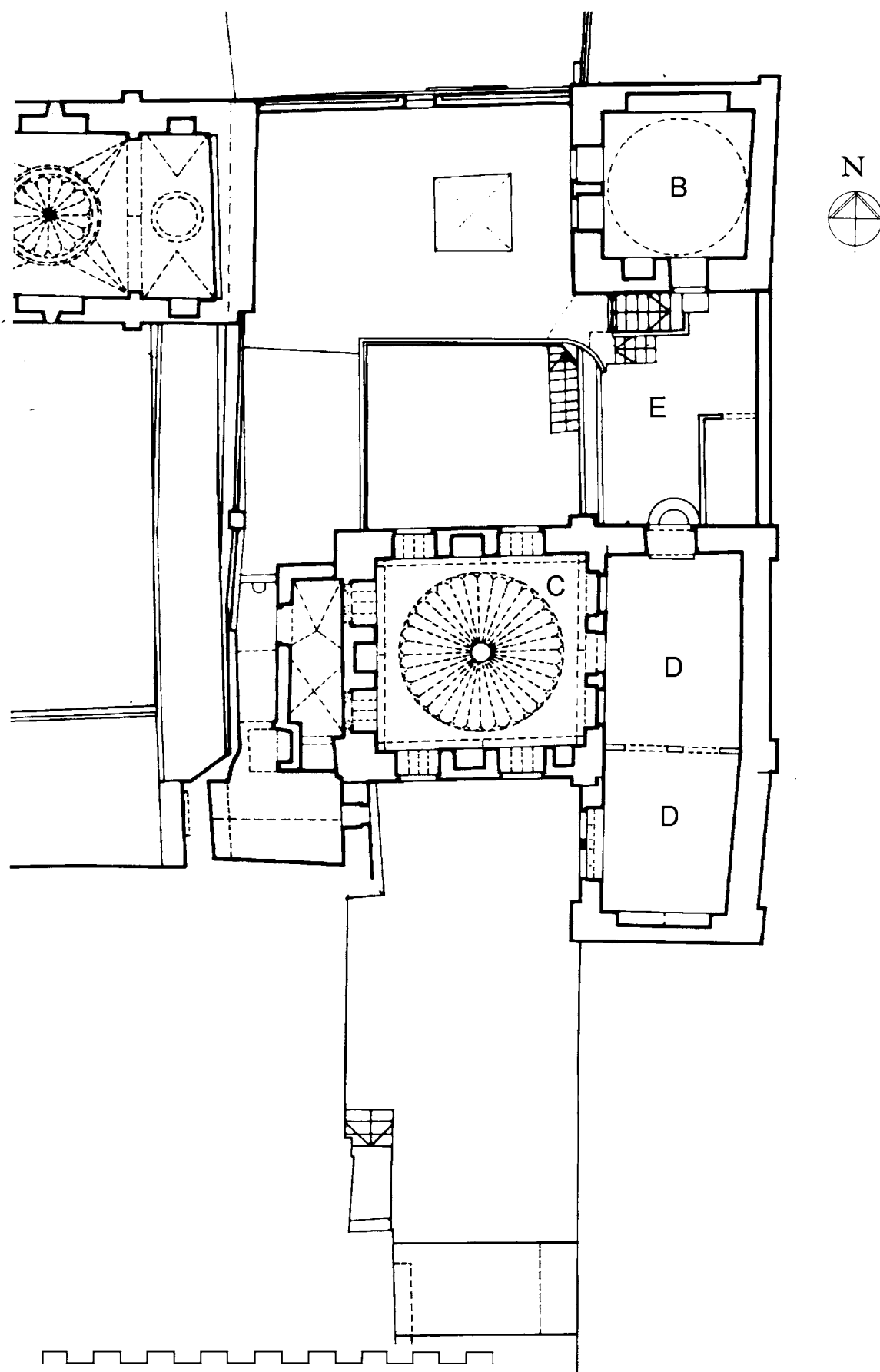
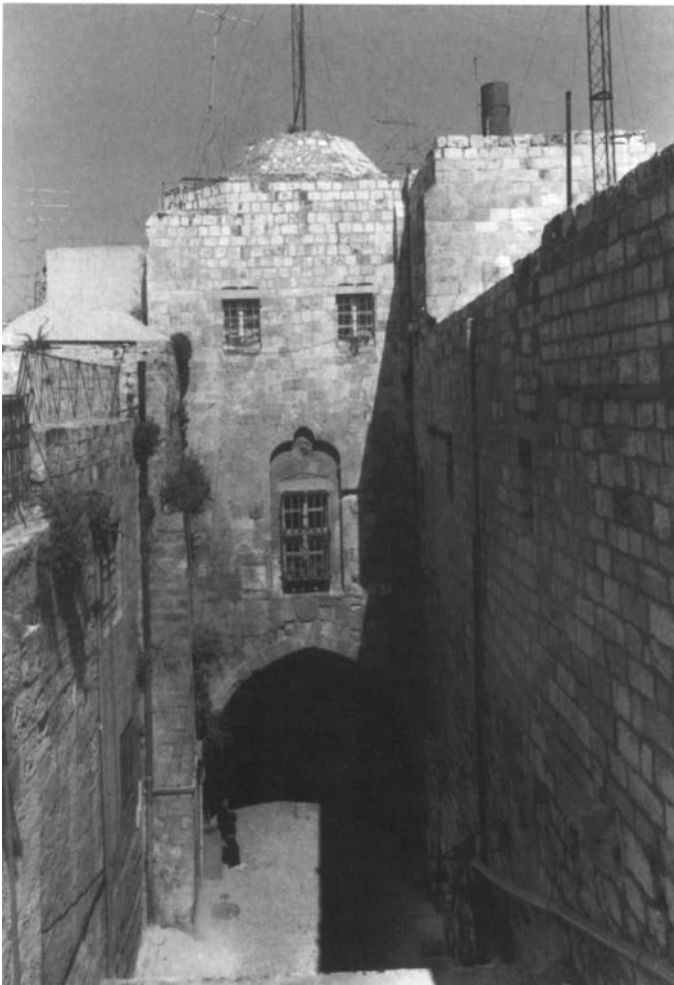


Fig. 13.3 Dar Bairam Jawish, plan of second-floor level.



Pl. 13.2 Dar Bairam Jawish, *qantara* window with flanking medallions.



Pl. 13.3 Dar Bairam Jawish, south façade.



Pl. 13.5 Dar Bairam Jawish, inscription in courtyard.



Pl. 13.4 Dar Bairam Jawish, floral ornament in lintel over doorway



Pl. 13.6 Dar Bairam Jawish, ornamental medallion.

14 HUJRAT MUHAMMAD AMIR LIWA' AL-QUDS

Name: Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds (Governor of the District of Jerusalem)

Date: Probably 956/1549?

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None is known; the foundation inscription refers to the building as *hujra* ('chamber')

Modern name: Khalwat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds.

Location

The *hujra* is to be found at the northern extremity of the Dome of the Rock terrace, abutting the eastern pier of the northern colonnade (721/1321).

Function

Hujra or *khalwa* means 'small cell' or 'room'. This cell was usually constructed without a window, and was originally used as a Sufi retreat. From information contained in Mamluk documents, it seems that the cells existed as part of Sufi foundations and *madrasas* in Cairo, Damascus and other urban centres, where they were known as *khalawi li-attalaba* (cells for students) or *khalawi li-sufiyya* (cells for Sufis) (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 43). During the Ottoman period in Jerusalem too *khalwas* are known to have formed part of a Sufi complex, for example al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35). But on the Haram al-Sharif, at least from 956/1549, a *khalwa*, *oda* or *hujra* is always a separate structure, usually built on two levels, each level comprising at least one chamber. This architectural form was a new building type introduced into Jerusalem at this time and comprises 27 percent of the Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem (15 monuments out of 55), according to the most up to date inventory (cat. nos. 14, 16, 17, 20-25, 34, 41, 46, 51-53). In Ch. 36 these little buildings are studied in general terms, but are treated individually in this catalogue.

The function of Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, to judge by the inscription, was to be for the benefit of 'the people of learning (or knowledge)' (*ulu 'l-ilm*). In the light of this, it is interesting to note that the *hujra* appears under the heading of 'school' on Powell's plan of 1862. Al-'Asali (1981: 44-5) mentions the names of scholars who used to teach in the *hujra* to the north of the Dome of the Rock terrace but gives no further details. These include al-Shaikh 'Ali Yasin, who taught in Khalwat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20), and al-Shaikh Abu al-Sa'ud al-Gazi, in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). Sometimes members of the secular community, who worked on the Haram al-Sharif, were allowed to live in these lower cells. One of these people was Muhammad Agha, who lived in Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24).

Site and brief description (figs. 14.1-14.4, pls. 14.1-14.4)

Hujrat Muhammad Amir is located between Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20) to the west and the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22) to the east, and faces south to the Dome of the Rock. Its western lower wall is constructed against the eastern side of the stairway which is at the southern end of the path leading from Bab al-'Atm to the upper terrace. Like most of the cells, Hujrat Muhammad Amir is a single-unit structure; it consists of two storeys, each made up of two rooms. The lower

storey is rectangular and has a single hall comprising two square rooms. Each of these is covered by a cross vault. As elsewhere, this lower storey acts as a bridge between the two levels of the esplanade. The upper floor is the principal one, and it too consists of two square chambers, but here each is separate and is covered by a hemispherical dome. The *hujra* has been constructed of white stones that have now weathered to grey.

History

Identification

Although it has proved impossible so far to give a firm date to the *hujra*, it is safe to place it within the Ottoman period on the basis of its foundation inscription, its architectural style, and, more specifically, the fact that none of the cells of the Haram has been identified as being pre-Ottoman.

Date

Van Berchem (1925: 187, no. 199) confined his discussion to the chronogram in the second hemistich of the last line of the inscription. The date is not given numerically, and van Berchem commented that although the inscription appeared to be clearly written, the reading of the chronogram gave a date of 896/1490. This would seem too early, for the *ta'liq* script in which it is written—and the framework surrounding the verses—became fashionable only in the Ottoman period. A different and more convoluted reading (doubling the value [60] of the *sin* of *ussisa*, 'constructed', which gives a total of 956 when added to 896) brings the date to a more probable 956/1549. Although van Berchem (1925: 187) confined his comments to that part of the inscription which dealt with the date, reporting only that 'the beginning of the inscription probably contained the names of the founder', a fuller interpretation is given below.

The plaque is marble and is set within a chamfered recess in the centre of the southern façade. Its central position has been carefully selected to underline the fact that the two rooms form a single building under one patron, that is Muhammad, governor of Jerusalem. The plaque measures 40cm wide by 30cm high, and it contains three lines of Arabic script written in Ottoman *ta'liq*, as already stated. The script is slightly interlaced and slender, with diacritical points, and is contained within six rectangular cusped cartouches. Four-petalled floral motifs are inserted in the interstices between the cartouches, two complete motifs in the centre and half-motifs at the outer edges. The full Arabic text is given in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 14; the translation runs as follows:

1. When Muhammad constructed chambers for the people of learning ...
2. The Governor of the District of Jerusalem was considered to adhere to the strong cause !
3. They counted it with figures and dated it (with the words—i.e. the chronogram) 'its construction has been based on piety.'

Founder

Fortunately, though it is very brief, the foundation inscription gives both the name and the status of the founder as Muhammad, Governor of the district of Jerusalem (Amir Liwa' al-Quds).

Architecture

Exterior

The southern façade is the main one of the building, and there are

traces on it of a three-domed portico that has now gone. These remnants include the bases and short sections of the shafts of two of the columns attached to the present dais, the vestiges of two other outer columns, three of the four imposts from which the arches sprang, and the recent rubble infill between them. These architectural traces, as well as the small-scale plan by Powell, amount to proof that a three-domed portico continued to exist at least until 1862. The question remains when and why this portico, as well as those of al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25), the Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24), and the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23), collapsed. If the plans of these *khalwas* were correctly drawn by Powell in 1862, and they seem to be so although they display minor discrepancies, it means that these porticoes were still extant at that date, and that they have disappeared at some time since that time. Taking into consideration the record of Palestinian earthquakes, it is possible that they collapsed in 1927. The important point, however, is that an elaborate three-dome portico formerly existed and that it made the building much more monumental and impressive than it appears today.

The present south wall of the cell of Muhammad is preceded by a rectangular stone dais measuring 9.18m long and 1.8m wide, which stands 65cm higher than the level of the Dome of the Rock terrace. The dais is both constructed and paved with high-quality white flagstones; some of these are large—one measures 2.8m long by 1.25m wide. Access onto the dais from the level of the terrace is by way of three steps in the north-western corner or by two in the north-eastern corner. Two short sections of the circular shaft of the supporting columns are still *in situ*; they are 1.2m in diameter for the one to the west and 1.15m for that to the east. The south wall is made up of simple masonry with three blocked-up semicircular arches.

For the purpose of an architectural description, the wall can be divided into two identical parts. Each part is pierced by a door and a rectangular window to the east of it. The door in the eastern section of the façade measures 74cm wide by 1.6m high, and the window measures 66cm wide by 1m high. The door to the west measures 70cm wide by 1.5m high, and the adjacent window 70cm wide by 1m high. The eastern door and both windows are surmounted by a simple white slab lintel, while the door to the west, which must therefore be considered the main one, has a lintel of three red stone blocks. The windows are fitted with iron grilles. The inscribed panel, as noted above, has been carefully sited two courses above the lintel of the east door in the centre of the middle arch in order to underline the unity of the two chambers of the *khalwa*. Five courses above the inscription panel the building ends abruptly, without any framing device. The stones of the top corners of the south wall are consistent with the rest of the masonry. Those of the western corner display some recent repair work, while the masonry of the eastern corner is discoloured owing to a chemical reaction to rainwater. The two main domes of the *khalwa* rest directly on the walls of the chambers. Both domes and the roof are covered with small flagstones. Each dome once culminated in a stone crescent finial, although the upper part of the one on the eastern dome is now missing.

The northern elevation is also made up of two sections. Its lower part is on a level with the lower Haram esplanade. It includes two identical doors, each measuring 70cm wide by 1.41m high; these are surmounted by huge slab lintels, the western one being 1.3m wide by 28cm high, while the eastern one is 1.41m wide by 30cm high. Above each lintel there are four

stone blocks forming an incomplete arch. In recent times the eastern door has been partly blocked and converted to serve as a window, following the opening of a huge door in the corner of the eastern elevation (see below). The upper part of the composite northern elevation is plain apart from three similar rectangular window openings. The windows are surmounted by white slab lintels and are provided with iron grilles preceded by a newly fitted wire mesh grille. Each of the two eastern windows of the composite northern façade measures 62cm wide by 97cm high, while the third window to the west measures 60cm wide by 1m high. The building terminates with a projected and chamfered stone cornice which runs round all the elevations except the one to the south, where once there was a portico (see above). The area round a waterspout shows evidence of leakage, for here there is the same black discolouration as on the southern elevation.

The western elevation is very simple; it is undecorated and has a single rectangular window, 70cm wide by 1m high. The first six courses of this elevation are obscured by the stairway of the northern colonnade. The eastern elevation is similar to that of the west, in that it is a solid wall apart from a rectangular window in the upper section which measures 67cm wide by 97cm high. Recently a doorway with a pointed arch has been opened to enable a huge electricity generator to be housed in the lower part of the *hujra*.

Interior

The interior of the upper storey of the building consists of two main chambers. These are similar apart from the layout of the windows and the blind niches. They are both square in plan and are constructed with remarkably thick walls, 75cm deep. The eastern chamber is paved with old flagstones and is raised 19cm above the level of the dais, while the western chamber has been floored lately with modern paving stones and is raised 14cm above the dais. There are three windows, as described above, in the west, north and south walls of the western chamber. All the windows in both chambers have a semicircular scalloped and relieving arch. In the chamber to the west, they begin just above floor level at a height of 48cm, but in the eastern chamber the point of departure is only 26cm above the level of the floor. The northern window is flanked by two identical blind recessed niches, each measuring 35cm wide by 90cm high by 35cm deep, although the depth of the eastern niche is only 28cm. The only break in the eastern wall of the west chamber is a blind niche 53cm wide by 94cm high by 32cm deep. Next to the window in the west wall there is another blind recess, measuring 34cm wide by 1.43m high by 45cm wide. The layout of the niches and of the fenestration of the chamber to the east differs slightly. There are in all, as already mentioned, four windows, two in the north wall, and one each in the east and south walls. Both of these latter windows are flanked by two blind niches with identical measurements of 42cm wide by 70cm high by 30cm deep. The niches flanking the window to the east are identical—47cm wide by 80cm high by 46cm deep. The width of the northern niche is 5cm less than these. There are also three blind niches placed in the west wall of the eastern chamber; those to the north and in the centre share the measurements of 35cm wide by 83cm high by 43cm deep while the niche to the south measures 50cm wide by 1m high by 40cm deep. The niches in both chambers were used for storage—especially necessary at the time when the *khalwa* was used as a place of learning. A hemispherical dome rests directly on the walls of each room. The transition from square to circular form is achieved by means of squinches in the corners. The domes

and walls of the rooms have recently been replastered.

The interior of the lower part of the *khalwa* consists of a single rectangular chamber subdivided into two small square rooms, both of which have been paved with flagstones. The square bays are each covered by a cross vault. Access to the interior was once through the two doors in the lower section of the northern façade, but, as stated above, the door to the east was blocked when the lower storey was adapted to accommodate the generator for the Haram. These walls and vaults have also been replastered recently.

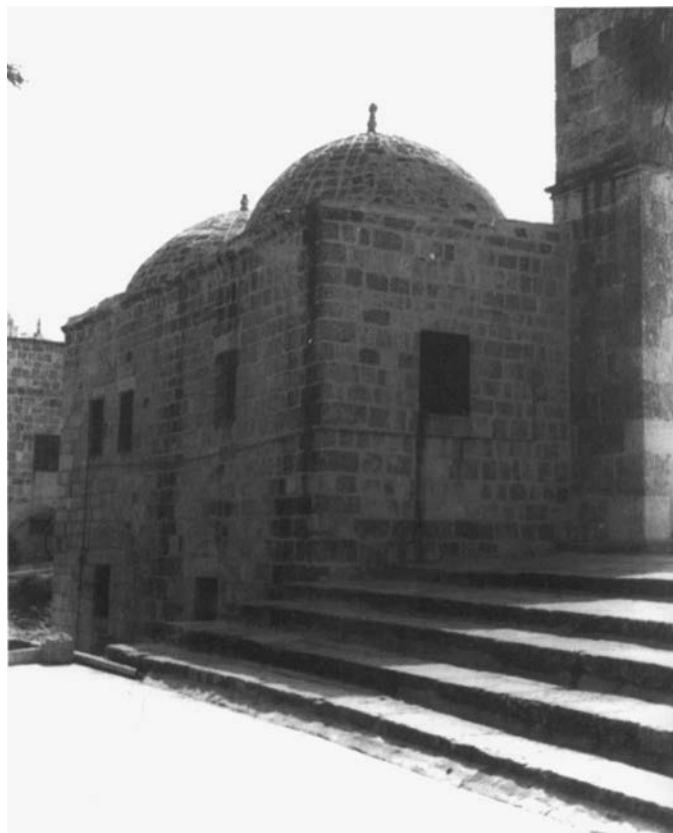
Features

Unfortunately, no information which might have filled the gaps in the history of the building was found in the *sijills* concerning either the *hujra* or its founder. The foundation inscription thus still remains the only available source of information. One of the

major questions still to be answered is the date of construction, and trying to solve this problem through study of the architectural features of the cell alone is not easy. When the attempt is made to subdivide the *khalwas* into categories (see below Ch. 36 under '*Khalwas*'), this example, and those of Qitas (cat. no. 16) and of Parwiz (cat. no. 17), can be grouped together; and indeed they were given the same tentative date by van Berchem. But the layout of Hujrat Muhammad differs from the other two in several respects—notably in the absence of applied decoration such as the trefoils over the windows, the elegant fluting of the windows themselves, the carved roundels, and the presence of a monumental porch—although it is true that they do all share a basic simplicity of masonry fabric. Thus, although it is possible that the *hujra* belongs to the 16th century, a firm date has to await further evidence.



Pl. 14.1 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, north-east façade.



Pl. 14.3 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, west and north façades.



Pl. 14.2 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, south façade.



Pl. 14.4 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, inscription on south façade.

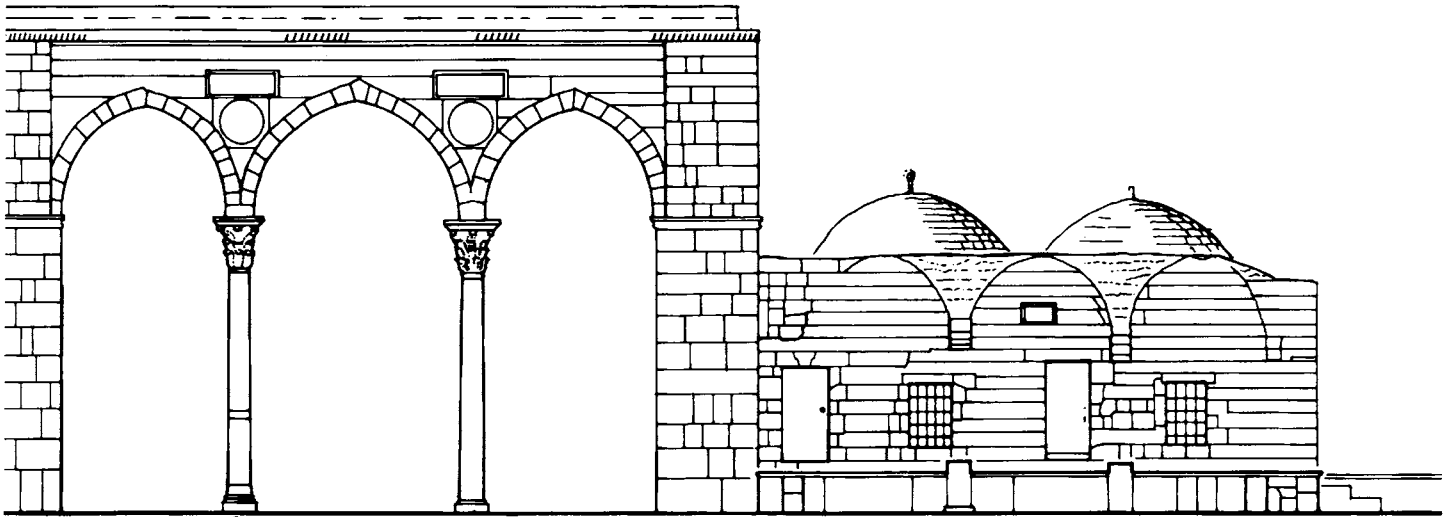


Fig. 14.1 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, main south façade.

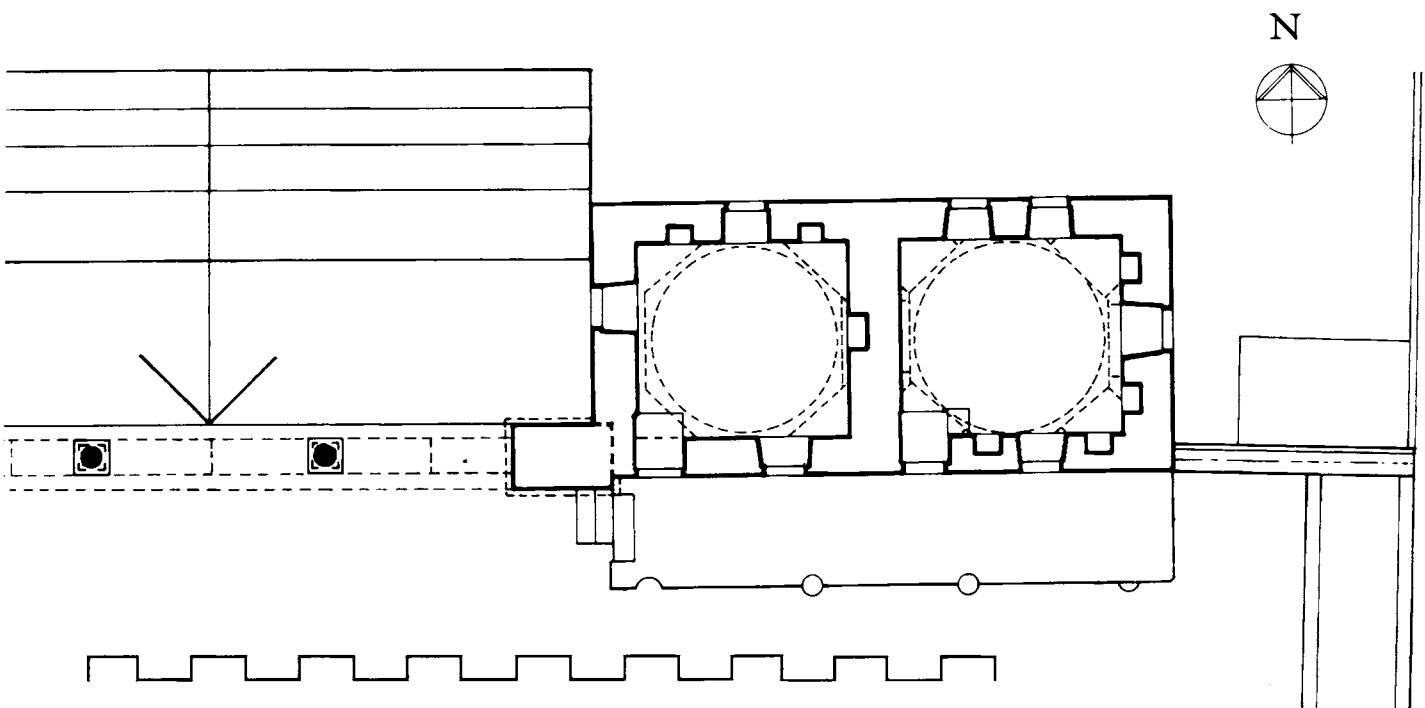


Fig. 14.2 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, ground floor plan.

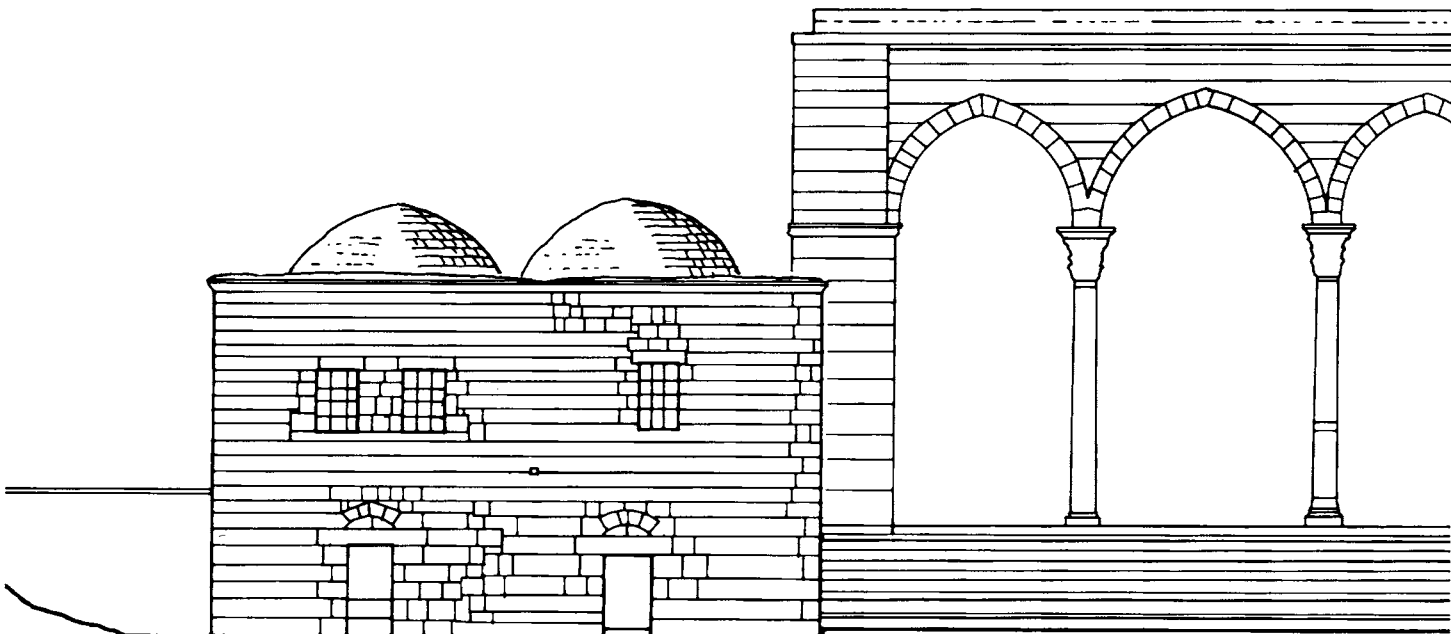


Fig. 14.3 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, north façade.

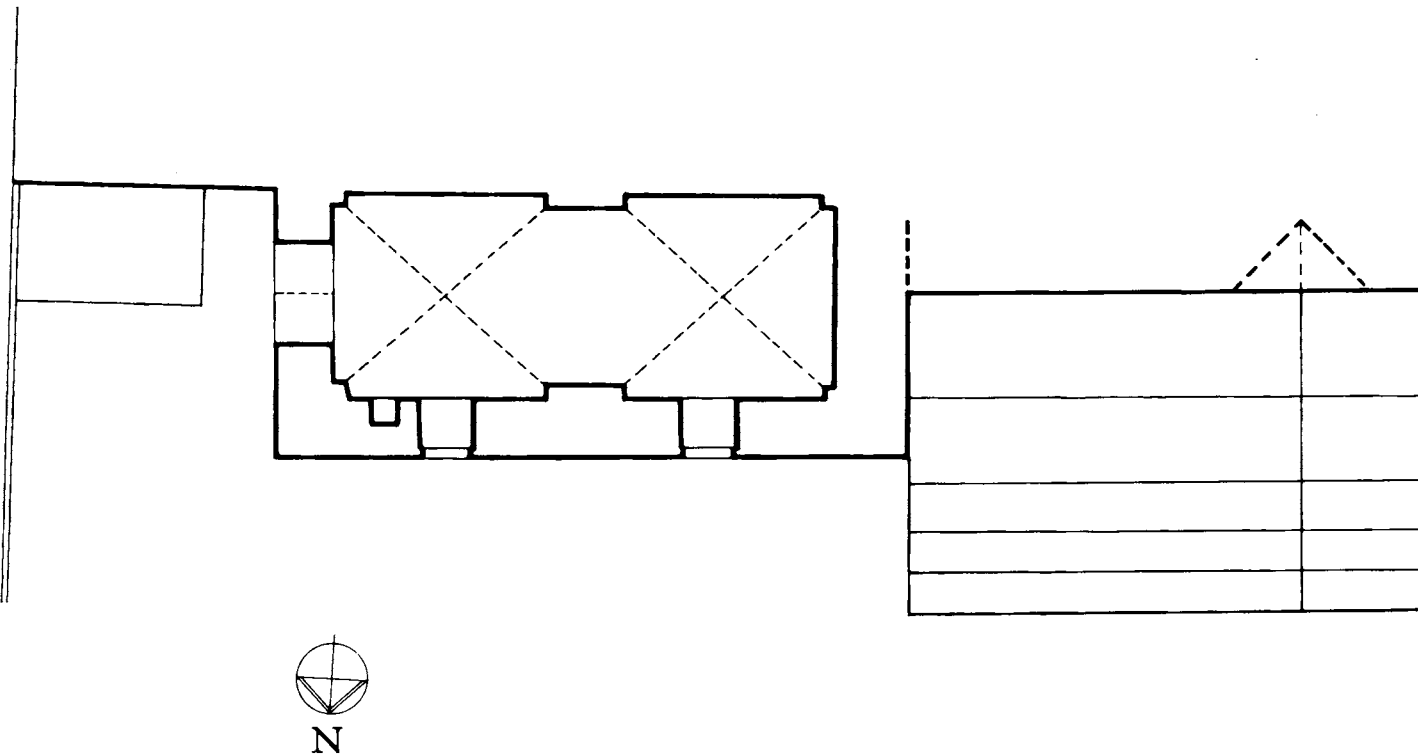


Fig. 14.4 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds, basement plan.

15 AL-‘IMARA AL-‘AMIRA (KHAASSAKI SULTAN)

Name: Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira

Date: Jumada II 959/May 1552 (see below under Date)

Endowment: The first (Turkish) copy of the *waqfiyya*¹ is dated 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552; the final full version, which was drawn up in Arabic, is dated 15 Sha‘ban 964/15 June 1557. An additional endowment was made by Sultan Sulaiman at the end of Shawwal 967/24 July 1560.

Variants of name: Throughout the *sijill* as well as in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 270: 18-27; Stephan 1944: 170-194, al-Husaini 1982: 78-93; al-‘Asali 1989: 127-142) the complex is called al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, ‘the Flourishing Edifice’. More recent references (Pierotti 1864: 150-153; Wilson 1865: 57; al-‘Arif 1961: 307; Burgoyne 1971: 17-20; Burgoyne 1976: no. 140; al-‘Asali 1982: 9-38; and Najm *et al.* 1983: 364) name it after the founder, the wife of Sultan Sulaiman, Khassaki Sultan, who is also widely known as the Khassaki Khurrem (Hasaki Hürrem) (Stephan 1942: 171; Meinecke 1988: 267-8; Skilliter 1986: 66-7; Rogers 1988: 16-20). The current popular name for the complex is the ‘Takiyyat Khassaki Sultan’. This name is derived from the Turkish word *tekke*, which usually indicates a Sufi foundation, but in the dialect of Jerusalem the word *takiyya* denotes a public soup kitchen where free food is distributed to the poor. Al-‘Asali (1982: 23) associated this shift of the meaning to the presence of the kitchen, which continues to function and to provide free food for the poor, whereas in time other elements of the complex have vanished, such as the *ribat* (the fifty-five cells) and the *khan*. In the following pages, in accordance with the *waqfiyya* and the *sijill*, the complex will be referred to as al-‘Imara al-‘Amira.

Modern name: As already explained, most of the ordinary residents of Jerusalem call the complex simply ‘al-Takiyya’, in the sense of a working kitchen. Since the majority of the complex is now given over to the Islamic Industrial Orphanage School and the Islamic Orphanage Secondary School, it is also referred to in concise form as Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya (‘the House of the Muslim Orphanage’). It should be explained that this last term includes Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which is now incorporated into the complex.

Location

The north entrance of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is located on the south

side of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya (formerly known as ‘Aqabat al-Sitt), about 15m west of the Haram and directly east of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. The south entrance is on the north side of the eastern end of ‘Aqabat al-Saraya.

Site and brief description (figs. 15.1-15.11, pls.15.1-15.26)

The site is certainly the most complicated Ottoman monument still extant and functioning in the Old City because at present not only al-‘Imara al-‘Amira but also Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (c. 790/1388), al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28), Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11), and another later, unidentified building form part of what is called the Islamic Industrial Orphanage School. The intricacy of the development of these individual structures, as well as many other alterations, additions and demolitions, all contribute to the complexity of the site.

By virtue of the *sijills* (see cat. no. 28 under Endowment), it is however possible to differentiate between the eastern border of the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira and the architectural components of the Mawardiyya buildings. The break on the western border, where Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq is located, can be seen on the architectural layout drawn by Burgoyne (1987: 485-6, fig. 48.2), which corresponds to the description in the *waqfiyya*. The north and south sides of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira are defined by main roads today, as perhaps they were when the structure was first built. Thus the complex is bordered by the Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya to the north, by Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq to the west, by Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Saraya to the south, and by al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya and an unidentified building to the east.

Today the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is entered by way of two monumental portals in the north and south façades. The south portal leads immediately to a vestibule in the form of an *iwan* flanked with chambers on either side. The vestibule in turn gives access to two open courtyards—the south-western and the south-eastern. Eight bays in all, including the last bay in the vestibule, surround the south-western courtyard (M1-M8). I believe that the courtyard and its surrounding bays constitute the caravanserai mentioned in the *waqfiyya* (see below). A recent staircase in the south-eastern corner leads to an upper level which is constructed above the southern doorway.

The south side of the south-eastern courtyard is now occupied by a recent building, which houses the printing works of the Islamic Orphanage Industrial School. It was apparently built in 1286/1869-70 as the ‘Department of Justice’ at a time when major repairs took place in the complex. It is my belief that this is probably the site of the ‘fifty-five cells of the poor’ who lived in the complex in the 16th century (see below for more details). A rectangular hall (N) made up of four elaborately vaulted bays and a tomb chamber is built on the north side of the south-eastern courtyard. The hall seems to be original, and although it is now without a *mihrab*, it is possible that this is ‘the lofty mosque’ mentioned in the *waqfiyya*. But while the mosque is mentioned in the *waqfiyya*, the tomb chamber is not. This surprising *lacuna*, as well as the style of the architectural elements and other factors, would seem to imply that the tomb was constructed at an earlier date than al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. At all events, the difference in alignment makes it unlikely that they belong to the same building campaign. A modern staircase has recently been built at the east end of the south-eastern courtyard. This leads to the roof of the tomb chamber where a passageway runs between, and connects, the southern and the northern parts of the complex.

The architectural elements of the northern section of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira are: the small vestibule (A), which also gives

¹ There are two versions of the *waqfiyya* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. The first is an initial draft written in Ottoman Turkish, dated 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552; it has been published and translated into English by Stephan (1942: 170-94), with valuable comments and insertions of notes from the Arabic version. The second version is in Arabic; it is the final text and is to be found in Sijill 270: 18-49, dated 15 Sha‘ban 964/13 June 1557. Al-Husaini (1982: 78-93) published the text of the *waqfiyya* without comment, while al-‘Asali (1982: 16-28) gave the main outlines of the *waqfiyya* and later (1989: 127-42) published it with some comments. There is a third copy, also in Arabic, which is kept at the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Jerusalem. Rogers (1988: 19-20) pointed to yet another full and final *waqfiyya*, also dated 15 Sha‘ban 964/13 June 1557, kept in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi—TIEM no. 2192). The Arabic text is here taken as our authority, with reference to the Turkish version where there is any significant variation.

onto two courtyards—the first being the north-western one, and, following from it, the second and north-eastern courtyard. An elaborate nine-vaulted kitchen (*'imaret*) building is constructed on the south side of the second courtyard, bordered to the east by a rectangular storeroom (C). A bakery (D), and a rectangular hall (E) together with a chamber (F) are built on the north of the courtyard, facing the kitchen building. They are integrated into a single building, and a further upper floor has been built above these structures. The upper level is reached by way of an old (probably original) stairway situated at the north-eastern corner of the north-western courtyard. A water fountain is located on the east side of the north-eastern courtyard.

History

Identification

The identification of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is secured by a *waqfiyya* as well as by many other records in the *sijills*; there are also a number of inscription panels relating to restorations.

According to the *waqfiyya*, the donor, Khassaki Khurrem, constructed in the ‘Aqabat al-Sitt, one of neighbourhoods (*mahallat*) of the protected and holy town of Jerusalem, the following buildings:

(1) A mosque. It is described in the early Turkish version of the *waqfiyya* (Stephan 1944: 182) as ‘a well-built edifice with strongly-built pillars, a lofty vaulted mosque, and a high praying-place with firm domes.’ The final Arabic version of the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 270; al-Husaini 1982: 81; al-‘Asali 1983: 130) describes the mosque as ‘the noble mosque with the lofty arched opening and high praying-house with strong portico’ (*al-masjid al-sharif al-rafi‘ al-taq wa’l-ma‘bad al-munif al-mani‘ al-riwaq*). The mosque was dedicated to the faithful Muslim people, male and female, who would pray there. Al-‘Asali (1982: 17) states that ‘the location of this mosque is unknown at present.’ An attempt to identify the mosque is to be found below under the description of hall N where a possible relationship with a modern concrete building immediately to its north and west of the *imaret* is discussed.

(2) A public building (*'imaret*). ‘It is located opposite the noble mosque, and consists of a lofty kitchen (*matbakh munif*), bakery, cellar, enclosure (*mahuta*), storeroom (*anbar*), latrines (*kumuf*), and woodshed (*mahtab*).’ These were endowed for the poor and needy, and for the weak and distressed. Although the enclosure (*mahuta*) is no longer extant, the rest of these structures still stand today.

(3) A building with fifty-five cells constructed around the mosque for the sake of Allah. The cells were endowed for those pious permanent inhabitants (*mujawirin*), who were God-fearing and monotheistic people. The building, which can be termed a *ribat*, has completely disappeared.

(4) A spacious caravanserai (*khan munif*) for the use of travellers and wayfarers, and in general for all those who undertook journeys (... *abna‘ al-sabil wa ashab al-safar wa’l-rahil*). The caravanserai is still extant, although it has undergone many alterations.

These four structures formed the basis of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira when it was constructed in the 16th century, but the first Turkish text of the *waqfiyya* (Stephan 1942: 183) includes the mention of a stable in addition to the caravanserai. It seems highly probable that the main hall of the ground floor of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq was the location of this stable, for it is clear that Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq was incorporated into the complex of al-‘Imara al-

‘Amira from the beginning. Burgoyne (1987: 493, 503, pl. 48.26; 504 n. 19) has published a re-used panel inscription dated 1167/1753. It refers to the site of the restorations that had been undertaken at ‘al-‘Imara al-‘Amira’ instead of at Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which might have been anticipated. Pierotti (1964: 152) states that ‘in order to mount to the upper storey it is necessary to leave these rooms (on the interior around the north-eastern courtyard) and go to the door opening into the street, more to the west (the middle doorway of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq).’

Date

The complex now has no surviving foundation inscription, though there are four large elaborate panels within the complex; unfortunately, these are today without inscriptions. It appears that initial construction work was not long delayed after 30 Jumada I 959/24 May 1552, the date that the first Turkish version of the *waqfiyya* was drawn up. Heyd (1960: 143) summarises an order issued to the governor of Damascus on 23 Rajab 959/5 July 1552, instructing him to send craftsmen to Jerusalem to work on al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. This means that work began in the second half of the year 959/1552. Sijills 30: 170 and 31: 110 show that the complex was still under construction in the years 962/1555 and 963/1555-6 (for further details, see Ch. 36 under ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, and under ‘Stone’). As Rogers (1988: 19) has shown, it was held to be illegal to draw up a *waqfiyya* before the buildings of a foundation were completed; it must therefore be presumed that al-‘Imara al-‘Amira had been substantially completed by the time the final Arabic version of the *waqfiyya* was drawn up on 15 Sha‘ban 964/15 June 1557. It thus took almost five years to finish building the basic structures of the complex. This is a long period by any standard, especially when compared to the water project, or even the major work on the walls (see Ch. 36); it must also be remembered that this was a royal foundation.

Founder²

The project was sponsored by Khassaki Khurrem, the beloved wife of Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1520-66), and was supported by further endowments by the sultan himself. It was, then, yet another royal foundation in Jerusalem, to rank beside the projects of the water supply, the walls, and the refacing of the Dome of the Rock with tiles. As stated by Meinecke (1988: 267) the restoration of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period reached its zenith with the founding of Khassaki Sultan. Among the titles of the Khassaki Khurrem which are included in the *waqfiyya* are ‘*A’ishat al-Zaman*, *Fatimat al-Dauran*, but the most honorific is *hadrat walidat al-sultan Amir Muhammad* (‘Her Highness the mother of Sehzade Mehmed’). She was called Khassaki Khurrem (Hürrem), a name given to both men and women, and to which it is possible to give several meanings—‘cheerful’, ‘smiling’, and ‘joyous’ (Stephan 1944: 171; Skilliter 1986: 66), but she is generally known in Turkish histories as the Khassaki Sultan, the special favourite of the sultan, whose status was above all other concubines (Cengiz Orhanlu 1978: 1100); in the western accounts she is known as Roxelane.

Khassaki Khurrem, who was born in the early years of the 16th century, was Polish—although she has in the past been

² For the biography of Khassaki Khurrem, see the following publications in addition to those mentioned in the text: Stephan 1944: 171-3; al-‘Asali 1982: 14-15; Rogers 1988: 16-20; Skilliter in *EP* 5 1986: 66-7; Çengiz Orhanlu in *EP* 4 1978: 1100.

Table 15.1 Endowments of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira as reported in the *waqfiyya*

No.	Name	Location
1	The village of Amyun and the farm of Qaiqabah	District of Tripoli
2	The village of Ludd (Lydda)	Near Ramla, district of Gaza
3	One share of ten in the village of al-Jib (equal to 2,500 <i>dirhams</i>)	North of Jerusalem
4	The two caravanserais and the shops located at Shaikh Tutmaj quarter, and a plot of land that abuts the caravanseraï	City of Tripoli
5	The Qaisariyya in the quarter of Khan al-‘Udaimi	City of Tripoli
6	The four mills known as Taitariyya situated on the river of the village Rash-hin	District of Tripoli
7	The four mills known as Turabiyya located on the river of Abu ‘Ali of the village Bishnin	District of Tripoli
8	The whole of the two baths on the lane, leading to Bab al-Ghawanima, Jerusalem	Inside the Old City of Jerusalem
9	The whole village of Bait Iksa in addition to the farm of al-Kharruba	District of Jerusalem
10	18 <i>qirat</i> of 24 in the village of Kafr Jinnis	Near Ramla, district of Gaza
11	The whole village of Kafr ‘Ana along with the farm of Kafr Tab	Near Ramla, district of Gaza
12	The whole village of Buqai‘ al-Dan, and the Buqai‘ al-Ghars land	Jerusalem district
13	The whole village of Bait Liqya together with the farm of Bait Nushif and the farm of Rukubis	Jerusalem district
14	The share (18 of 24 <i>qirat</i>) owned in Bethlehem	Bethlehem
15	The share (18 of 24 <i>qirat</i>) owned in Bait Jala together with the lands named al-Juz and Ras al-Haniyya	West of Bethlehem
16	The whole village of al-Kanisa	Sub-District of Ramla
17	The whole village of Bir Ma‘in	Sub-District of Ramla
18	The whole village of Subtara	Sub-District of Ramla
19	The whole village of ‘Annabah	Sub-District of Ramla
20	The share (21 <i>qirat</i> of 24) of the whole village of Safiriyya	Sub-District of Ramla
21	The whole village of Kharabta	Sub-District of Ramla
22	The share (7 <i>qirat</i> of 24) of the whole village of Jindas	Sub-District of Ramla
23	The whole village of Yazur	Sub-District of Ramla
24	The whole village of al-Yahudiyya (al-‘Abbasiyya at present)	Sub-District of Ramla
25	The share (18 <i>qirat</i> of 24 and one third of a <i>qirat</i>) of the whole village of Bait Dajan	Sub-District of Ramla
26	The whole village of Bait Shenna	Sub-District of Ramla
27	The whole village of Rantiyya	Sub-District of Ramla
28	The share (18 <i>qirat</i> of 24) of the whole village of Na‘lin	Sub-District of Ramla
29	The whole village of Qaqun with the farm of Dair Sallam	Sub-District of Nablus
30	One fourth of the farm of Haithan al-Jammasin	Sub-District of Nablus

mistakenly identified as Russian—from Rogatain (old Ruthenia), an area which was exposed to many Tatar raids. Apparently Khurrem was captured as a young girl in one of these raids, and as Rogers (1988: 16) suggests, was presented to Sulaiman as a slave concubine. Later, she persuaded Sulaiman first to free her, and secondly to marry her. Although there is no firm information as to when the marriage took place, it is unanimously agreed that Sulaiman did indeed make Khurrem his legal wife,³ and he is reputed to have remained faithful and devoted to her from their meeting until her death.

After a serious fire in 947/1541 in the Old Palace in Istanbul where the sultan’s women lived, Khurrem moved with her ladies to the Tokapi Sarai, the political centre. This move of Khurrem marks the date in the Ottoman empire when the ‘rule of women’ (*Kadınlar Saltanatı*) begins; this was to continue until the death of the mother of Murad IV in 1061/1651. Many murders

and deaths of the Ottoman élite—figures such as Mustafa, the son and heir of Sulaiman, Ibrahim Pasha, Kara Ahmad Pasha—are attributed to the influence of Khurrem. Together with Rüstem Pasha, then Grand Vizier, she is thought to have planned to destroy Mustafa so that one of her own sons might be sultan after Sulaiman.

In 945/1539, Khurrem began a long series of pious constructions. These comprised a complex foundation in Istanbul, whose scale was unprecedented (*waqf* 947/1540; Rogers 1988: 18-19), consisting of a mosque, a *madrasa*, *maktab* and *‘imaret* (public soup kitchen), to which a hospital was added later (*waqf* 958/1551-2); a mosque at Kagithane (*waqf* 965/1557-8); a *zawiya* for dervishes at Balat (955/1549); and a double bath at Ayasofya. Her foundations outside Istanbul include the following: a mosque at Edirne; a mosque at Ankara; a *zawiya* at Karapınar near Aksaray in Anatolia; an *‘imaret* and four-rite *madrasa* at Mecca (964/1556-7), and the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira in Jerusalem which is here under discussion.

Khurrem died in Istanbul on 26 Jumada I 965/15 April

³ On the role of the Khassaki Sultan and her unique position, see Peirce 1993: 57-65.

Table 15.2 Administrative personnel, their duties and wages

No.	Position	Wage Dirhams per month
1	Administrator (<i>mutawalli</i>) Gold coins	30
5	5 tax-collectors, 6 <i>dirhams</i> each	30
1	Clerk for the <i>waqf</i>	10
1	<i>Imam</i> for the mosque	4
1	<i>Shaikh</i> for the <i>'imaret</i> (the public kitchen)	8
1	<i>Wakil kharj</i> (under-steward) to buy supplies for the kitchen	8
1	Keeper for the store room (Cellar)	5
1	Keeper for the Pantry	5
1	Clerk for the <i>'imaret</i>	6
2	2 cooks, 7 <i>dirhams</i> each, one to be the head cook	14
1	Cook assistant	3
4	4 bakers, one to be head and to receive 6 <i>dirhams</i> , the rest each to receive 5 <i>dirhams</i>	21
3	3 bakers' assistants, 3 <i>dirhams</i> each	9
1	Meat inspector (<i>naqib al-lahm</i>)	5
1	Bread inspector (<i>naqib al-khubz</i>)	5
2	2 persons to wash the dishes, each to receive 3 <i>dirhams</i>	6
3	3 storekeepers (<i>janqaji</i>) to be in control of cups, bowls, and basins, 3 <i>dirhams</i> each	9
1	One man to cleanse the wheat	3
1	One man to cleanse the rice	3
1	One man to weigh the wheat and rice	3
1	One man to husk and grind the wheat	3
1	Miller	6
2	2 persons to sieve the wheat, one to receive 4 and the other 3 <i>dirhams</i>	7
1	One man to crush the wheat (<i>jarushi</i>) (see above)	2
1	Wheat carrier, to carry the wheat from the store to the mill and vice versa	4
1	Water-carrier to fetch sufficient water for the kitchen, and to sprinkle water on front of the <i>'imaret</i>	3
1	One man to guard, clean, and light the lamps of the noble mosque and the living rooms	5
1	Doorkeeper and general servant (<i>farrash</i>) for the caravanserai	4
1	Doorkeeper for the <i>'imaret</i>	4
1	Attendant and cleaner for the <i>'imaret</i>	4
1	Master repairer to carry out important maintenance work on wood and masonry	5
1	Master restorer to maintain the two bathhouses	4
1	One expert in water installation (<i>qanawati</i>) to care for the canal to the bathhouses and to insure the continuity of water flowing within it.	4
1	Money-changer (<i>sairafi</i>)	4
	Oil for the oil lamps	2

1558. She is buried in her mausoleum adjacent to that of Sultan Sulaiman near the Süleymaniyye mosque in Istanbul.

Endowments

The endowment of al-'Imara al-'Amira listed in the *waqfiyya* is very large. It can be challenged in importance only by the *waqf* of the Haram. According to both the Turkish and Arabic text of the *waqfiyya*, the estates were scattered in five *sanjaks*⁴—Gaza, Nablus, Jerusalem, Sidon, and Tripoli in Syria. Table 15.1 is a list of these endowments, each with its share and location.

The endowments of al-'Imara al-'Amira listed above were confirmed by Sultan Sulaiman in Shawwal 967/June-July 1560, just one year after the death of Khassaki Khurrem. A

waqfiyya (published by al-'Asali 1983: 145-51) recorded in the proceedings of Sijill 270: 50, immediately after the *waqfiyya* of Khassaki Khurrem, reveals that Sultan Sulaiman also made *waqf* for the benefit of al-'Imara al-'Amira the following estates, which were all located in the Sidon sub-district in Syria:

- (1) One share of ten of the whole village of Hara. This share amounted to 3,800 *dirhams*
- (2) The share (19 *qirat* of 24) of the farm of al-Kunaisa village
- (3) The whole farm of Sufiyya
- (4) The whole farm of Jalyubiyya.

Rüstem Pasha, the vizier who acted as the agent of the sultan, announced this *waqf* in the religious court. He appointed al-Hajj Agha ibn 'Abd al-Rahim as caretaker for the additional *waqf*. These estates continued to enjoy the patronage of the Ottoman authority, and whenever a problem or a difficulty arose, *firman*s would be dispatched to the person whose responsibility it

⁴ Heyd (1960: 58, n. 2) and Rogers (1988: 42, n. 75) add the *sanjak* of Safad.

was to find a solution. Heyd (1960: 130-2; 143-4) summarised six *firman*s dealing with certain aspects of the estates. In one of them (1960: 143), an endowment in the village (town) of Jericho was exchanged for some villages belonging to the *khass* fiefs of the *begs* of Jerusalem and Gaza. The reason behind this exchange was that at the time it was difficult to obtain the *waqf* revenue since the village was under the control of insurgents. The *firman* is dated 17 Muharram 972/25 August 1564. Another *firman* (1960: 131) dated 14 Ramadan 866/20 June 1559 contained permission to sell the surplus of wheat of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, and the purpose of another (1960: 132-3) dated 23 Muharram 987/22 March 1579 was to ease the import of rice from Egypt.

Although the majority of the *waqf* properties have been long since lost as endowment income, the soup kitchen still functions today. A turning point in the fortunes of the revenue from the Khassaki Sultan *waqf* occurred when Ibrahim Pasha expropriated the property in 1247/1831 (Stephan 1944: 175). Stephan maintains that when Turkey regained Syria and Palestine ten years later, instead of giving back the *waqf*, the Ottoman administration commuted the revenues at a fixed annual rate of £T1,150.

Personnel and employees

In addition to the endowments, the *waqfiyya* specifies the men to be employed and their duties, as well as the rate of their wages. The level of personnel was high, not matched by any other *waqf* in Jerusalem or in Palestine, other than that pertaining to the Haram al-Sharif. It is interesting to see that additional posts, not mentioned in the original *waqfiyya*, were established by later *firman*s. Table 15.2 gives a list of the employees with their wages as fixed by the donor.

The total number of people employed by the complex was thus forty-eight.

The total yearly expenditure in silver coins was 79, 505 pieces.

The post of administrator (*mutawalli*) was the most important and carried the most influence. He enjoyed autonomy with full power in the daily affairs of running al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, and in particular the *‘imaret* itself. According to the *waqfiyya*, he was to be ‘rational, honest, high-minded, pious, and religious—a man who would not deviate from the right path’. He was to observe with honesty the collection of the various revenues and their expenditure, and to endeavour to make the *waqf* prosper by maintaining and repairing the foundation from time to time without any delay, carelessness or negligence. In the 16th century, the position was held in particular by high-ranking officials who were from the Ottoman élite (for example, see Table 15.3 below nos. 1-5). They usually held titles such as *beg*, *agha*, *za‘im*, *‘ain*, and so on. Some of these men seem to have been efficient, strong-minded, and serious, in that they managed the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira and its *waqf* with such success that it proved possible to expand it on many occasions. In addition, the wheat from its *waqf* was provided in such abundance that a number of orders were received in Jerusalem allowing the administrator to sell the surplus of the wheat to both Muslim and non-Muslim merchants (Heyd 1960: 130-3).

Within a generation, however, and thus before the end of the 16th century, the situation had changed dramatically. The position of the administrator seems to have been debased and in consequence the management of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira suffered from total mismanagement. A record in Sijill 64: 367 dated 16 Rabi‘ I 993/18 March 1585 discloses that Shaikh Muhammad ibn

Mustafa, the *shaikh* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, together with a group of the staff who worked there, had come to the religious court and had informed the *qadi* that al-‘Imara al-‘Amira was in complete chaos and had run out of supplies because too many administrators had been appointed for a short period, to the extent that every six months there had been a new appointment. They further informed the court that there was no rice, oil or even salt; in consequence they had closed al-‘Imara al-‘Amira and had delivered its key to the *qadi*. For the whole Arabic text and English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 15/2.

Although the authorities in Istanbul restored the situation to normality following this débâcle and al-‘Imara al-‘Amira was able to resume its activities, it was very shortly to pass through another crucial period. According to Sijill 112: 476, Aslan Beg, who was then administrator of the complex, had left for Tripoli on 8 Safar 1036/29 October 1626 without arranging for a replacement to run the public kitchen after his departure. The supply of food and bread had therefore been suspended, and in consequence a great deal of harm had been done to the poor of Jerusalem. For the Arabic text and English summary, see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 15/6. It seems that the problem was not just the sudden departure of the administrator, but also his earlier misconduct, for no one was able to lay hands on any of the *waqf* money. On this occasion it took the authorities about six months to restore the situation for, although a new administrator was appointed in a matter of weeks, the kitchen was not re-opened for the poor until 3 Ramadan 1036/18 May 1627 (Sijill 112: 476). See Cat. Appendix 1, no. 15/6.

As noted by al-‘Asali (1989: 309), during the last three centuries the administrator of the entire *waqf* has been appointed from the Ghudayya family, known today as al-Juda. This family therefore monopolised the position, together with that of holder of the key of the Holy Sepulchre, the positions being inherited by successive generations. Juda (1990) and al-‘Asali (1989: 308-23) have published many diplomas and *firman*s concerning the personalities who were appointed to these posts. Table 15.3 is a list of the administrators and their main activities, based on the *sijill* records and other available references. Doubtless in time further study of the *sijills* will allow the list to be augmented by many other names.

Another important post to be stipulated by the donor Khassaki Sultan was the *shaikh* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. According to the *waqfiyya*, the *shaikh* was to control the condition of the food and always to be in attendance in the kitchen. Among other essential traits he was to be of pure character, God-fearing, conforming to Islamic law, content, trusting in Allah, not greedy, of kind words and agreeable speech, and refraining from hurting anyone’s feelings. A quick trawl through the pages of the *sijills* reveals a number of those who held the position, but almost no information accompanies the names and it is therefore difficult to add anything beyond the reference in the *waqfiyya*. In one (Sijill 64: 367), mentioned above, the *shaikh* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is recorded as heading the group of people who delivered the key of the complex after its closure to the *qadi*. Sinan Khalifa, another *shaikh* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, was among the team which inspected the expansion of the kitchen (Sijill 34: 31-2). Muhammad Agha, who was *shaikh* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira in 1042/1632-3, appears frequently in the records (Sijill 28: 54, 83; 27: 90; 30, 150) dealing with estates and financial transactions. It is not clear whether these relate to personal business or to al-‘Imara al-‘Amira.

Other later posts

The *sijills* also give a certain amount of information on the

Table 15.3 Preliminary List of the Administrators of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira

No.	Name	Sijill or Ref.	Date	Note
1	Haidar Beg b. ‘Abd Allah or Haidar Katkhuda	Sijill 28: 106 (Heyd 1960: 156, 182, al-‘Asali 1982: 20)	959/1552, 961/1554	Haidar was appointed before the final <i>waqfiyya</i> was drawn up (964/1557). He purchased wheat for bread before he died.
2	Farhad Çelebi	Sijills 28: 83, 28: 415; 30: 204; 30: 170	961/1554, 962/1544-5	A <i>firman</i> from the Sultan was addressed to Farhad ordering the distribution of bread to indigent male and female inhabitants of Jerusalem. Farhad was active in buying construction materials for the complex (see Ch. 36 under Stones).
3	Bairam Jawish	Sijill 31: 110 (Heyd 1960: 131, al-‘Asali 1989: 98-9)	963/1555-6	For his biography, see cat. no. 11 under Founder. Bairam contracted a group of builders to pave the baths, which formed part of the <i>waqf</i> of the Khassaki ‘ <i>imaret</i> . Bairam died in 970/1562-3.
4	Turghud Beg	Sijills 39: 30-1; 40: 146-7 (Heyd 1960: 131)	967/1559, 968/1560-1	Turghud was ordered to sell grain dating from the time of Bairam. The kitchen was expanded during his tenure.
5	‘Abd al-Karim Beg	Sijill 48: 156; (Heyd 1960: 158, 172)	973/1565, 980/1572	‘Abd al-Karim constructed a western hall in al-‘Imara al-‘Amira with his own finances.
6	Hajji Hasan	(Heyd 1960: 58)	987/1579	Hasan complained to Istanbul of misconduct by the military which was causing the villagers to abandon their farms.
7	Muhammad Bakr	Sijill 64: 2	992/1584	Financial transaction.
8	‘Uthman Beg	Sijill 64: 146	992/1584	-
9	Wali Beg	Sijill 79: 475	1007/1598-9	Wali was ordered to construct a mill inside al-‘Imara al-‘Amira.
10	Aslan Agha	Sijill 112: 476	1036/1626-7	Aslan left for Tripoli without appointing a deputy, in consequence of which the ‘ <i>imaret</i> was shut down.
11	Muhammad ‘Ali	Sijill 112: 476	1036/1626-7	Muhammad ‘Ali was appointed in succession to Aslan Beg.
12	Muhammad Agha	Sijill 120: 259	1042/1632-3	-
13	Musa Agha	Sijill 121: 287	1042/1632-3	-
14	Nur al-Hidaya Khatun bint Jamal al-Din	Al-‘Asali 1982: 21	1043/1633-4	This is the only record of a woman administering the <i>waqf</i> . Her diploma is kept with the ‘Asali papers in Amman.
15	Mustafa Agha	Sijill 151: 240	1066/1655-6	Financial expenditure.
16	Shaikh Fath Allah and Shaikh Muhibb al-Din, sons of Shaikh Musa ibn Ghudayya	(Al-‘Asali 1982: 26; 1989: 313-14 based on Sijill 150: 354)	1065/1654-5	The two men shared equally between them the position of administrator, as well as that of holder of the key of the Holy Sepulchre.
17	‘Ali Efendizada Mustafa Agha	(Al-‘Asali 1982: 28)	1247/1831	-
18	‘Abd al-Qadir Juda	(Al-‘Asali 1989: 309)		Here the position of administrator is preceded by the words ‘ <i>qa’im maqam</i> ’.
19	Shaikh Adib ‘Abd al-Qadir Juda	(Al-‘Asali 1989: 309)	1359/1940	Shaikh Adib was the last administrator before the running of the complex was taken over by the Auqaf Administration.
20	The Auqaf Administration		Since 1940	

appointments to some of the posts given in Table 15.3. In addition to those specified in the *waqfiyya*, Sijill 155: 445 reports on a post to recite certain chapters of the Qur’an (17; 67; 112). Another position, also for Qur’an reading, was set up from the *waqf* of Khassaki Khurrem, but the recitation was to take place at Maqam al-Nabi Da’ud (Sijill 90: 296). These posts were probably established by *firman*s sent to Jerusalem from Istanbul after the death of Khassaki Khurrem, for the benefit of the readings was to be for the soul of Khassaki Khurrem. Al-‘Asali (1982: 25, 37-8) takes Sijill 145: 354 as his authority in a reference to another post

related to the *waqf* of Khassaki Khurrem. The post was that of *mudarris* (instructor) in a *madrassa* named al-Khassakiyya. The location of the *madrassa* is not known, but al-‘Asali presumed that it might be within the mosque of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. The present writer came across yet another position mentioned in Sijill 155: 433 dated 1067/1656-7. It reports on a post of *farrash* (attendant) in the *madrassa*; this man was to be in charge of lighting the oil lamps. Heyd (1960: 144) summarised orders kept in Mühimme Defteri (Vol. 36, nos. 377, 381 and 375) dated 23 Muharram 987/22 March 1579, showing that the kitchen of al-‘Imara al-

'Amira suffered from a shortage of meat in winter. These *firman*s repeat the orders given by Sultan Sulaiman I and Sultan Selim II for the appointment of a special butcher.

The *wagfiyya* also provides details about the food to be cooked in the kitchen, the size of its rations and to whom it should be distributed. These details are as follows:

1. Two types of soup were to be cooked daily. The first—a rice soup—was to be served at noon. It was to include 20 *mun*n⁵ of rice, 3 *mun*n of clarified butter, 1.5 *mun*n of chick peas, 2 *mun*n of onions, 2.5 *mun*n of salt, 25 *mun*n of sour milk and parsley to the value of 4 silver coins (*dirhams*). 60 *mun*n of firewood was to be used.

The second type of soup, with a wheat (*burghul*) base, was to be served in the evening. This was to contain the following: 4 *mudd*⁶ of wheat, 3 *mun*n of clarified butter, 2.5 *mun*n of salt, 2 *mun*n of onions, 0.75 *mun*n of cumin (*kammun*), and 1.5 *mun*n of chick peas. For this soup, 70 *mun*n of firewood was to be used.

2. 2,000 loaves of bread of the *fudula*⁷ type were to be baked daily. 55 *mun*n of firewood and 3 *mun*n of salt were also needed daily for this bread.

3. Other types of food, called in the *wagfiyya dana birinji* and *zerde*⁸ were to be cooked on the evening preceding every Friday and every night during Ramadan. Each time these dishes were prepared, they were to include the following quantities of ingredients: 62 *mun*n of rice, 35 *mun*n of mutton, 13.5 *mun*n of clarified butter, 2 *mun*n of chick peas, 2 *mun*n of onions, the equivalent of the weight of 40 *dirhams*⁹ of pepper, 4.5 *mun*n of salt, 16.5 *mun*n of honey, and saffron to the value of 14 silver coins (*dirhams*); 90 *mun*n of firewood was to be used to cook these foods.

4. On each 10th day of Muharram ('*ashura*'), 4 large bowls of soup (*gazghat*) were to be distributed among the scholars, the indigent and the citizens of Jerusalem. No further details are given as to the contents of this type of soup.

Khassaki Khurrem stipulated that a portion from the food detailed above should be given out as follows:

(1) Every *mujawir* (poor resident) in one of the cells was to receive a full ladle (*mighrafa*) of cooked food and one loaf of bread at noon and in the evening, and a lump of cooked meat should be added on the eve of Friday.

(2) Every employee of al-'Imara al-'Amira listed in Table 15.2 was to receive the same portion of food as a *mujawir*.

(3) 400 poor and needy, weak and destitute people of Jerusalem were to receive (between two people) the portion of one

mujawir—i.e., one loaf of bread and one bowl of food at noon and in the evening.

No food was to be set aside for any person other than those specified, nor was it to be taken off the premises in a copper bucket. If it were taken outside, it would be considered to have been stolen.

Almost all the volumes of the Jerusalem *sijills* contain a great many records concerning the assignment of a portion of the food or bread of al-'Imara al-'Amira to a certain category of person. This is expressed by the word *tasa* which can be translated literally by 'bowl', or, more specifically, by either *tasat ta'am* ('a bowl of food') or *tasat al-takiyya* ('a bowl of the soup kitchen'). This *tasa* apparently replaced the ladle (*mighrafa*) originally mentioned in the *wagfiyya* (see above). It seems that the right to have food from al-'Imara al-'Amira was linked to the ownership of the bowl itself, for the loss of this special bowl by a woman in 962/1555 led to her divorce (Sijill 30: 193). It is interesting to note that people even had the right to sell (*faragh* or *tafarrugh*) the *tasa*, and to record the sale in the court, as is apparent from Sijill 155: 520 dated 1067/1665-7. In some cases, people had the right to half a *tasa* only (Sijill 120: 153; 155: 242). Both these *sijills* date to the 11th/17th century—1042/1642-3 and 1066/1655-6 respectively.

Subsequent History

Following the construction of al-'Imara al-'Amira and the death of the donor, interest in the institution was demonstrated almost without interruption by most of the sultans and the Ottoman élite in Istanbul and Jerusalem. The information relevant to the later history of al-'Imara al-'Amira is thus rich to a degree unequalled by any other institution in Jerusalem. Various *firman*s issued at Istanbul and many documents recorded in the *sijills* reflect this importance and the elevated rank of the foundation. The documents cover various matters ranging from an order for new construction work and major restorations to an appointment to a small post, or even half of a post. Some of these documents have already been mentioned; a further selection are given below.

According to Sijill 39: 30-31, the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira was expanded in 967/1559, just a few years after its construction. An order was sent from Istanbul to the administrator of the complex and to the governor of Jerusalem to carry out the work. The expansion, which is still extant, was implemented by the current master builder of Jerusalem, Husain ibn Nammar. (For more details, see below under Architecture, Description of the Kitchen.)

Sijill 45: 156 reveals that in 973/1565 'Abd al-Karim Beg, then in the post of administrator, constructed a western hall within the complex. No further details are recorded, apart from the fact that the work was paid for out of his own money. Unfortunately, this lack of information makes it difficult to identify the hall. Could it have been the square chamber with four vaulted bays adjoining the *turba*?

Later still, in 1007/1598-9 (Sijill 79: 475), another order was dispatched to the *qadi* of Jerusalem and to the administrator of al-'Imara al-'Amira, this time for a mill to be constructed within the complex. A group of Muslims had inspected the site of the caravanserai in the presence of the administrator, and had reported that the big rectangular vaulted chamber, which ran from south to north and which was then in use as a stable, was a suitable place for the mill. They had suggested that the south and the north doors be blocked and that a new door should be opened in the east wall from the interior of the complex. (For the full

⁵ The *mun*n was the equivalent of 819 grammes.

⁶ The *mudd* was the equivalent of 1.053 litres.

⁷ Brown bread, each loaf weighing 281.25 grammes.

⁸ *Zerde* is a Turkish food in which rice is coloured and scented with saffron and sweetened with honey.

⁹ The *dirham* weight was equivalent to 1.125 grammes. It is worth noting that the *dirham* is both a unit for weight and at the same time a unit of the monetary system indicating a silver coin. In order to differentiate between these two, the *dirham* is here further defined as a coin or a weight. The *mun*n is 5/6 of a kilogram; it is equal to 260 *dirham*, and each *dirham* is equal to 3.125 gram.

Arabic text with English summary see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 15/3). It is now impossible to identify the site of the mill with certainty, but according to its description in the *waqfiyya*, it is possible that it was in one of the two cross-vaulted rooms located north east of the caravanserai, north west of hall N, called by Burgoyne the 'Orphanage Kitchen' (Burgoyne 1987: 487, fig. 48.3), but these are too small to have accommodated a horse, mule or camel operating a mill. Furthermore, access to those rooms would have been extremely cumbersome. It seems most likely, therefore, that the mill was set up somewhere in the ten-vaulted rectangular hall of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, and that the access to that chamber via a new opening in its east wall used a ramp, now gone and replaced with steps. Al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 268) visited the mill when he was in Jerusalem in 1101/1689, at which time it was operated by horse-power and this again points to the large ten-vaulted room as the most likely site of the mill.

In 1167/1753 an unspecified restoration took place at the same time as the roofs of the complex were repaired, according to an inscription published by Burgoyne (1987: 493, pl. 48.26, and n. 19).

A century later, in 1286/1869-70 another cycle of repair work was undertaken. It is documented in a rectangular plaque set above the arch of the north wall of the *iwan* of the south vestibule (A1). The plaque gives the information that Muhammad Pasha, then the governor of Jerusalem, initiated repairs to the house of the government (i.e., al-'Imara al-'Amira) in response to the gesture (*bi-sharīṭ*; indication of the wish) of Muhammad Rashid, the governor of Syria in the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz. Unfortunately, the repairs are not specified; however from the stylistic viewpoint it seems most probable that the court building called 'the Department of Justice' (i.e., the middle part of the south façade) was among the works that date to this period of restoration. The panel is of marble, measuring 80cm by 1.6m. The text is divided into four vertical sections, each pair of which forms a separate unit of eight lines of poetry. The first section (that to the east) is written in Ottoman Turkish, and the second, western section is written in Arabic. The script is modern slender *naskh*, reserved in relief and with diacritical points. Traces of black paint can be detected on the surface of the script. A translation of the Arabic text is as follows:

The house of the Government resumed its laughter (*dahikat*) after being sad, as the Governor of the Noble Jerusalem initiated its restoration. This Governor was known as Muhammad Pasha, the honest (man) among our tribes. The restoration was in response to the order from Muhammad Rashid, the Governor of Syria, where he enjoyed a good reputation. It took place during the time of 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Sultan and the Crown of Kings—may Allah grant him a life full of victories and make us more powerful under his reign. When the restoration was completed I dated it (chronogram) 'the house, established with illumination as the full moon'. Da'ud al-Karimi made it (inscribed it) proudly in 1281 (the year 1865).

The complete Arabic text is to be found in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 15/1. Because of the difficulties of access, the Turkish text must await further study.

According to a recent inscription dated 1342/1923,

when the Supreme Muslim Council took over the complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira from the British Mandate authority in 1922, further repairs and renovations were undertaken. The stone panel is located below the one mentioned above. It measures 88cm by 48cm, and its translation reads as follows: 'The Supreme Legislative Muslim Council renewed this *madrasa* in the year 1342' (= 1923).

To this period of restoration it is possible to attribute the upper part of the middle part of the south façade, the reduction of the south-western courtyard, and the staircase in the east side of this courtyard. Traces of paint and whitewash can be seen on the south façade, and the paint on the roundels around the *iwan* vestibule may date back to this renovation.

Because the complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira was used for different purposes in the course of the last two centuries, it is inevitable that it saw a succession of alterations, additions and reductions over the years. Most of the work was not documented, and it is thus necessary to rely on a close investigation of the architecture to reach even a speculative conclusion, and many insoluble problems remain.

Conclusion

It is clear from the information already described that al-'Imara al-'Amira was the most prestigious, as well as the largest, Ottoman charitable project ever to be constructed in Jerusalem or, for that matter, anywhere else in Palestine. Although there were interruptions and difficulties at times in obtaining part of the *waqf* revenues and in providing food for the poor, it is still true that al-'Imara al-'Amira was at times throughout its long history a prosperous institution, continuing to play an important role in the social and economic life of Jerusalem. When al-Nabulsi was in Jerusalem in 1101/1689, he left a positive image of its activities, writing that its storage rooms were well filled. The administrator of the complex enjoyed a high rank from the time of its construction until 1831, when Ibrahim Pasha took control of the city. The administrator was one of those individuals, as were the *qadi* and *mufti*, to whom *firman*s and other communications from Istanbul were addressed. This gives some indication of his importance. Although most of the *waqf* revenue of al-'Imara al-'Amira has been lost, it still functions today, albeit on a reduced scale. Soup is still distributed daily, and meat with rice and vegetables every Tuesday and daily during Ramadan.

Architecture—exterior

The south façade

The south façade of al-'Imara al-'Amira, as recorded in the recent survey,¹⁰ is longer than the north elevation, for it extends about 45.1m from west to east, whereas the length of the north elevation is only 32.35m. The south façade contains three separate architectural sections—eastern, central, and western. The eastern part extends 12.1m, and has badly deteriorated. It is dominated by a simple door flanked to the east by a double window (each part measuring 75cm by 1.6m and 2.3m from ground level), and

¹⁰ The survey was the result of collaboration between the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the Department of Islamic Archaeology of the Auqaf Administration. David Myres, Hamish Auld, Euan Miller, Sophie Skoug and Elizabeth Jackson were engaged in the survey over the summer of 1993. I deeply appreciate their efforts and thank the British School for furnishing me with a copy of their drawings for my research.

to the west by a small slit window (21cm by 1m). The door itself measures 98cm wide by 2.05m high, and is surmounted by a lintel. It is now reached by four steps. Above the lintel there is a semicircular arch. The entrance leads to a group of rooms built on either side of an open courtyard. Most of the courtyard is taken up by recent, haphazardly constructed buildings of concrete which have reduced the space to a narrow passageway. There are no noteworthy architectural or decorative elements either on the façade or in the interior which suggest a 16th-century date. Instead, the structures are typical of the local Palestinian architectural style found throughout late Ottoman Jerusalem. It is difficult now to be sure if this entire section once marked the easternmost border of al-ʿImara al-ʿAmira because of the many alterations that have taken place. Indeed, it seems likely that it should, rather, be associated with the tomb chamber (see below under Tomb Chamber).

The second, central, section of the south façade extends 17m, and consists of an upper and lower part. The lower part is constructed of rusticated masonry and is made up of a central recessed entrance which is flanked on either side by three large identical windows. The door is raised by two steps (42cm high) from the sloping street level. It measures 1.25m by 2.87m and is surmounted by a slab lintel. The lintel has a triple fillet moulding. An inscription plaque of white masonry is set directly above the lintel. It measures 1.05m by 60cm, and is framed by a plain fillet moulding, which is twisted at the four corners to form a 'mim' device. From the corners a trefoil leaf emerges. An inner double fillet, which is cut away at the corners to form a concave curve, frames the text, and the entire panel is also framed on a grander scale by heavy flanking jambs. The text is in a typically Turkish script of a single line which has been left in relief against a worked ground. There are a few auxiliary and diacritical points which add elegance to the clear, legible, Turkish text. The inscription reads '*adliye dairesi*'—'the Department of Justice'.

Each of the six windows, which all measure 96cm by 2.32m, has powerfully projecting jambs and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. The sides of the uprights are chamfered except for the top and bottom which gives the effect of a residual capital and base to each. The stones of the arch have been treated to produce a central groove ending in a point over the 'capital', the angle of the point echoing that of the triangular top and bottom of each side chamfer. Four courses above the arches of the windows (which corresponds to three courses above the inscription plaque), a projecting masonry cornice cuts across the façade. Six courses of rusticated masonry, similar to that below the cornice, appear above the moulding. It is at this level the lower part of the central section of the complex ends, as is made obvious by a radical change in the method of dressing the stonework. Seen as a whole, this portion of the façade is marked by successive frames right down to pavement level.

The upper section of the middle part of the south façade is constructed of masonry of different quality; it is finely dressed, the stones being both smaller and less ornate, with no mouldings, rustication or framing to the windows, which are the only break in the solid wall. There are four of these, all identical, simple rectangles. Each window measures 80cm by 1.28m and is surmounted by a lintel. The wall terminates three courses above the lintel of the windows. There is a fifth window in the easternmost end of this upper level, but a vertical break in the joints of the courses and a reduction in the overall height suggest that this part was added some time later.

Although the lower section of the central part of the

south façade is not dated, the inscription panel with its date of 1286/1869-70 (see above under Subsequent History) probably reflects the time of its construction, for the architectural style and overall design is that of the 13th/19th century. The section would thus correspond to the period of major restoration on the complex, carried out by the then governor of Jerusalem. The section, with its vigorous fenestration and heavy rustication, together with the emphasis on the wall, owes more to Europe than to the Islamic world and shows how Western culture had begun to infiltrate Jerusalem at this time. The upper part was constructed some time later, probably in 1923 when the Supreme Muslim Council took over the complex from the British Mandate authority, as one of the inscriptions implies (see above under Subsequent History).

The third part of the south façade is that furthest west. It extends to a length of 15.3m with an emphasis on the central section which slightly skews its alignment. This part is built with masonry of a similar quality and dressing technique as that of the north elevation, and of the north elevation of the kitchen, although its differences may indicate that, despite being constructed at the same time—in the 960s/1550s—they are the work of two different building teams. After all, one entrance was the formal face which the complex offered to the world, while the other was a utility entrance only.

Instead of the recessed trefoil-arched portal of the north elevation, which will be discussed below, a large pointed arched doorway opens in the middle of the section. The arch, which measures 4.1m wide by 5.45m high, springs from a shallow impost on either side. The imposts are not identical, although each is constructed of three tiers of lancet *muqarnas* niches. The niches are decorated with a floral motif consisting of a small palmette. The arch itself is made up of simple masonry blocks framed by a frieze of small lancet niches, each with the same palmette motif (see Grammar of Architectural Ornament). The keystone of the arch is embellished with a carved boss in strong relief, made up of interlaced fillets which form lozenge-shaped recesses at the sides and terminate in a reserved six-pointed star marked by a six-petalled rosette at the apex. All in all, then, this is a significantly more imposing entranceway than was the norm in Ottoman Jerusalem.

There is a masonry roundel on either side of the pointed arch, both of which consist of a twelve-pointed star. A different roundel is set two courses above the keystone of the arch. It has a geometrical pattern, made up of a series of relief carved lines giving the impression of a woven straw-basket. The remaining two roundels are of the same general type though not identical for the west one has a more complex central section, and both are situated four courses from the springing of the arch (for a fuller discussion on the decoration, see Ch. 24). Their scheme of decoration is made up of geometrical interlacing which forms twelve-pointed stars enclosing a central small rosette.

In all there are seven window-openings in the south façade, five on the higher level and two on the lower level, one on either side of the doorway. The east one measures 1m wide by 2m high and is 1.5m above ground level. It is surmounted by a slab lintel and directly above the lintel there is a pseudo-relieving arch made up of three simple voussoirs. The middle stone is decorated by a trefoil leaf. Traces of modern black and red paint and whitewash remain on the masonry courses above the relieving arch. This seems to have been done lately to give the impression of *ablaq* masonry, and was probably implemented at the time when the Supreme Muslim Council renovated the site in 1923.

The west window measures 1.13m wide by 2.05m high and it is 50cm above ground level. It is surmounted by a semicircular arch and thus differs from the eastern window of this part. A rectangular aperture (70cm wide by 47m high), which has the appearance of a small window, is cut through one course above the arch of the window; it is now covered by a modern iron grille and it is clumsily finished. The asymmetry of the windows and the rough finish suggests that at some time alterations must have been carried out on this section of the façade.

One of the windows is a double window, set immediately over the central stone roundel three courses above the entrance arch. It is covered by a wire mesh grille. Thin iron struts intended to support a wooden balcony project at the level of the window sill; the design of the cast iron would seem to indicate a recent date. Each part of the double window measures 1m by 2.35m and is surmounted by an arch with a slightly pointed profile. The arches spring from the wall and from a column at the centre of the window. A carved stone frieze runs round the voussoir blocks of the two arches. It is decorated with a carved geometrical pattern made up of a series of small squares divided into four small triangles placed to each side of a central rib. Exactly above the keystone of each arch, the frieze loops to form a *mim*, and another loop terminates it at each end. A stone medallion is placed above the central column (and thus above the medallion centred over the entrance arch). Again of geometric design, it is made up of a ten-pointed star, the outer points consisting of a series of irregular hexagons.

To either side of the double window there are two rectangular windows. The eastern pair are identical, each window measuring 1m by 1.25m; those to the west are also identical and each measures 90cm by 1.25m. The four windows are also similar in that they are all fitted with identical iron grilles and are surmounted by slab lintels and pseudo-relieving arches. An eight-pointed star aperture is set five courses above the lintel of the western windows with the function of allowing additional light and air into the interior.

Three courses above this aperture and the roundel over the double window, this section of the south façade terminates with a slightly projecting frame. The frame breaks downwards in the eastern section of this main part of the south façade, to drop three courses below the summit of the masonry. This feature occurs only here, which is surprising, for the two sides of the façade are symmetrical and it is to be expected that they would also finish in the same way and style. This dissimilarity must be due to the rebuilding of the east side of the upper floor (for more details see below under the Upper Floor).

The north façade

The north façade is 32.35m long, but it does not have a unified height, for the entrance porch has always been higher than the rest of the elevation and the road level anyway rises steeply towards the west. The elevation is made up at present of an elegant entrance portal and two further sections—an upper and lower, or, more precisely, an original and a more recent section. The original part includes the courses up to and including two above the top of the slit window, where a vertical break is visible. It is built with fine dressed masonry, made up of square and rectangular stones of yellow and white although some have now weathered to grey and black. There are minimal joints. The courses of the masonry are both coherent and consistent for they are arranged in straight level lines in the same way as the original part of the south façade and the north elevation of the kitchen building (see below).

The lower part of the north elevation is a solid wall apart from the slit window already mentioned and two further rectangular windows. The slit window, which measures 25cm by 75cm, is located to the east of the portal; it is fitted with a recent iron grille and is surmounted by a very small trefoil arch. The two rectangular windows are set at the same level, with their apex one course lower than the bottom of the slit window. Each measures 65cm by 95cm high, and each is fitted with an antique iron grille. A pseudo-relieving arch made up of voussoirs set at a slant is built above the slab lintel of each window. There are five voussoir stones to the arch of the western window and these are bigger than the seven of the eastern window, occupying a depth of two courses instead of one. Here, therefore, the stone roundel is set directly above the relieving arch, unlike the stone roundel of the eastern window which appears one course above the voussoirs. Once again, the medallions are not identical. The one above the western window is smaller than the eastern one, its diameter being 34cm, and its decoration consists of a ten-part division, the points of the ten-pointed star linked and interlaced to form a rosette. The eastern roundel is 38cm in diameter; it has a combined floral and geometrical decoration of an eight-pointed star laid over another from the tips of which emerge well-executed trefoils. It has a central rosette made up of eight petals. The decorative motif of this roundel recalls those of the entrance portal.

The new upper part of the façade consists of the top thirteen courses built above the central section of the elevation. These raise the level so that the section appears as a rectangular feature, similar to a *pishtaq*. The stones of these courses are of a different quality, tone and size, being smaller than the original masonry. The new section is also a solid wall with the exception of three identical rectangular windows, which are each surmounted by a slab lintel and measure 63cm wide by 90cm high with a modern iron grille. Three courses above the slabs of the windows, the elevation suddenly terminates without frame or moulding. This sudden cessation, as well as the flat roof which covers the building (for which the northern elevation constitutes a wall) and the change in masonry, all confirm that the upper part of the elevation is a later construction. It probably dates from the time when the upper part of the bakery building was constructed (for further details, see below under the Upper Level of the Bakery [the prison]).

The entrance portal is located at the boundary between the Khassaki Sultan complex and the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, at the west end of the façade where the road rises steeply westwards from the valley in which Tariq al-Wad is set. The valley separates the Haram to the east from what Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 65) termed the *'aqabat al-suq* or Market Hill to the west, but which later came to be called after the complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira, or the *'Aqabat al-Takiyya*. There was a reason behind the siting of the portal. The topography with its steep change in the street level makes it difficult to centre the porch in the middle of the façade. In addition, in the present arrangement, the north entrance is built broadly on the same axis as the southern one. This is, however, only to be expected with entrances at either end of a roughly rectangular block. If there had been a deliberate wish to make them on the same axis, the entrance from *'Aqabat al-Saraya* would have been centred in the south façade. It is also possible that the much more impressive entrance to the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (Burgoyne 1987: 496, fig. 48.6) was incorporated into the Khassaki Sultan and acted as the main entrance from the north; after all, the main rectangular chamber of the earlier foundation probably now accommodated the mill.

Although the north portal of 'Imara al-'Amira is less imposing than the adjoining east and west portals of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (see Burgoyne 1987: 496, fig. 48.6), it is—if only modestly—decorated, and impressively tall. The porch is dominated by a trefoil arch of monochrome masonry framed by an ogee moulding. The moulding twists above the keystone of the arch to link to a rectangular frame that returns to connect with the moulding of the arch. Because the loop resembles the Arabic letter *m*, recent references in Arabic refer to it as *mim* or *jift* decoration (see Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 29). The moulding continues downwards from the springing of the arch to run round the two stone benches flanking the recessed porch. Each bench measures 54cm wide by 70cm deep by 80cm high.

The doorway measures 2.3m wide by 3m high. It has jambs of eight stones, of which the top one on either side has a frame moulding similar to an impost. There is a modern wooden door of two leaves which is surmounted by a well-built course of five joggled voussoirs. The final voussoirs at either end are decorated with identical stone roundels which project slightly. The medallions are 43cm in diameter and have a relief floral pattern that consists in the main of an eight-petalled rosette in the centre, surrounded by a concave-sided octagon from which trefoils emerge; interwoven with this are the stems of eight split-palmettes that both frame the trefoils and carry buds between them. A small whorled roundel (12cm in diameter), similar to those found on Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2), is carved into the stones close to the main roundels. A third medallion is carved on the keystone of the joggled course; this is smaller than the ones just described, having a diameter of 25cm. The decorative motif consists of a flat rosette in a central roundel surrounded by two sets of five petals with other smaller petals between (for a discussion on this decoration, see Ch. 24). Directly below this medallion, a small iron ring is fixed; this was probably used to suspend one of the oil lamps implied by the reference to money for the supply of oil among the list of expenditures in the *waqfiyya* (see above).

A slightly recessed rectangular panel is set directly above the joggled course. It measures 2.2m wide by 1m high and is at present concealed by a large notice which probably dates to post-1982, for al-'Asali (1982: 10) published a photograph showing a blank panel here. The present notice reads 'General Auqaf Administration, The House of the Islamic Orphanage'. The original stone panel is framed by an engraved geometric interlace enclosing hexagons. The panel probably originally carried either a foundation inscription or a decorative plaque, but, like the panels of the southern entrance, it is now blank. Had any inscription survived to the end of the 19th century, it would have been noted by van Berchem (1923: 308), who published the nearby inscription on the façade of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. Two courses above the panel there is a rectangular window. It measures 70cm wide by 90cm high and is fitted with a modern iron grille which must have replaced an older one, for the empty holes of the previous grille can still be seen.

Seven courses of dressed stones are set immediately above the moulding that frames the porch. A slit window, blocked at present, and a band of small lancet *muqarnas* niches decorate this part of the porch. The apex of each niche is decorated with either a three- or a five-headed leaf. This part must have been constructed at the same time as the porch, for the masonry of the face and the rear of the façade is similar and is integrated into the fabric of the porch. There are eight original masonry courses above the *muqarnas* niches which are surmounted by modern

concrete blocks. The size, colour and dressing of the masonry blocks, as well as the breaks in the courses to the rear of this area, indicate that this section of the wall was built some time after the porch had been constructed.

Interior—the northern block

The vestibule (A)

The north entrance portal leads directly to a trapezoid vestibule (A), which is covered by a barrel vault, a rather modest form of roofing given the elaboration of other vaults in the complex. The lower part of the walls is constructed of masonry blocks and the upper part, like the vault, is plastered. It measures 4.2m long by 3.15m wide at the south end, but narrows to 2.7m towards the north. The inner face of the vestibule opens onto the north-western courtyard by way of a pointed arch built of fine ashlar blocks. One course above the arch, off-centre towards the west, there is a rectangular window, which measures 75cm wide by 1.17m high, and is fitted with a simple modern iron grille. This replaced an earlier, perhaps original, one. The window is surmounted by a concrete slab lintel which suggests that the lintel was damaged and rebuilt recently. It seems strange that this window is off-centre *vis-à-vis* the arch, nor is it symmetrical to the two slit windows above; it might therefore be a later construction. These two slit windows are set six courses above the lintel, and are at present blocked from the interior. They are identical, and terminate in a small semicircular arch. Two courses above them, the nature of the ashlar masonry changes; the blocks are of a different colour and appearance, being whiter than the lower courses. This would imply that these upper courses are a later addition. They extend to the east face where there are four additional slit windows. Access to this upper part of the vestibule is by way of the upper floor of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. A vertical break in the joints of the courses can be seen to the west of the windows. The break, which starts at the level of the sill of the rectangular window and continues as far as the two courses constructed above the slit windows, is five blocks from the upright of the rectangular window and three blocks from the western slit window. Both the colour of the upper part of the masonry courses, and the break in the joints, confirm the assumption that the last phase of the north entrance porch was built some time later, and was not part of the original complex. It is clear too that the area of masonry located west of the break was built at the same time that the last part of the porch was added, for it was constructed to support the new addition.

The north-western courtyard

The vestibule gives access to the north-western courtyard, which is almost rectangular in plan—although the north-eastern angle is not a right angle. The maximum length of the courtyard is 13.1m by 10.6m. It has been paved recently with modern flagstones, and it is bordered to the west by Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, to the south by a two-storeyed, modern building (built in the 1950s) with a concrete roof, and to the east of a single-storeyed flight of twelve steps. There are two stairways in the north-western courtyard. The first, in the south-eastern corner—which is very recent—leads immediately to the roof of the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira. From this roof it is now possible to reach al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) and the southern entrance of al-'Imara al-'Amira across the roof of the tomb chamber. Before the construction of the stairs, access from the north-western courtyard to the southern part of the complex was probably

through the doorway which is preceded by two semicircular steps and leads through the modern building to what is called here Hall N (see below). It is also possible that entrance was through Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq but this too had its problems for in the 1860s, according to Pierotti (1864: 152), 'a heap of filth covered up several steps of the stairs' of the north entrance of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq and in consequence it was suggested that it would be 'better to go round the valley to the south gate and avoid the nuisance'.

The second stairway in the north-western courtyard gives the appearance of being older. It gives access to the upper floor, which has been built above the bakery building, and to a chamber constructed over the vestibule of the north entrance.

A chamber (B) is built in the north-eastern corner of the north-western courtyard, 1.7m east of the vestibule. It is entered through a door opening in the south wall. The door (80cm wide by 1.9m high) is very simple, and is surmounted by a slab lintel. Above the lintel, the ashlar are placed haphazardly and have a clumsy finish; they are surmounted by ugly courses of concrete blocks which suggest that there has been a rebuilding. The southern and northern sides of the chamber are not set at right angles, and it therefore has a trapezoidal plan. It has been paved and plastered recently, and it is today used as a latrine.

Two beautifully executed, semicircular steps lead to what must have been an impressive entrance in the south side of the north-western courtyard at the point where the north side of modern building now stands. Two holes for what must have been door-hinges are also still evident here. It is difficult to speculate on the type of building that once stood on this site, but it is possible that it was the mosque mentioned in the *waqfiyya* or in some way related to the four-bayed building (N), whose ground level seems unnaturally high (for more details see below).

The north-eastern courtyard

The ground level of the north-eastern courtyard is 2.5m lower than the level of the north-western courtyard. The difference is due to the topography of the site, and is bridged by means of twelve steps. These seem to be original and each measures 6m wide by 21cm high. The north-eastern courtyard is almost rectangular in plan, with maximum measurements of 6.1m wide by 9m long. It is paved with old flagstones of low quality.

The present shape and size of the north-eastern courtyard raise a question as to its original dimensions. Was this the original shape, or has it been reduced at some point? It should be remembered that this courtyard in particular was both the busiest and the most frequented place in the complex, for the free kitchen and the bakery are both located here. Twice a day it was thronged by some five hundred people, including residents and indigent people from outside, in addition to the employees of the complex. If one also takes into consideration that the whole southern elevation of the bakery building was recently rebuilt so that it projects into the courtyard, and also the manner in which the three halls (D, E, and F) are roofed, it is possible that this courtyard was originally bigger. If this is so, then the steps in the north-east angle of the north-west courtyard must have either abutted against something, or they were free-standing at the lower level, where now they abut chamber D. If this surmise is correct it would make possible an alignment of the northern façade of the south-eastern courtyard with the vestibule entrance.

The north-eastern courtyard is bordered to the south by the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira, to the east by a water cistern, to the north by what is called here the 'bakery building', which

includes halls D, E, and F, and a recent upper storey. The exterior and interior of these buildings will be described immediately below. It will be obvious from the illustrations that the two main elevations which border this courtyard—the north elevation of the kitchen and the south elevation of what is called the bakery building—are very different. While the former elevation is well-built and has decorative features which date back to the 16th century, the latter is an undecorated wall of re-used masonry. This is a clear indication that the two elevations were built at different times.

The Kitchen—exterior

The north façade

Only the north façade and a small part of the eastern elevation of the kitchen building are visible. Both are built of fine ashlar blocks of the same quality as the masonry of the north elevation and the south façade of al-'Imara al-'Amira complex. The north façade of the kitchen is 14.5m long, and a door (1.52m wide by 2.7m high), which is surmounted by a segmented arch, is placed in the centre. To each side of the door there is an identical stone roundel and a rectangular window. The roundels, which project slightly, are placed at the level of the springing of the arch of the door. Each roundel measures 34cm in diameter and its decorative pattern is made up of a central star with eight lozenge-shaped points from which emerge a larger eight-pointed star. The star is enclosed within two intersected squares which form eight triangles at the circumference.

The two windows are also identical, each measuring 1m wide by 1.54m high. They are fitted with an iron grille and modern iron shutters, and are surmounted by a slab lintel. A beautiful small niche and stone basin to contain water are constructed in the wall one course below and slightly to the east of the eastern window. The niche is surmounted by a narrow stone moulding in the form of a trefoil arch, carved within the slab lintel that surmounts the niche of the basin. Although the purpose of this basin is not clear, a narrow pipe leads from the bottom of it into the kitchen, making it probable that water was fetched from the nearby fountain and poured in to provide water for cooking. There is no pipe in the exterior wall or the terrace at present to serve the pipe in the basin and this lack would tend to support such a thesis. It certainly would have been more efficient to procure water for the kitchen in this way rather than having it carried into the building, and the elegance of the niche and basin point to an original date. Exactly centred over the door and four courses above the keystone of the arch, there is a third stone roundel. The decorative scheme is identical to that found on the roundel set above the eastern window of the north elevation of the complex.

Three courses above the roundel, the top of the façade is marked by a slightly projecting cornice, with a sloping chamfer at its lower edge. It extends across the width of the façade to the eastern elevation. The drum of the dome over the central bay rises directly from the roof of the kitchen. As explained already, the roof is reached today either from the roof of the tomb chamber or by way of the modern staircase recently constructed at the south-eastern corner of the north-western courtyard. The drum has eight sides, each cut away to form an arched window opening. A cavetto moulding runs around the drum immediately above the voussiors of the windows, marking the beginning of the dome. The hemispherical dome is made of rubble set in mortar with no exterior cladding or finial. The dome is flanked to the west by a recent chimney, built apparently of fired red brick, and to the east

by a recent aperture which was opened to give light and ventilation to the interior of the kitchen. The east end of the kitchen roof leads to al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya and to Ribat Bairam Jawish. To the south of the dome, there are three huge chimneys of truncated pyramidal form that have been plastered recently. These are the chimneys constructed by the local master builder, Husain ibn Nammar (see below).

Interior of the kitchen

The interior, which is entered from the door in the north façade, is almost square in plan and measures 12m wide by 12.4m long. It is made up of nine rectangular bays. The modern floor is of concrete, and on a single level—with the exception of the western bay (no. 4) of the central portico, and the eastern bays (nos. 3, 6) of the north and the central porticoes. The floor of bay 4 has been lowered 67cm below ground level by way of two steps to allow for an oven consisting of two circular fireplaces. Bays 3 and 6 are raised by 59cm, probably as a result of later adaptation to enable use of them as rooms by the employees.

The kitchen has three types of vaulting (a cross vault, a groin vault, and a dome), and the size of the three bays to the south are smaller than the others to the north and in the centre. The reason behind this difference in size is probably due to the limited space into which the kitchen could expand. The only space available was located between the chamber (P)—which precedes the tomb chamber—and the kitchen itself. The difference in the ground level between these two areas, and the fact that the tomb chamber and its surrounding area were probably fixtures before the construction of the kitchen, offer a convincing explanation for the smaller size of these southern bays. The height and the type of the vaulting of the southern bays were determined by their function—they were intended to act as chimneys, to allow smoke to escape without causing inconvenience to the attendants. The cross vault was the normal vaulting for square or rectangular spaces. It is difficult to understand the function of a dome in a kitchen, unless it was a method of allowing better ventilation for a busy kitchen; this is discussed below.

With the exception of the central bay itself (no. 5)—which is covered by a hemispherical dome—the other bays to the north (nos. 1, 2, 3) and centre (nos. 4 and 6) are all covered with some type of cross vault. Some of these vaults have square or rectangular recesses at the centre. The vault of the central northern bay is clumsily finished, for the four corners do not meet at the centre. A recent chimney cuts through the vault of the central bay to the west, and a square aperture measuring 90cm by 90cm pierces the middle bay to the east. This serves as a roof opening to provide light for the interior. The drawing of the chimney and the aperture on the plan is slightly misleading—it appears on the plan that the vaulting is groined while in fact they are cross vaults.

The central dome, which covers bay no. 5, and is a typical Mamluk construction, is carried on an octagonal drum pierced by eight windows, one on each side. The windows are surmounted by semicircular arches from the interior, as on the exterior. The transitional zone from the almost square area of the bay to the octagonal drum is achieved by four courses which form the octagon. The drum and the zone of transition are carried on four pointed arches which spring from the four pillars. Perhaps this domical vault with its many openings functioned as an outlet for smoke, especially given that the kitchen lacked its present set of three northern bays when it was first constructed. A parallel to the form of the dome is to be found in Turbat Turkan Khatun

(753/1352-53, see Burgoyne 1987: 322). The use of a Mamluk instead of an Ottoman method of construction for it indicates that the local techniques continued in Jerusalem in 959/1552. For more details on the influence of Ottoman architecture on Jerusalem building methods, see my concluding remarks.

The third type of roofing is found in the southern bays (nos. 7, 8, and 9). It is a groin vault with a central rectangular recess. Here the walls reduce until they terminate in a central rectangular opening measuring 1.4m by 1m. They give the appearance of truncated cones and can be likened to a huge chimney. These southern bays are higher by 3.35m than the others.

Sijill 39: 30-31, dated 6 Rabi' I 967/6 December 1559 provides the explanation for the shape of the southern bays (nos. 7, 8, and 9) as well as providing a date and the name of the patron. The record makes it clear that the original kitchen, apparently only six bays deep (nos. 1-6), was too small and in addition there were no chimneys to allow the smoke from the fire to escape. This bad planning resulted in a complaint from the attendants of the kitchen to the authority in Istanbul, claiming that the situation was causing them distress. In response to this situation, an order from the sultan was received in Jerusalem—probably after an application had been submitted—to the effect that the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira was to be expanded. Husain ibn Nammar, the chief builder in Jerusalem at the time, constructed two fireplaces (*mauqid*), one to cook rice and the other to cook wheat, and two chimneys (*shawarikh*) on the south side of the kitchen. For the complete Arabic text and the English summary see Cat. Appendix I, no. 15/1.

The vaults of the kitchen are supported on four central pillars and by the walls. The pillars are constructed at the four corners of the central bay of the kitchen, and they show slight variations in scale. The south-eastern pillar measures 90cm by 1m, the north-eastern 90cm by 90cm, the north-western 80cm by 85cm, and the south-western 80cm by 90m. Transverse arches span the vaults; apart from those which support the dome, each arch springs from a pillar and from the wall.

As already explained, an entrance and two windows are set in the north façade of the kitchen. From the interior they are simplicity itself; they are surmounted by arches, but the voussoirs of the arch of the eastern window are not visible, for they have been recently plastered. A door and two windows once cut through the central and northern parts of the west side of the kitchen, but today they are blocked. There is a blind niche measuring 1.5m wide by 1.2m deep 55cm above ground level which is surmounted by an arch, located at the end of the west side. A blind niche which projects into the room, measuring 1m deep by 1.4m wide, is built in the south-western corner of the kitchen. It is surmounted by a semicircular arch. Its roof acts as a dais that once was approached by way of a door which previously existed in the upper part of the south side of the kitchen. This door leads to the interior of the tomb chamber, and to the hall (N) located near it to the west. The jambs of the door and the lintel are still *in situ*. The dais would have provided a suitable point from which to oversee the workers while food was being prepared and dispensed to the poor.

The killar, or storeroom of the kitchen (C)

The storeroom (C), which is called the *killar* in the *waqfiyya*, is situated to the east of the kitchen. It abuts the western border of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, where the central chamber (S) is located (see cat. no. 28). Access to the storeroom is through a

door in the north elevation, and it is constructed of small, undressed masonry blocks in the upper level, but the lower masonry, where the door is located, resembles the fabric of the north elevation of the kitchen. This would imply that the upper part has been restored at some later period. The door measures 1.17m wide by 2m high; it is fitted with a modern iron door and is surmounted by a slab lintel, above which there is an arch. The floor in front of the door is raised 40cm above the ground level of the courtyard. There are two windows, located to the east of the door. The first measures 1m wide by 1.25m high; it is surmounted by a semicircular arch and is fitted with an iron grille. The sill is at the same level as the arch of the door, whereas the sill of the second window is set one course higher. This higher window is also bigger than the lower one, for it measures 85cm by 1.25m.

The interior of the storeroom is rectangular in plan with a total measurement of 5.1m by 8m. Its floor is made of concrete, and it is roofed by a cross vault. There is a small aperture in the south end of the roof, probably intended to guide rainwater into a cistern; it is now blocked. The walls of the chamber are plastered, but they are now in a poor state. A large opening (1.2m deep by 2m wide) connects the storeroom to the kitchen. It terminates in an arch and is most probably a later addition. To the south of this opening, there is a window which is surmounted by an unfinished arch. It measures 80cm wide 90cm deep and 1.67cm high. On the east side there is a large, blind niche measuring 40cm deep by 5.1m wide by 1.67m high. The articulation of the north elevation is expressed by an arch for the door, and by semicircular arches for the windows. The storeroom is still in use today; in the past it was used to store the raw ingredients for the food cooked daily in the kitchen.

The water fountain

The fountain is located at the east end of the north-eastern courtyard. It is built entirely of white dressed stone, similar to the material of the north and the south elevations of the complex. Three elevations of the fountain are visible, to west, south and north; those to south and north are unadorned, but that facing west is more elaborate. It consists of 13 courses, making an elevation 4.23m high, whereas only seven courses (2.37m high) are visible of the south and north elevations. Eight courses of the western elevation are built below the ground level of the courtyard. A stairway of seven steps leads down to the base of the fountain. Directly above the first course, four marble panels are set in a shallow recess. Each panel has an aperture to allow the water to flow out, and is surmounted by a rounded apex. At the north-western corner of the fountain, where the north and west sides meet, the angle is chamfered and ends with a sloping top. Apart from a small rectangular opening in the north side, the fountain is a solid masonry structure. The roof of the fountain is covered with small dressed stones of various sizes. A sill on the southern edge of the roof may suggest that some sort of structure once stood above the fountain, or that the fountain was originally made up of two sections. It is not easy to determine the nature of this hypothetical structure from the remains on site. The roof of the fountain is reached by an exterior stairway of eight steps which abuts the southern elevation. The interior of the fountain is rectangular in plan, measuring 2.8m wide by 3.8m long; its floor at present is covered in earth, its walls are covered by an ancient *qusurmil* plaster (ashes and lime), and it is roofed by a barrel vault. Securing enough water for al-‘Imara al-‘Amira was an important matter from the moment that the construction of the complex began. Khassaki Khurrem personally intervened at one point to

solve the problem. According to a *firman* summarised by Heyd (1960: 147, and n. 8) Khassaki Khurrem sent 2,000 florins (Italian gold coins) to cover the expense of adding water from the Wadi al-Bi’ar to Qanat al-Sabil (see Ch. 36, note 16 for more details).

The bakery building (opposite the kitchen)

A bakery (D), a rectangular spacious hall (E), and a large chamber (F) are constructed opposite the kitchen. They lie between the north-eastern courtyard and the northern elevation of the complex. A second floor is constructed above these three structures, and a simple elevation links the two storeys. For the purpose of description, it is here called ‘the south elevation of the bakery building’.

The south elevation of the bakery building

The elevation, which looks south, extends 16m from west to east but 12.1m from the western corner it is recessed 70cm. Access is through four doors (one is partly blocked), and there are also two slit windows, and one rectangular window in the lower part, plus four rectangular windows in the upper part. These various windows occur irregularly across the façade. The door measurements from west to east are respectively 1.05m by 2.05m, 1m by 1.93m, 96cm by 1.92m, and 1.15m by 2.2m. All the doors are surmounted by a round-headed arch with a double extrados. They are fitted at present with iron doors which have replaced the old wooden ones. The fourth door is situated at the easternmost end of the south elevation and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. It is today blocked by concrete slabs, but a small aperture recently pierced through the blocking wall has revealed a rectangular open space filled with earth and sewage, and, to the north, a fine pointed arch supporting an upper room. The form of the arch would indicate that it is probably Ottoman. The room must have been constructed at some later date, after the completion of the complex, for its entrance is separate from that of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, and its masonry is different from that of the arch and the bakery building it adjoins. This area was apparently part of the original complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, for it is contained within the line of the north elevation. But it is not easy to guess what was here before, and what function this area once fulfilled.

The lower rectangular window lies to the west of the west door; it measures 64cm by 1.07m and is surmounted by a white lintel. Directly above this there is an arch made up of seven voussoirs. It is fitted with the thin bars of an iron grille. To the east of the arch of this window, there is the first slit window. It is adjacent to the eastern termination of the arch of the window and it is at the same level as its summit. The slit is simple and measures 20cm by 70cm. The second slit is similar, but it starts two courses below the level of the western one.

The four upper windows are identical, and fitted with recent iron grilles; each measures 67cm by 1.8m, surmounted by a white slab lintel. The level of the third easternmost window is one course lower than the level of the other two. Three courses above the lintel of the upper windows (four for the one furthest east), the elevation terminates with concrete plaster in place of the projecting cornice found elsewhere. The roof of the building is flat, paved with small flagstones, and shows signs of having been recently rebuilt. It slopes slightly towards the south to drain rainwater into the north-eastern courtyard. A modern chimney of red fired bricks to extract smoke from the oven of the bakery is located to the west side of the roof.

Parts of the western and eastern elevations of the bakery building are visible. Both were constructed with the same quality masonry, and they are both solid wall apart from a doorway in the west wall, with two rectangular windows (75cm by 96cm) and one small slit window (25m by 40cm) in the upper part of the east elevation. The windows are fitted with modern iron grilles.

Dating the elevation

The masonry of this elevation is of relatively small size and consists in the main of white and grey stone with the occasional red and yellow block. Some of the stone appears to be in secondary use to judge by the differing hues and sizes, similar to that visible in the eastern and western elevations of the bakery building. Nor are the stones graded according to size, for some relatively large blocks are placed next to smaller ones. There are some inscribed and carved stones too, similar to those found on the inscription frieze which runs along the apex of the second floor of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (887/1482). This inscription records one of the sayings of the Prophet. Yet the fact that so many of the masonry courses run evenly across the façade disposes of the possibility that all the stone were in re-use.

Some of the stones for the 'Imara al-'Amira were, it seems, robbed from the Ashrafiyya after the *madrasa* was partly demolished by earthquake in 952/1546.¹¹ The *sijills* (see Ch. 36 under Stone) reveal that there was a brisk trade in used stone in Ottoman Jerusalem. A large quantity of the material was bought on 10 Rajab 962/31 May 1555 from al-Bimaristan al-Salahiyya by Farhad, the then administrator of al-'Imara al-'Amira (Sijill 30: 170). It could therefore be assumed that this elevation was built at the same time as the other major parts of the complex in the 960s/1550s. This date is certainly possible, but then another question arises: why should this elevation differ in fabric from the north elevation of the kitchen, from the lower part of the north elevation and from the south entrance of the complex? The masonry of all these elements is better laid and cut, more coherent and consistent, and in addition it is decorated with roundels. The elevation of the bakery and the upper part of the north exterior elevation of al-'Imara al-'Amira both terminate without a cornice or framing device, and in their architectural style too are a contrast to the rest of al-'Imara al-'Amira. This must sow some doubt as to whether this part is indeed of 16th-century date. It is difficult to see it as part of the original, royal construction. It is probable therefore that it dates to the period of construction of the upper storey of the bakery building (for more details see below). Perhaps here too the builder re-used existing masonry.

It is not clear when this took place. The northern elevation had reached its present appearance by the 18th century, for it was drawn by Elzear Horn in *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* (ed. Hoade 1962; see Burgoyne 1987: 503 fig. 48.15). Until further evidence comes to light, the exact date of this construction has to remain an open question.

Interior of the bakery building

The door furthest west of the south elevation of the bakery building gives access to the rectangular hall D. It is divided into

two unequal parts by a large pointed arch, and both parts are roofed by a barrel vault; the floor is covered by a modern pavement. The southern area of the hall measures 4.8m-4.6m wide by 7.7m long; it then narrows to 4.3m by 2.5m to the north, where the roof is slightly lower than the southern section. The hall is still in its original use as a bakery for bread which in the past was distributed to the poor. Today it is run by the Alms Committee of the Auqaf Authority. The bakery was recently renovated after a period of closure and neglect. There is now new paving for the oven and new tiles on the walls among a number of other innovations introduced to maintain the bakery and to bring it up to a functional standard.

Hall E, which although similar to the bakery D is not identical to it, is located directly to the east. It is entered through the central door of the south elevation. The hall is used today as a storeroom for the wood used by the carpenter's shop of the Islamic Orphanage Industrial School. It is divided into two parts, and is covered by a barrel vault. The interior of the hall, which is 45cm below the level of the north-eastern courtyard, also has a trapezoidal plan, for once again there are slight variations between the northern and the southern parts. The south wall of the southern section measures 4m, the west wall 4.8m, the north 4.6m, and the east wall 4.6m. The width of the northern section to the south is 4.6m, while the west wall (which is not aligned) measures 5.4m, the north wall 4m, and the east wall 6m. The ceiling of the northern section is in the form of a deep, pointed arch, and the walls have recently been plastered.

A short, narrow passage (1.9m long by 75cm wide) leads off the east side of the northern section of the hall to an ancillary chamber. This has a trapezoidal plan with a total measurement of 4.4m in length and a maximum of 2.2m in width. It is lit by the eastern window of the north elevation of the complex, and is covered by a barrel vault. The function of this chamber, which is dry and cool, was probably as a storage place for the corn supplied by the *waqf* of al-'Imara al-'Amira, though its dimensions are very modest.

The east door of the façade gives access to the rectangular chamber F. This measures 2.3m by 5.4m. Its concrete floor is on the same level as the north-eastern courtyard, and it is covered by a barrel vault. There are three identical blind niches in the east side of the chamber, each measuring 65cm wide by 1.7m high. The walls of the chamber have recently been plastered and it is used today, like room E, as a storage place for wood.

There are two rooms to the east of Hall F. Both seem originally to have been located within the borders of al-'Imara al-'Amira, but at present they belong to an unidentified building, which is situated between al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) and the Khassaki Sultan complex. The first of these two rooms to the south is without a roof; the opening which allowed access to it from al-'Imara al-'Amira is now blocked with concrete slabs. The room is some 3m lower than the level of the complex. The second, northern, room is covered by a tunnel vault. Both rooms are now approached through the unidentified building, and both have undergone many alterations.

The upper floor of the bakery building, the prison

The northern block: upper floor

Eight rooms (G1-G8) divide the area above the bakery building into three sections, north, middle and south. At present this floor is used as a residence and classrooms for the Islamic Orphanage

¹¹ Mayer (1931: 85-97), taking his authority from a sequel to the chronicle of Mujir al-Din, suggests that the earthquake must have occurred in 902/1497. Burgoyne (1987: 42 n. 32) argues in support of the earlier date, basing himself on the use of the stone and the *firman* summarised by Heyd (1960: 143).

Secondary School, but many of the officials in the school confirm the oral tradition that this place was used as a prison in the late Ottoman period. This would explain the odd layout of the floor and the low height of the rooms, which is a mere 2.6m. The vaults of the rooms are mainly supported by the walls, in addition to which there are three piers in the centre of the north and middle sections. Originally there was no partition between these two sections, but there have been many dividing walls constructed recently with openings between the three parts. The reason for these additions was to convert the rooms into living space and three classrooms for use by the Islamic Orphanage Secondary School.

The rooms are reached by a stairway constructed in front of the north-western corner of the west side of the upper floor. It has fourteen steps, each measuring 2m wide by 40cm deep and 16cm-20cm high. The steps seem to be old and they run northwards. They lead to a door in the north end of the west wall. This measures 1.17m wide by 1.88m high, and is surmounted by an arch built of fine ashlar blocks, resembling the arches above the three doors of the lower part of the bakery building already described. This door provided the only entrance to the upper level until a modern door was added recently. The new door is located to the south of the former door, and measures 1m wide by 1.83m high. It is surmounted by a lintel of small masonry blocks similar to the jambs.

The room G1 is nearly rectangular in plan, with maximum measurements of 3m wide by 5.9m long. It is divided into two by a modern wall. Four doors lead off the antechamber in addition to the entrance doors—two in the east, and one in each of the north and south sides. They all give onto the divisions of the space, with the exception of the door in the north, which provides access to the roof. All the doors are surmounted by an arch of good-quality masonry. The door in the north measures 90cm by 1.55m and starts 45cm above ground level of the room G1; the door in the south wall measures 87cm wide by 1.8m high and leads to the southern section of the upper floor (rooms G2 and G3). The door in the northern end of the east wall measures 90cm wide by 1.8m high and gives access to the northern section, whereas the one to the south measures 1.17m. by 1.88m high, and leads to the middle section. The south part of room G1 is paved with modern concrete slabs while the northern part retains its older, smaller flagstones of different colours.

The southern section of the upper floor is made up of two units (G2 and G3) which are divided by a modern wall. Each unit consists of two bays covered with a cross vault which is supported by the walls. Each bay of this section is lit by one of the four windows of the south elevation of the bakery building described above. The east bay G3 has another small slit window. There is a rectangular blind niche (50cm deep by 2.5m high) in the north wall of this bay. The niche and the wall behind it have been recently pierced by a small opening to serve as a door for the second unit of the southern section. Each unit is currently used as a classroom.

The second, middle section is entered from the south opening in the east wall of the antechamber. It too is made up of two bays (G4 and G5), and they are roofed in a similar way to the southern bays but the vaults are here supported by the two central piers and the wall. A modern wall of concrete separates the eastern from the central bay of the middle section, beside which there is a small new cell built with concrete blocks in the central bay. In addition, another recent wall separates the central and west bays of the middle and the north sections. There are two

rectangular windows in the east wall of the eastern room G5, each measuring 75cm by 96cm and each fitted with a modern iron grille. A pointed arch runs transversely between the eastern (G5) and the north-eastern rooms (G8), both of which now form a classroom used by the school. The room G4, which consists of two parts, acts as a passageway.

The three rooms of the north section (G6, G7 and G8) share the same roofing system, and each is illuminated by a window that overlooks the street of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, in the upper part of the north elevation of the complex, as already explained. The floor of the first two rooms running from west to east is paved with old flagstones, and the walls are plastered and whitewashed. A recent wall separates the central and eastern rooms.

From this description, it will be clear to the reader that the author believes that this floor with its elevations (i.e., the upper part of the north elevation of al-'Imara al-'Amira, and the south elevation of the bakery building) is not an original construction. The quality of the fabric and architectural features, the layout, simplicity and original function of the upper floor as a prison, all point to the fact that they were adapted when the complex came to house the seat of the governor and the justice department (the court). This means that the changes were made in 1286/1869-70 for the single surviving inscription asserts that major restoration work was carried out at that time (see above under Subsequent History). It is not now possible to reconstruct the original appearance of this part of the complex.

The chamber above the entrance vestibule (H)

The staircase, which gives access to the upper floor of the bakery building also leads to a small open courtyard preceded by a modern concrete wall. Part of the courtyard, which is paved with large slabs, is concealed under recent buildings, but by way of a further stairway in the north-western corner it is possible to reach the small chamber H. Room H is constructed above the vestibule of the northern entrance of al-'Imara al-'Amira and is entered through a door (90cm wide by 2.05m high) in the southern section of the east wall. The room is rectangular in plan with a total measurement of 4.5m long by 3m wide. It is divided into two by a pointed arch, the northern section of which is roofed by a complex cross vault with a small saucer dome at the centre. The southern section is the smaller of the two and is also roofed by a complex barrel vault. This vault is supported by the pointed arch to the north and by two semicircular arches to the south, which resemble those supporting the roof of the chamber T on the upper floor of the south entrance. In all there are three windows which light the interior of the chamber, two of which have already been mentioned in the discussion of the south elevation of the north vestibule. The third window is located in the eastern wall of the chamber and measures 78cm by 1.17m; it is fitted with an iron grille. There is a small blind niche in the east wall between the window and the door, measuring 62cm wide by 42cm deep by 1.2m high. Opposite this niche there is a larger one on the west side of the chamber. It measures 70cm deep by 2.25m long and terminates in a pointed arch. Two further blind niches flank the window to the south; these are identical, each measuring 40cm wide by 30cm deep by 82cm high.

The southern block

Interior (the south entrance)

The entrance in the southern elevation (A1, 4.15m wide; fig. 15/2) leads to the central vestibule which is square in plan with

sides of 4.1m. It is covered by a cross vault which is supported on four pointed arches. These spring from the four corners of the vestibule. The south and east recesses are deeper than those to north and west. To the south, immediately inside the door, is located a narrow porch to accommodate the doorman and perhaps visitors awaiting admittance. It measures 4.15m wide by 2.4m long. Immediately inside the entrance and on either side of this southern arch there is a blind niche. The eastern one measures 1.1m wide by 1m deep by 2.03m high, and that to the west measures 1.1m wide by 60cm deep by 1.92m high. Their interior is constructed with high quality masonry. The two niches at present contain fire equipment but their original function in the 16th century is not clear. When this southern section of al-Imara al-‘Amira was the seat of the Jerusalem governor (*mutasarrif*) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see van Berchem 1923: 310-2), doormen would have occupied these two niches.

The eastern arch is 90cm deep. A door (1.3m wide by 1.96m high) gives access to an eastern chamber. This is a rectangle measuring 3.8m by 4.9m and its floor is covered by a modern carpet which conceals the pavement. The original roof too is hidden behind modern wood panelling. This room has served as the office of the director of the Islamic Industrial Orphanage School since the 1960s.

The door leading to the eastern chamber is surmounted by an arch, and a rectangular panel is centred five courses (1.65m high) above the level of that arch. The panel measures 1.38m by 1m and is framed with a series of three engraved chevrons which have recently been painted green. Originally the purpose of this panel, as well as the others in the west and north wall of the central part of the vestibule (see below), was presumably to carry a foundation inscription or decorative plaque. They seem however to have been blank for some time and it is not certain that they were ever filled. Meinecke (1988: 268) pointed out that these panels display a decorative motif which was current in Damascus in the 16th century, as demonstrated on the façade of the Lutfi Pasha Mausoleum dated 940/1534. In the 1950s a modern inscription was prepared to fill the panel, taken from the Qur’an (IX: 105). The script is a modern *naskh*, and it is signed by the late Shaqib al-Qutb, a contemporary local calligrapher. It is now painted black.

There is a stone roundel to either side of the panel in the course below and a third example is to be found above it. Those on either side are identical and carry a six-petalled rose of three layers of over-lapping petals centred on a small six-petalled flower. The one above centres on another form of six-petalled flower that develops into a geometric device and has traces of recent paint.

A chamber to the west complements the director’s office and is entered through a door off the vestibule measuring 1.6m wide by 2.03m high. It is a trapezoid in plan, its south side measuring 3.4m whereas the north wall is 4.5m and that on the west 3.8m. The floor of the chamber, which was once paved with a *mizi* pavement of grey, is now completely covered with a rug. As in the director’s office opposite, a recent wooden roof covers the vaulting. A similar arch, complete with panel and roundels almost identical to those already described, is above the door of the western chamber. There are two minor changes—the first is the script of the panel, for it is a traditional saying of the Prophet (Hadith) and not Qur’anic; and the second is that the centre of the two roundels consists of two concentric circles in place of the six-petalled rosette. The design of the upper roundel is identical to its opposite number, but the treatment of the inner rosette

differs in the technique of execution.

North of the central and cross-vaulted part of the vestibule is a passage closed by double doors. It is rectangular in plan, measuring 3.2m wide by 1.7m long. Both doors are surmounted by identical arches, one opening south towards the vestibule and the other north into the south-eastern part of the south-western courtyard. The first arch, which has two tiers of voussoirs, springs from two brackets decorated with a frame moulding. The lower has ten large, white blocks, while the second has smaller, darker ones. An identical roundel to the two on the west side of the central part of the vestibule is placed to either side of the extrados of the arch, the one to the west being seriously eroded. A third roundel is placed one course below the apex of the pointed arch which supports the vault of the main vestibule. It is in such bad condition that it is difficult to read the design but it appears similar to that of the two upper ones set above the panels; for a discussion on a possible significance of these roundels, see Ch. 24). A large recessed panel crowns the two roundels; it terminates in a moulding at both ends and is contained within a frame of three engraved lines which are interlaced to form a geometric pattern. The frame is in bad condition and much of its decoration has eroded. The panel itself is blank with a modern plaque in its centre, superimposed recently by the Supreme Muslim Council. It measures 88cm by 48cm, and it records that the Supreme Muslim Council carried out repairs in 1342/1923-4. Another panel (mentioned above under Subsequent History) dated 1286/1869-70 is placed below the Supreme Muslim Council plaque measuring 80cm by 1.6m. This last panel records the restoration undertaken by the governor of Jerusalem in that year.

The caravanserai

The passage just described leads to the south-western courtyard, which is surrounded by *riwaqs* to the north, west, and south; to the east it is enclosed by a massive wall. Together with the courtyard and the upper floor constructed over the south entrance, the *riwaqs* must have formed the ‘lofty caravanserai’ mentioned in the *waqfiyya* (see below). The courtyard is a rectangle measuring 13m long by 9.1m wide. The area of the courtyard was recently reduced to almost half of its original size when two concrete bays were built in the western section. The wall to the east is now 2.8m deep—the stairway which was built recently has increased it to twice its original depth of 1.4m. The stairs now lead to the upper floor of the southern section, and separate the south-western from the south-eastern courtyard.

The caravanserai comprises two floors. The first, the ground floor, is the larger of the two and is made up of a central vestibule, described above, and an open courtyard, called here the south-western courtyard, surrounded by eight bays built on the south, west and north sides of the courtyard (M1-M8). The second, smaller upper floor includes at present a group of chambers and rooms (S, T, V, X, Y, W, and Z). Originally stairs located east of the bay M8 led from the ground floor to the upper level of the caravanserai. These were replaced by a later stairway situated immediately on the east side of the south-western courtyard. The ground floor of the caravanserai is not aligned, especially the northern side which is not set at a right angle, with the result that the caravanserai is trapezoidal in plan. This is a result of the contours of the rock (see below). The layout of the caravanserai and the irregularity of the scale of its bays give a strong impression that the plan was restricted by the limited availability of space. Since the building which borders the

caravanserai to the east is recent, it is impossible to be sure that the line of the eastern side of the caravanserai is original, or if it results from the construction of the justice department. Bays to the east, however, might have been expected to echo those found in the west.

There are only two extant caravanserais in Jerusalem apart from the one under discussion. These—Khan Tankiz and Khan al-Wakala (or Khan al-Sultan) published by Burgoyne 1987: 280-83, 479-84—date to the Mamluk period. A comparison of the three complexes will show that they share some common features, although each has its own identity and plan. These features characterise *khans* in general—they are all built on two levels, each has an open courtyard surrounded by a hall and other rooms, and each is approached through a vestibule, regardless of its length, with rooms on both sides. The caravanserai of al-'Imara al-'Amira is not, however, located in the middle of a market, unlike the Mamluk examples, nor is its stable original, for it made use of the existing Mamluk stable of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq (see below). When compared with caravanserais in other Palestinian cities, such as Khan Yunis (the *khan* of Yunis al-Dawadar, see Abu Khalaf 1983: 178-86), or with the caravanserais in Galilee, such as the Khan al-Tujjar and Khan Jubb Yusuf (see Marjorie *et al.* 1992: 55-94), the *khan* of al-'Imara al-'Amira will be seen to be on a smaller scale; and neither is it fortified nor has it a garrison. This, of course, is because it is built within the city of Jerusalem and not on the trade or pilgrimage route.

The south-western courtyard of the caravanserai is decorated with eight masonry roundels decorating the four walls of the south-western courtyard, which is, to be more precise, the original courtyard of the caravanserai. The roundels all face the interior space of the courtyard, and are placed five courses below the top of the walls. Some of them are so seriously eroded that the decorative motif is almost lost. The distribution is as follows: three roundels on the east wall, two on each of the north and the south walls, and one on the west wall. To identify their position, design and current state more fully, there follows a clockwise description beginning at the north east of the courtyard.

[Editorial note: The designs of the decorative roundels fall into four distinct categories. Roundel no. 1 is partly concealed by a step of the later stairway. It is thus only a part roundel but enough is visible to determine its design, here described as type A. It consists of six interlocking circles which surround a central hexagon. This central area is filled with a six-petalled rosette, the details of which are left in reserve, and each element of the design, which is clearly differentiated from its neighbour by a deeply-cut groove, is similarly decorated. Each of the six 'petals' has a saltire divided by a vertical bar, while the interstices between them each has a two-leafed device.

Roundel no. 2, half of whose decorative scheme has eroded, has a diameter of 36cm. The main decorative element, type B, consists of eight trefoils, those in the cardinal positions being smaller than the intervening ones. They are arranged alternately, as if emerging from two interlocking lozenges which surround a central octagon. Once again, the design is in reserve and the various elements are deeply grooved. The background within a fillet border is cut away.

Roundel no. 3 is in perfect condition and also has a diameter of 36cm. There are two parts to its design (type C)—the central area and an encircling frame. The central motif consists of a rosette of five rounded concave petals superimposed on five other, larger petals. The marginal decoration is two bands of

interwoven foliage, one band with split palmettes and the other with trefoils. The bands run in a counter-clockwise direction, which is emphasised by the leaves which have been cut with a central groove

Roundel no. 4 is so badly eroded that it is hard to read its decorative scheme. However, it is possible to make out a central 6-pointed star from which emerge grooved arms enclosing six alternate hexagons and double-kites (type D). It therefore has the same design as the roundel above the inscription plaque in the west wall of the vestibule described above. These are both similar to geometric roundels on the walls at the Damascus and Jaffa Gates (see Ch. 24).

Roundel no. 5 is also in bad condition, but it is possible to identify the decorative scheme as type A. This is similar to roundel no. 1 but differs slightly from it in that there is a secondary outer border, and the central element is a circle rather than a hexagon. In roundel no. 5 the interstices between the 'petals' are left undecorated, which concentrates the eye on the daisy-like form of the design.

Roundel no. 6 is not in good condition, but, from what remains of its decoration, it is possible to recognise that it is close to roundel no. 2, that is type B. This is the only roundel still existing on the western side but in view of the many later changes, this was probably not always the case, particularly in view of its location on an east-west axis with roundel no. 1. It seems highly probable that two other roundels were once placed to balance roundels nos. 2 and 3. As there is no discernible logic to the arrangement of the various types, however—other than that there now exist two examples of types A, B and C—it is not possible to suggest what form these missing designs might have taken.

Roundel no. 7 is so badly eroded that its decoration has largely vanished. The last roundel is no. 8, type C, which is similar but not identical to roundel no. 3. SA]

It is curious that the western side of the courtyard has only one roundel; there is no trace of any others that have been removed or have become defaced. When the normal principles of symmetry and balance are taken into account, it might be supposed that the three roundels on the east would be matched on the west yet there is only one—at the very least there should be two. Presumably one or two of the roundels may have been lost or they may have been arranged haphazardly, which seems unlikely. Roundels nos. 5, 6, and 7 cannot now be seen from the courtyard because of the recent construction of the additional two bays. It is possible to view them (but with difficulty) from the interior of these new buildings.

There are eight bays—M1 to M8—within the three *riwaqs* of the caravanserai, all of which are covered by a cross vault. The southernmost bay M8, which is aligned with and corresponds to the vestibule, has a more elaborate cross vault with a transverse ridge-rib, just like the main vestibule. The vaults are supported on the six square pillars on one side and by the wall on the other. Transverse arches create these vaults, each also springing from a pillar and from the wall. A plain *muqarnas* niche adorns the springing of the arches with the exception of that of the south-eastern bay (M8) where the apex of the lancets is decorated by three- and five-headed leaves. This extra complexity is sufficiently explained by its public nature as part of the entrance complex. Two pointed arches in each *riwaq* once opened onto three sides of the courtyard; the fourth side to the east is formed by the dividing wall between the courts. Only two arches are still visible from the exterior—those of the south-eastern (M8) and the north-eastern (M1) bays. The two arches have the same span

(4.9m) and are constructed opposite each other. They also share a masonry type although bay M1 is 1m deeper than bay M8, for this acts as the entrance to the caravanserai from the stable of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq.

The north wall of the north *riwaq*, which includes the bays M1, M2, and M3, marks the division between Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq and al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex. However, the reader is again reminded that the two buildings were incorporated into one, as noted by Burgoyne (1987: 486). It is noticeable that the wall is very far from being aligned at a right angle. Burgoyne (1987: 488) explained this as being due the contours of the rock, of which outcrops can still be seen on site. He does not go into detail but merely supposes that the *riwaq* was part of a caravanserai built by Khassaki Sultan (Khurrem) in the middle of the 10th/16th century.

There is good reason to believe Burgoyne, and there are other points that can be introduced in support of his thesis. First there is the open courtyard (i.e., the south-western courtyard) in close proximity, and a large stable stands immediately behind the *riwaq*. There was originally easy intercommunication between the stables of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq and the *khan* whether the animals entered from the north or the south portal of the complex. These stables were the main hall at ground level of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which was used as a stable in both the later Mamluk and in the Ottoman periods. Sixty-six iron rings still exist in the hall for tethering the animals. The site is easily approached from the north by way of the ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya, and from the south from the ‘Aqabat al-Saraya. A cistern nearby provided water for the animals. An upper floor is built over the south entrance. These features are also found in the other two extant *khans* in Jerusalem (Khan Tankiz and al-Wakala, see above). Further support is found in Pierotti (1864: 152), who described the south part of the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira when he visited it in the 1860s. He writes: ‘On the south is a fine pointed doorway, ... leading into a spacious hall. Beyond this is a very large court surrounded by a cloister with pointed arches. The hall, the cloister, and the court, are now only used to shelter the camels and horses of first comers.’

A small door, 80cm wide by 2m high, opens onto the east side of the south-eastern bay (M8) of the south *riwaq*. It leads to a small rectangular cell, which measures 90cm wide by 3m long. This cell at present has no opening apart from the door, and has no ventilation. Its southern part is covered by a barrel vault, and an opening in the roof suggests that in this area a staircase once led to the upper level over the south entrance. An official in the administration of the school confirms that a staircase once existed before the present one was built (see below). Pierotti (1864: 152) described the staircase in the 19th century as ‘a spiral staircase in the north-east corner of the hall [that] leads to the upper floor’.

There is a recess (I), 1.4m by 2m, in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard, introduced after the construction of the stairway which now leads to the upper level. The recess is used at present as a place of ablutions. A rectangular chamber (J) (2.4m by 4m) lies directly north of the recess and east of the north-eastern bay. Half of it has recently been divided by concrete blocks into four small cells to serve as latrines. The concrete floor of the north-eastern bay M1 has probably recently been raised 17cm above the level of the courtyard. Three steps (48cm) on the north side of the bay give access to the main, ground-level hall of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. The hall is used today as the carpentry shop of the Orphanage School.

An almost square room (4.4m by 4.2m) is located to the south of the central, southern bay (M7). It is covered by a folded cross vault with a small saucer dome at the centre. The vault springs from the four corners of the room. There is an undecorated off-centre *mihrab* niche on the *qibla* side (93cm wide by 66cm deep by 2.3m high). The scallop of the niche terminates in a pointed arch. There are two stone corbels above the *mihrab*, and directly above them there is a slightly projecting frieze of fifteen small *muqarnas* niches. These are covered in black paint, which makes it hard to identify the details of the lancet decoration, but it appears to be similar to that found in bay M8, described above. One course above the frieze, there is a central masonry roundel. Unfortunately erosion makes the motif illegible, although it is possible to make out a central six-petalled rosette.

There are two unusual elements to the arrangement of the *mihrab* wall. The first is the presence of two corbels, and the second is the method of construction of the *muqarnas* frieze. One of the problems is the function of the corbels, for such elements usually support something—but in this case it is hard to imagine what. Are they merely a decorative extra, or are they intended to ‘support’ the rather clumsy *muqarnas* frieze? This is not correctly aligned with the rest of the masonry, unlike other bands of its type. The idea that they have a supporting function seems unlikely, for the weight of the frieze does not warrant so massive a support. In any case, both corbels and frieze appear to be a later addition. The room is used today as a darkroom, and an additional roof has been introduced recently directly above the scallop of the *mihrab*.

This is the only *mihrab* still extant in the whole complex. It is difficult to accept, however, that this was the only mosque in the complex, or that it is the mosque mentioned in the *waqfiyya*. It is much more likely that this diminutive room functioned as the *masjid* of the caravanserai. Although the description of the mosque in the records is very concise and contains the usual rhetorical expressions, it does not accord with the area under discussion. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 270; al-Husaini 1982: 81; al-‘Asali 1983: 130) records that ‘the donor (Khassaki Khurrem) has founded various types of charitable edifices; among them is the noble mosque with the lofty arched opening and the high praying-house with the strong portico (*al-masjid al-sharif al-rafi‘ al-taq wa ‘l-ma‘bad al-munif al-mani‘ al-riwaq*)’. The Turkish text as translated by Stephan (1944: 182) is slightly different, for it adds pillars and domes to the description.¹² It says ‘... a well-founded edifice with strongly built pillars, a lofty vaulted mosque, and a high praying-place with firm domes ...’ Neither of the descriptions, Arabic or Turkish, can be seen to correspond to the area under discussion, for here there is neither *taq* nor pillars, or even one full-scale ‘firm’ dome. Furthermore, the *waqfiyya* states that the above-mentioned mosque which she built ‘opposite the kitchen’ (*wa minha al-‘imarat allati banatha itijaha al-masjid al-mazbur*), and this small mosque cannot be said in any way to be ‘opposite the kitchen’. The inference must therefore be that the area under discussion is not the mosque described in the *waqfiyya*. It seems probable that this area was built either as an annexe to the caravanserai, as suggested above, or—though this is much less likely—was added later when the main mosque of the complex ceased to function. The clumsy inclusion of the frieze

¹² For the Arabic translation of Stephan’s English text, see al-‘Asali 1982: 17.

and the corbels above the *mihrab* niche would support the latter supposition, if they were taken from the earlier mosque, but on the other hand the well-built *mihrab* and the roundel both indicate that the small mosque may after all have been original and built as part of the caravanserai. The question as to the location of the main mosque described in the *waqfiyya* remains. This conundrum, and the question of when and why it ceased to function, are discussed below.

A recent stairway situated at the south-eastern corner of the courtyard gives access to the upper floor. It comprises twenty-seven steps (each measuring 1.3m wide by 30cm deep by 20cm high) and two landings. It runs towards the east, then turns northwards and leads to the upper floor of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex and to the upper storey of the incorporated Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which has been studied by Burgoyne (1987: 488-9).

The upper storey of the caravanserai

The upper storey of the caravanserai comprises a group of chambers and rooms of different quality and design; they are covered with a number of different types of vaulting. These vaults are:

- (1) a folded cross vault with a saucer dome at the centre; this covers the main part of chamber S;
- (2) a barrel vault with recessed double triangles at each end; this covers the northern part of chamber S;
- (3) a simple barrel vault, found in rooms X and V;
- (4) a vault with a saucer dome at the centre with a triangle at the four cardinal points; this covers chamber T;
- (5) and, finally, a flat roof.

The vaulting of chambers S and T is both well built and ingenious, and dates from the 16th century. Parallels of the folded cross vault are to be found in cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 19 and 25. It is similar to the type of vaulting used in Bab al-‘Amud (Damascus Gate), and is a typical Mamluk feature which continued to be employed in early Ottoman architecture. The simple barrel or tunnel vault is used in cat. nos 2 and 11. A parallel that is similar but not identical to the saucer dome listed above under (4) is found in the ancillary chamber of cat. no. 22.

Exterior from the courtyard

The upper storey at present consists of the central chamber (S) and the group of rooms and cells in close proximity to it. These rooms are used today as offices of the employees of the Islamic Orphanage Industrial School (*dar al-itam al-islamiyya al-sina’iyya*), but their original function is unclear. Since these chambers and rooms were connected by a narrow staircase, it is most probable that the rooms were used as part of the caravanserai. A rectangular open space, paved with flagstones, is constructed in front of the northern elevation of the upper floor. This elevation is dominated by a pointed arch built with *ablaq* masonry of yellow and black voussoirs. The keystone of the arch is decorated with a palmette. The span of the arch is now blocked with masonry, presumably from the period of major restoration and renovation in 1286/1869-70. As a result, in place of an open arch, the new wall contains a central door, flanked on each side by a rectangular window. The door measures 1.3m wide by 2.5m high, and each window measures 60cm wide by 1.5m high. The windows are fitted with iron grilles and each is surmounted by a lintel. A string course of masonry blocks is constructed above the level of the window lintels, extending across the span of the arch.

Above the door, the central blocks have a chamfered edge. One course above the string course there is a rectangular window (1.28m by 75cm) with a frame moulding, surmounted by a small circular window (25cm in diameter) which is framed by a narrow billet moulding. The elongated format of the two windows, the quality of the ashlar (which differs from the masonry on either side of the arch) and the string course all underline the remarkable change undergone by this façade. This is also evident from Pierotti’s description of this upper part (1864:152). He mentions that there was ‘a Gothic window of two lights, with a marble column as mullion, crowned by an elegant arabesque capital’ in this upper floor.

The south elevation of the upper floor forms part of the overall southern façade of the complex and has already been described. The west elevation is not visible because it is hard against its abutted neighbour, and the east elevation, although large in scale, is a solid, plain wall of small-scale masonry with two double windows opened in its upper part. The jambs of the windows and the arches are built with rusticated blocks.

Interior

Three steps, each 6m long by 30cm deep and 55cm high, precede the door giving access to the interior of the main chamber (S). A pointed arch subdivides the interior into two sections, the southern part of which is square in plan, measuring 4m by 4m, and is roofed by a folded cross vault, with a saucer dome at the centre. The vault is supported by four arches springing from the corners of this square section, the east side of which is not properly aligned. Here there is a recess of 90cm-1.1m. The northern section of the chamber is rectangular in plan, 4.1m by 2.2m, and is roofed predominantly by a barrel vault, although the two ends of the vault are complicated by a recessed double triangle. The two sections share a common ground level raised 20cm by a step at the entrance. The floor is paved with large flagstones of good quality, and which appear to be original, some measuring 1.8m by 52cm. In addition to the two windows in the north wall, the main chamber is illuminated by a double window in the south wall (described above under the South Façade). It is preceded by a large, rectangular masonry dais, which measures 2.15m long by 60cm deep by 37cm high. There are two blind niches in the northern part of the chamber, the first in the west wall (1m wide by 90cm deep), and the second opposite in the east wall (90cm wide by 50cm deep). The walls of the main chamber have been plastered recently, but unfortunately it has been so clumsily executed that the lines of the folded cross vault have been distorted.

The ancillary room (T) to the west is approached through a small door (86cm wide by 1.8m high and with the customary lintel) which leads directly to a small, rectangular vestibule. This is 1.5m wide by 1.25m and carries a hexagonal drum supporting a small, shallow dome. An inner doorway (85cm wide by 1.85m high) gives onto the main chamber (T). The plan is almost square, measuring 4m by 3.8m, but the angles of the walls are distorted. The floor is paved with modern square tiles and the walls have been recently plastered. There are four blind niches in this chamber, two in each of the west and east walls. Each niche measures 90cm wide by 1.75m high. Their depth is identical at 50cm, apart from the south-eastern niche which is slightly deeper (60cm). There are three windows, two to the south giving onto ‘Aqabat al-Saraya, and a third, now blocked, in the north wall west of the doorway. Apparently this was done when a room (V) was built to the north. Room T has an elegant saucer

dome at the centre of four depressed triangles at the cardinal points, which give the impression of a rudimentary star. The dome and the triangles are supported on eight semicircular arches constructed in the upper part of the walls. This method of roofing appears to be original, for it resembles that found in the southern section of chamber H, constructed above the vestibule of the north entrance to the complex. They probably date to the second half of the 16th century, and it is possible that they are examples of the work of the same master builder.

The plan shows that the ancillary structures to the east of the upper storey comprise a vestibule (W), and rooms X, Y, and Z. Room X is approached through vestibule W, lying to its north. The vestibule is very plain; it is a simple rectangle in plan measuring 2m wide by 3m long. Room X is also very simple, but is square, measuring 4.3m by 4.3m, and is lit by two windows in the south wall, similar to the windows of the western room T, and by a simple double window in the east wall. It has no niches, unlike room T. The floor is covered with modern tiles and the roof is flat. A further opening in the east wall of the vestibule (W) leads to another room (Y), which is a long narrow rectangle of 5.5m long by 2.4m wide, covered by a barrel vault. There is a double window identical to the one in room X in the east wall and a blind niche in each of the south (1m wide by 50cm deep) and north (70cm by 35cm) walls. The last room of this eastern part (Z), which is now used as a latrine, is built north of room W and west of room Y; it is rectangular in plan (2.1m by 2.75m), and is approached from the north by way of a simple doorway. It is lit by a window in the west wall. A short covered passage to the north of room Y leads to a paved way running between the various rooms of the complex, most of which are of more recent construction.

Dating the upper floor of the caravanserai

There are two types of construction in the upper storey of the caravanserai. The first type features among other things traditional vaults and arches, as well as old paving stones, and is confined to the chambers S and T. The second type is much more simple and almost featureless, and is found in the remaining rooms—that is in the vestibule W and in rooms X, Y, and Z. In addition there is a break in the masonry courses as well as a change in the quality of the ashlar and the height of the roofs. These details all point to buildings of a different date. An analysis of the layout of the areas in the centre (Chamber S) and west (Room T only) of this floor shows a surprising lack of symmetry, taking into consideration the balance of the two sides of the upper storey of the south façade. There must once have been an identical chamber to room T to the east of chamber S. Only the south wall—apart from the upper three courses—remains of this hypothetical eastern room. This has already been discussed under the South Façade. The room itself either fell into ruin or was dismantled at some later period and was replaced by the present buildings. This means that only the main chambers (S and T) date to the original construction of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira in the 960s/1550s. The rest of the upper storey was presumably built at the time of the work in 1286/1869-70, which has already been discussed above.

The south-eastern courtyard

A passage (2.25m by 2m) leads from the courtyard of the caravanserai (the south-western courtyard) to the south-eastern courtyard. A step now divides the courtyard into two approximate rectangles, the western section measuring 8m wide by 17.7m

long, and eastern 4.5m by 6m. The level of the western part is the same as that of the caravanserai courtyard, and shares the same quality of paving; the eastern section is concrete and is 25cm lower. These differences, taken together with the straight line running between hall N and the building of the justice department on the west, and the tomb chamber and the vernacular buildings to the east of the justice building, suggest that the western section of the south-eastern courtyard belongs to the original ‘Imara al-‘Amira. The eastern end of the south-eastern courtyard would thus have constituted the original eastern border of the complex. The courtyard is here bordered to the south by the justice department (so named on a plaque and apparently built in 1286/1869-70), and to the north by the large rectangular hall with four bays (N). A small, new, concrete building stands in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard, and there is a square well-mouth (55cm by 55cm) in the middle of its northern section.

The four-bayed hall (N)—the putative ‘Mosque Building’

The four-bayed hall (N) is the present heart of the al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex. It is bordered to the west by the three vaults which now house the orphanage kitchen and which were part of the original Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, to the north by a two-floored, modern concrete construction which seems to have replaced a structure that was possibly related to the hall, to the east by the domed tomb chamber, and to the south by what we have called the western section of the south-eastern courtyard. The western half of the hall is now used as the refectory of the Islamic Industrial Orphanage School, and the eastern half acts as a storeroom for the same institution.

Like the bakery building (discussed already) and the domed tomb chamber (to be discussed below), the hall is problematic. So far no sources have been found to elucidate it. Neither its date nor its function is explicitly reported in either the *waqfiyya* or the *sijill* records. In addition to this lack of information, the hall itself has been much altered, as have the buildings which surround it. Doors, windows, and walls have been blocked off and then opened in a different place, its south façade is now integrated into the adjoining entrance belonging to the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, and an upper floor has been constructed later. None of the three doors which now give access to the interior seems original. The interpretation of this structure thus has to rely in the main on speculation on its architecture, and on the brief statement in the *waqfiyya*.

The south elevation

Two elevations of the hall are still visible—the southern and the eastern. The south elevation, which appears to have been rebuilt clumsily at some still unspecified time, is divided into an upper and lower section. The lower part is built with rusticated masonry and is dominated by three doors and three windows. The western door is huge (directly to the south west of hall N). It measures 3.6m wide by 4.7m high, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. This door leads to the southernmost vault of the three belonging to Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which now houses the orphanage kitchen. The vault was thought by Burgoyne (1987: 489) to be a later addition. It is most probable that the vault was rebuilt at the same time as the doorway—and thus at the same time as the rest of the southern elevation of hall N—for they all share the same architectural fabric and are integrated. It is difficult to be sure when this took place, but it seems to have been in the late Ottoman period and probably at some time before

1282/1865, for the upper part of the south elevation was most likely built after 1286/1869-70.

The middle door, which leads into the southwestern bay of hall N, is curious, for it measures 1m wide by 2.7m high, and its jambs have holes in which to insert the bars of an iron grille. This feature is also found in the vertical part of the frame enclosing the windows. This would suggest that the 'door' was originally a window which was then enlarged, which would mean that the jambs are in secondary use; it is surmounted by a lintel made up of simple masonry blocks. The eastern door measures 95cm wide by 2m high and is surmounted by a slab lintel; immediately above it there is a rectangular window 95cm wide by 63cm high. All three doorways are fitted with a modern iron door. Two of the three windows flank the eastern door; the one to the west measures 82cm wide by 1.54m high, and the one to the east 93cm by 1.54m. Each is surmounted by a slab lintel and fitted with a simple iron grille. The grille and the jambs of the windows seem to be in secondary use for there are piercings for a grille at the point of the joints of the courses. A third window is located west of the central door, and seems to be a later addition, for its jambs project slightly from the façade. It measures 80cm wide by 1.54m high and is surmounted by a semicircular arch; it too is fitted with a modern iron grille.

The east elevation

The eastern elevation cannot now be seen except from the recently constructed covered passageway O which runs between hall N and the tomb chamber. This elevation is well-built compared to the southern one. Most of the masonry is dressed, and the jambs and lintels of the fenestration seem to be old. However, some of the ashlar are rusticated which might indicate repair or rebuild. There are two doors and three window-openings, which at present are all blocked with rough masonry. These openings would suggest that it was once possible to approach hall N from the east. The two doors are identical, sharing the same dimensions of 92cm wide by 2m high, and two of the three windows, each to the north of a door, are also identical at 92cm wide by 1.5m. The doors and windows are all surmounted by an elaborate slab lintel, above which there is a pseudo-relieving arch of the 'eye-brow' type with three voussoirs. Each window has an old iron grille. The third window seems to be more recent, for the jambs are dressed in a modern style into which the grille does not fit perfectly. This window is located in the upper northern section of the elevation. Part of the upper and the lower courses of the elevation are hidden by the awkward roof built recently to enclose the passageway, and by an accumulation of earth on the ground.

The hall is today entered through the south face by way of any of its three openings, none of which, as has already been explained, seems to be original. The interior plan of the hall is almost square, measuring overall 10.1m by 10.3m, and is made up of four identical bays. The floor is covered with modern paving stones, and the level is raised considerably from the original, for the springing of each arch begins only 78cm above the present ground level. Each bay is roofed by a folded cross vault with a small, circular dome in the centre. The dome in three cases rests on a low, octagonal drum with no intervening transitional zone. The exception is the dome of the south-eastern bay, for here there is no drum. The four domes, originally open, are now blocked; those of the western side (the north western and the south western bays) were blocked when the upper floor was constructed probably in 1865. Each vaulted bay is supported on four pointed

arches which spring from a square central pillar and from the wall, or just from the walls of the hall. The width of the arches which spring from the central pillar is double that of the arches at the sides of the hall, namely 80cm as compared to 40cm. All the arches have a similar span of 4.4m and their apex stands at 3.75m above the present ground level. They are built of *ablaq* blocks of yellow and grey.

In addition to the openings described above in the south and east walls, there are three blind niches and an elaborate porch in the north wall. The first niche is located in the north side of the north-eastern bay; it is rectangular, 40cm deep by 1.4m wide. The porch, which must originally have been the main entrance to the hall, is in the centre of the north side of the north-western bay. It measures 1.5m wide by 90cm deep and is 3.75m high. However, it was originally higher before the ground level was raised to its current height. The porch is now blocked with concrete slabs; it abuts a two-floored concrete building of recent construction. An iron grille has been clumsily fitted to the inside of the porch. The grille has been cut at the top to conform to the curve of the scallop, which would suggest that it is not original. The porch was probably connected with the doorway discussed above, to judge by the two old hinges and steps situated on the north side of the modern building in the north-western courtyard. An identical, well-built blind niche frames the porch to either side, each niche measuring 62cm wide by 1.5m high and surmounted by an arch. At some fairly recent time, possibly at the instigation of the Supreme Muslim Council in 1923, two large openings were pierced through the thick (1.1m) west wall of the hall where it adjoins the three vaults of the Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq. They are located in the north-western bay (2.2m wide by 2.8m high) and the south-western bay (2.4m wide by 3.35m high) of the hall, and allow easy access between the kitchen and the refectory. A modern partition wall of concrete blocks separates the two eastern bays from the western ones.

Function

It is clear that considerable alterations have been made to hall N, in particular to the exterior and at ground level. The interior, although it has suffered from these changes, still retains its original layout and beautiful proportions. It is not easy to be sure of the original function of the hall. The situation is not helped by the modern concrete building which obscures what originally stood to the north between the two elaborate doorways still *in situ*. But the importance of hall N with its vaults and bays is not in question and it deserves a serious attempt at identification.

It will be remembered that the early Turkish version of the *waqfiyya* (discussed above under History: Identification) described the mosque—one of the four major buildings of the Khassaki Khurrem complex—as 'a well-founded edifice with strongly-built pillars, a lofty vaulted mosque, and a high praying-place with firm domes'. The final Arabic version described it as a 'noble mosque with a lofty arched opening and a high praying-house with a strong portico (*al-masjid al-sharif al-rafi' al-taq wa'l-ma'bad al-munif al-mani' al-riwaq*)'. The descriptions closely resemble hall N—all the elements of these texts are still represented, for the building really is a 'well-founded edifice', it has many 'pillars' at the sides as well as a large central pier, and the arches and the vaults are indeed still 'lofty'; in addition, the entrance porch in the north well deserves to be called a *taq* or arched opening. I therefore suggest that the main function and reason behind the construction of the hall was that it was to be the main mosque of the complex where the poor were expected to gather for prayers.

In addition to the close agreement between the existing features of hall N and the literary description of the mosque, the *waqfiyya* contains two further points about the location of the mosque which help to identify it. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 270; al-Husaini 1982: 81; al-'Asali 1983: 130) states that the mosque was built 'opposite the kitchen', and that 'the fifty-five cells (*hujra*) for the poor' were built around it. Hall N is located in close association with the original kitchen, though by no stretch of the imagination is the hall opposite the kitchen, and it is highly likely that most (if not all) of the cells were built in the area now occupied by the justice department, immediately to the south of the hall. If the cells were not here, it is difficult to imagine where they could have been located. It would have been the most appropriate site for them; in addition, where the *waqfiyya* does not state unequivocally that the cells were built by the donor (Khassaki Khurrem), it is possible that some of the cells were located on the second floor of Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq, which would place the hall/mosque firmly in the midst of them.

There are, however, problems to this theory. One cannot ignore the absence of a pulpit or a *mihrab*. Although the absence of a pulpit is understandable, because of the proximity of the Haram al-Sharif with the Friday Mosque of al-Aqsa, and it is in any case not an integral part of the structure of any mosque, the *mihrab* is always essential. This raises the immediate question—if hall N was indeed the mosque, where was the *mihrab*? The width (1.1m) of the south wall makes it possible that one of the doors here was originally a *mihrab*, which was later enlarged to serve as a door when the mosque ceased to function and was converted to serve for some other purpose. But this proposal seems unlikely for two reasons—first, because there is no evidence for such a change and second, neither door is in the central position in a *qibla* wall that is the norm for a *mihrab*.

If hall N is indeed the mosque mentioned in the *waqfiyya*, it must be a 16th-century structure. It would be logical then to see within its architectural fabric some of the decorative elements which mark out the other constructions of the original 'Imara al-'Amira, such as roundels, decorative panels, and lancet niches. It is possible that the decorative elements prevailed on the exterior elevations which, it has been shown, have been much altered. It is also possible that the decoration was removed during the subsequent periods of major work, yet all these assumptions are not supported by any material evidence. Furthermore, the lack of any similar four-bayed hall which could have served as a mosque either in the city of Jerusalem or in Palestine as a whole to act as an external control, reduces the feasibility of this theory.

The conclusion must be, therefore, that, although the structure of hall N conforms with many features of the mosque as recorded in the *waqfiyya*, the absence of the *mihrab* as well as the other reasons mentioned above make it almost impossible to view hall N as the main mosque of the complex. This conclusion once again opens the question of the function of hall N, and adds the further question of where was the location of the lofty mosque described in the *waqfiyya*?

Although the complexity of the case and the lack of information might deter a further attempt at answering this central question, it seems that the only remaining possibility for the location of the mosque is the area, now occupied by a two-floored, modern concrete building, situated immediately to the north of hall N. Three points support this hypothesis. The space is large enough to accommodate a 'lofty' mosque, it is precisely 'opposite' the kitchen, and the well-executed design of the original entrance way, with its handsome steps, indicates that it

gave access to an important structure. Unfortunately, it is impossible at this stage to go further with this hypothesis for lack of evidence.

With regard to the function of hall N, if one considers that the north and the south wall were once open, it is possible that the hall was used as a double-vaulted passage which connected the putative mosque just described and the rooms of the Sufis.¹³ It will be recalled that the present writer believes that these cells were located on the site of the location of the department of justice. Another possible function for this area could be a place where the poor ate their portion of food. It has already been mentioned that the donor (Khassaki Hurrem) made a proviso that 'no food was to be set aside for any person other than those specified, nor was it to be taken off the premises in a copper bucket. If it were taken outside, it would be considered to have been stolen.' It is interesting to note that part of this hall is now used as a refectory for the orphans of the school.

The Tomb Chamber

Many saints chose to be buried in Jerusalem, as in other religious centres. There are so many Muslim burial places in the Old City of Jerusalem that al-'Asali (1982) published a book on the subject. It appears from the writings of Mujir al-Din (1973), Burgoyne (1987), and al-'Asali (1982), that these sites took different forms over the centuries, from the simplest interment of the body beneath the ground with no superstructure—such as the tomb of 'Ubaida ibn al-Samit, the companion of the Prophet—to the most sophisticated style of stone tomb in the middle of a specifically built tomb chamber—such as the Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq. The tomb in the complex of al-'Imara al-'Amira is one of the latter category. All the parallels to it in Jerusalem date to the Mamluk period. Examples of similar, although not identical, tombs and domed chambers were published by Burgoyne (1987)—Ribāt 'Ala' al-Din (1987: 120, 125), Turba Kubakiyya (1987: 141-3), Turba Auhadiyya (1987: 166-73), Turba Jaliqiyya (1987: 186, 188), Turba Sa'diyya (1987: 197-98), Turbat al-Turkan Khatun (1987: 322-23), Turba Kilaniyya (1987: 468), Madrasa Tashtamuriyya (1987: 468), and Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq (1987: 507).

There are few Ottoman burial monuments in Jerusalem. This makes it difficult to compare them with the tomb under discussion or with the Mamluk examples. The Ottoman examples either securely dated to the 16th century or likely to be from that period are the tomb of Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12), the tombs of the Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), the tomb of Sitt Qamra (cat. no. 32), and the tomb of al-Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din al-Khalwati (Masjid al-Shaikh Rihan). The tombs at the Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) are not dated. The only other example known to me is the tomb under discussion here, which is the only one of those just listed with a domed chamber. The tomb chamber of Bairam Jawish is cross-vaulted, those of the Maulawiyya and Sitt Qamra both have simple vaults, and the tombs at Bab al-Khalil are not covered. The

¹³ A discussion with Dr Michael Burgoyne in September 1998 led to his suggestion that the walls which now enclose room N are later additions, and that originally it was a four-bayed pavilion providing a shady place for recreation or study. This would explain why none of the doors appear to be original, for none was original. I am deeply grateful to Dr Michael Burgoyne and Dr Sylvia Auld for their valuable comments, raised during their discussions with me when we toured the complex together.

other difference between the Ottoman tombs and the one at al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is that they are either shorter or longer, and have a different head post. The only exception is the tomb of Bairam Jawish. These factors will help in dating the tomb chamber, which will be discussed below.

Finally we come to the tomb chamber itself, which is located in the eastern corner of the south-east courtyard. It is separated from hall N on the west side by the narrow passageway (O), and from the kitchen of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira to the north by a rectangular room (P). The tomb chamber is bordered to the east by a storeroom (Q), and to the south by the south-eastern courtyard. This means that only part of its southern elevation is visible from the outside. Al-Nabulsi (al-‘Asali 1991: 268) is apparently the first and only traveller who described his visit to the tomb and identified the occupant. This took place when he was in Jerusalem in 1101/1689, when his route took him past al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (al-Takiyya). Al-Nabulsi has left only a brief report. He wrote that ‘... the miller (of the Takiyya) guided them to a place there which has a door leading to a dome. The dome is built with dressed masonry and has sides and lintels, and within that dome is a prestigious tomb. We [al-Nabulsi] asked about the occupant of the tomb; it was said to us that this is the tomb of the warrior, the Shaikh Sa’d al-Din al-Rusafi, the owner (author) of *Al-manhal al-safi wa’l-mashrab al-wafi*.’

A rectangular opening (1.7m wide by 3.2m high), fitted with a recent iron door, gives onto the passage O. The passage is trapezoidal in plan, measuring 7.5m long and 1.7m wide to the south, while the north is only 90cm wide. Three steps of 43cm each lead from the ground level of the eastern section of the south-eastern courtyard. Its floor is buried under dry earth, and it is covered by a barrel vault. However, because the roofed space is so narrow, the vault is incomplete. A rectangular room (P) separates the tomb chamber from the kitchens of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. It has recently been roofed in concrete. The walls are not in right-angled alignment and it measures 6.3m long by 2.7m wide. An opening in the north-western corner, now blocked, once led to the masonry dais built in the south-western corner of the kitchen. It is most likely that the dais, which has already been discussed, was approached from the north-eastern bay of the hall, which adjoins the tomb chamber.

Exterior

The south elevation is built of monochrome masonry which has partly weathered to grey or black. The courses are both finely dressed and carefully laid, suggesting that they were cut and built by a skilled master. A window (1.5m wide by 2m high) with a pointed arch and rectangular gadrooned moulding is placed at the centre of the elevation. The window opening begins 10cm above ground level. This would suggest that this eastern section of the south-eastern courtyard was raised some time after the building of the tomb chamber. The window is fitted with an iron grille and with modern iron mesh.

A recent staircase of two flights runs to the east before turning north and leads up to the roof of the tomb chamber, giving access to it. The staircase is in front of room R (which is constructed to the south-east of the tomb chamber) so that it conceals part of the southern elevation, with its northern end integrated into the masonry at the point where the top of the arch of the window is situated. The staircase is now used as part of the passage connecting the southern to the northern part of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex.

On the roof, the staircase gives directly onto a hemispherical dome supported on an eight-sided drum. The drum rises directly from the roof, which is paved in stone, and terminates in a *cyma reversa* cornice. There are eight rectangular windows in the drum, one on each side. Each window measures 50cm wide by 74cm high, and is surmounted by a slab lintel. The windows are now all blocked, but originally they must have provided light and ventilation to the tomb chamber. The dome is faced with small flagstones to protect it from rain, and it culminates in a stone finial.

The north façade and the interior of the chamber can now be reached only by crossing the narrow passage located to the west of the building. The north façade is constructed of white, dressed masonry and it is dominated by a recessed niche with a gadrooned semicircular arch. The niche measures 2.8m wide by 4.1m high. The façade terminates in a simple cornice. A doorway (1m wide by 1.64m high), constructed of nine courses of white and black stone, gives access to the interior. This doorway is surmounted by a slab lintel and five courses above it there is a small, square window.

The west and the east elevations of the tomb chamber are identical. The masonry is of mediocre quality and both elevations are decorated with a recessed panel which terminates in a gadrooned, pointed arch. There is a rectangular window (93cm wide by 1.64m high) in the lower section of each panel, surmounted by a slab lintel. The windows are built of white and black masonry, and until recently both were fitted with iron grilles; the west one has now been removed. The eastern window has been blocked with concrete, probably at the time room Q was constructed (see below).

Interior

The tomb chamber, which is not aligned with the surrounding structures, is entered today from the west from the passage O. Although the plan gives the appearance of a square, the chamber is in fact rectangular, for it measures 4.2m by 4.7m. The floor is 80cm lower than the level of the south-eastern courtyard. A stone tomb, 1.6m long, 1.04m wide and 59cm high, occupies the centre of the room. As already explained, according to al-Nabulsi (al-‘Asali 1991: 268) it marks the grave of a warrior called al-Shaikh Sa’d al-Din al-Rusafi. No further details are given by al-Nabulsi. The stone tomb has four corner posts of white marble (the western ones slightly larger than the eastern ones at 14cm by 14cm as against 12cm by 12cm). All are decorated with inscriptions and geometric patterning. The inscriptions are illegible for they are partly obscured by the top of the tomb, which must have been augmented at some unspecified time.

There are three windows in addition to the entrance. The window in the south wall is surmounted by pointed arch, while the other two and the entrance door have slab lintels above which there is a simple arch built of small, white blocks. Above the arches there are four small identical windows intended for ventilation, each measuring 50cm by 80cm. The hemispherical dome sits on four identical shallow arches which have a pointed profile and spring from the corners of the chamber. Between the arches, four triangular pendentives make the transition from the almost square base to the octagonal drum. The eight windows of the drum, as mentioned above, are blocked, and the dome is built of rubble stone, which has received a recent coat of plaster, like the walls of the chamber.

Dating the tomb chamber

The date of the tomb chamber and its relationship to the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira present difficulties. The chamber is undated, and it is not mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. So far no information has emerged about it in the *sijills*. The reference by al-Nabulsi remains not only the earliest but the only piece of information, and this was made some one hundred and forty years after the construction of the complex. Although the architectural elements are not conclusive—for they are not idiosyncratic enough to point to a specific date, being found in both pre-Ottoman and Ottoman buildings—the location of the only entrance and the elaborate elevations may provide clues to its date.

Any attempt to date the tomb chamber and to show a connection with the construction of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira will obviously allow for three possibilities—that the tomb chamber was built at the same time as al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex, or that it was built later, or that it was built earlier. The location of the elaborate entrance and the narrow space between the tomb chamber and hall N make it unlikely that the tomb chamber was constructed at the same time as al-‘Imara al-‘Amira, for it is pointless to go to the trouble of building a beautiful, decorative entrance which will be both hidden and difficult to approach. And it would be even more odd to construct the tomb chamber on this site with its particular layout *after* the construction of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex, for it would be expected in this case that the entrance would have been placed on any side other than the northern façade, cramped as it is *vis-à-vis* the kitchen of the complex. The elimination of these two hypotheses then leaves the third possibility—that the tomb chamber was built *before* the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira. The alignment of hall N and the modern building of the justice department, the different levels of the ground between the tomb chamber and the buildings of the ‘Imara al-‘Amira complex, and the location and the style of the entrance all support this third hypothesis.

How the tomb chamber was originally entered and from where, and when it was built, remain further questions. As already explained, no independent information has been found to help with an answer, but it may be supposed that the tomb chamber was approached either from the south, where the third part of the south façade of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira now stands, or from the north, which is the direction of Tariq ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya. With regard to the date of construction, I think that the tomb chamber was constructed between 885-933/1482-1527—a period of almost fifty years, between the last Mamluk building of al-Ashrafiyya in 885/1482 and the first Ottoman building of Sabil Qasim Pasha in 933/1527 (cat. no. 2). I tend towards the conclusion that the tomb chamber might have been built in the same period as al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, which is after all

situated close by. (For a more detailed discussion, see cat. no. 28 under Dating the building.) The striking resemblance between some of the shared architectural elements—such as the gadrooned arches and the *ablaq* masonry—would seem to support the link between the Mawardiyya and the tomb chamber.

The rooms (Q and R)

There are two rooms to the east and south of the tomb chamber (Q and R). Both are simple, undecorated rooms and, to judge by their architecture, they appear to be of recent construction. The first room to the south (R) is approached through a simple door in its west wall overlooking the south-eastern courtyard. The door, which measures 90cm wide by 1.75m high, is surmounted by a modern slab lintel. The ground level of the room is 60cm lower than the eastern part of the south-eastern courtyard, and it has a modern pavement. The interior of the room is equally plain, and since its alignment is not true, it has a trapezoidal plan (west 6.5m, south 4.2m, north 4.9m, and east 6.9m). The walls have been recently plastered and the roof consists of two cross vaults.

The second room to the north (Q) is also trapezoidal (south 3.4m, north 4m, east 8.30, and west 9m). It has in effect no western wall, for it has been constructed against the eastern wall of the tomb chamber. The room has the same roofing system as R. Both rooms were probably intended for storage. They have been built recently and it is possible that previously the tomb chamber was approached from the south through the space now occupied by the two rooms.

Concluding remarks

It will be clear, not only from the foregoing description of the architectural components of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira but also from its history, that the complex was and still is the largest and most complicated within the Old City of Jerusalem. The development of the complex has been continuous since the Mamluk period up to the present with additions and modifications to sections of it. It is noteworthy that the Auqaf Administration in collaboration with the Welfare Association have raised \$3 million for the restoration and rehabilitation of the whole complex. It is fortunate indeed that such a sum of money has been secured and even more fortunate that this research and documentation should have been completed before any further alterations have taken place. The complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira is unique not only within the architectural history of Jerusalem but within Palestine as a whole. It is a sultanik building with wide horizons, and in order to put it into context with other similar complexes elsewhere within the Ottoman empire—for example the ‘Imaret of Haseki Sultan at Aksaray in Istanbul or the Tekke Süleymaniyye at Damascus—comparisons have been made in Ch. 36, under Other Buildings.

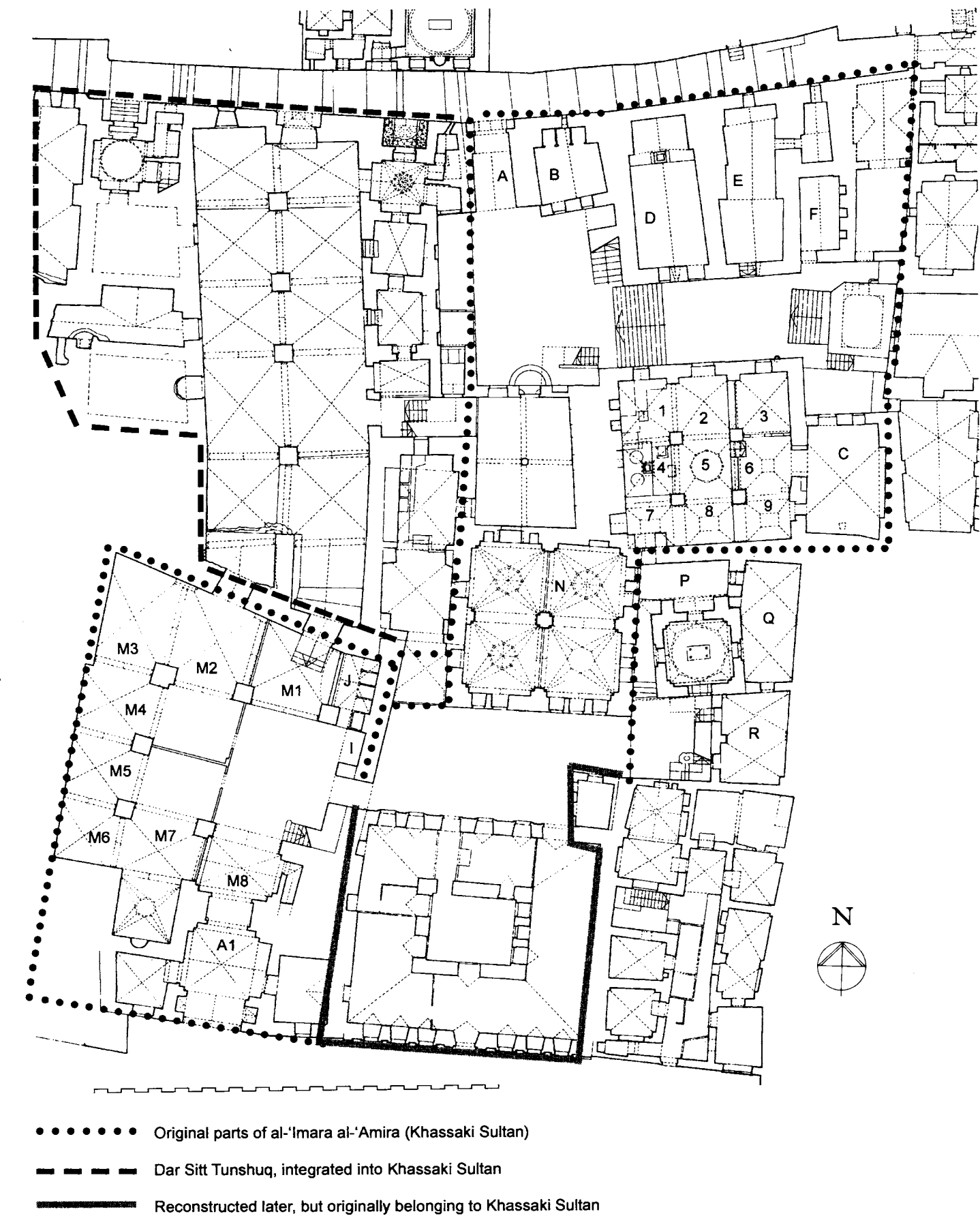


Fig. 15.1 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), overall ground plan.

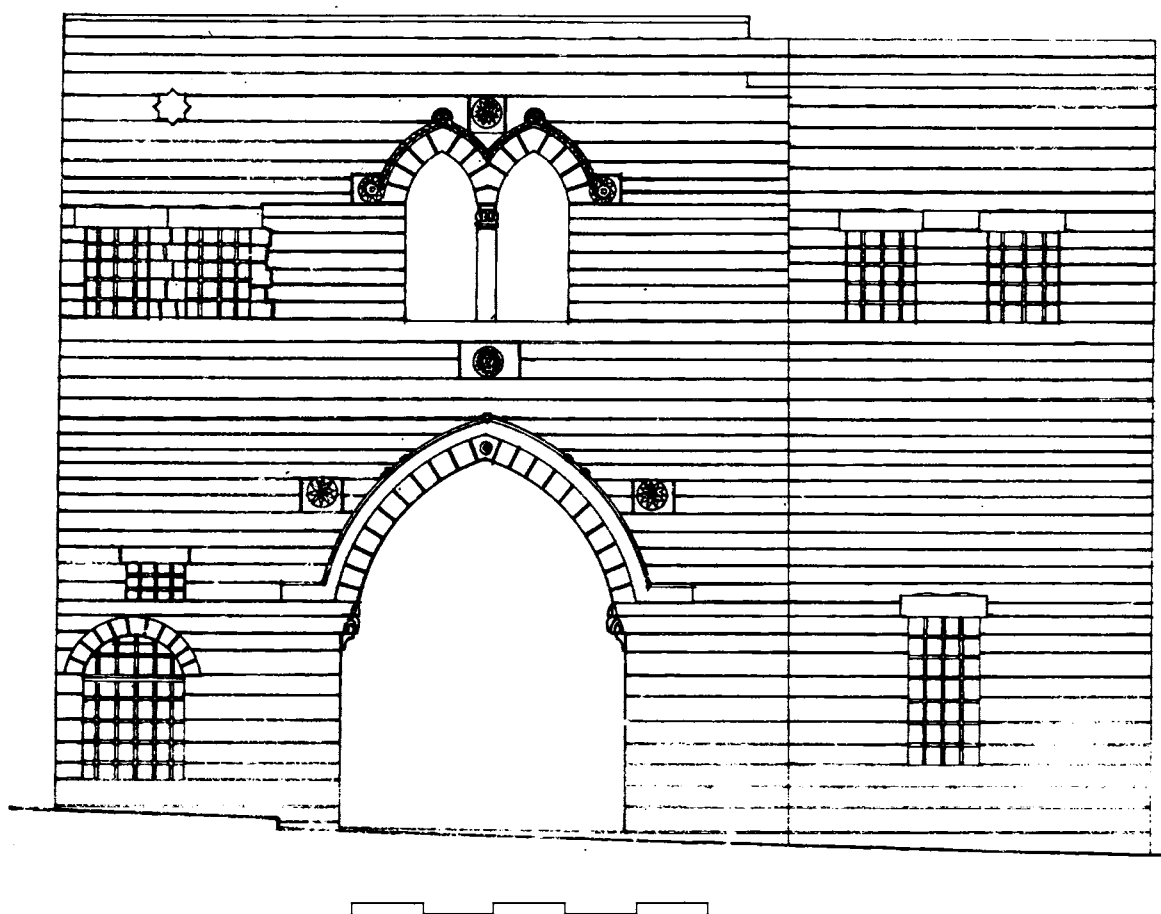


Fig. 15.2 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), south elevation, entrance doorway.

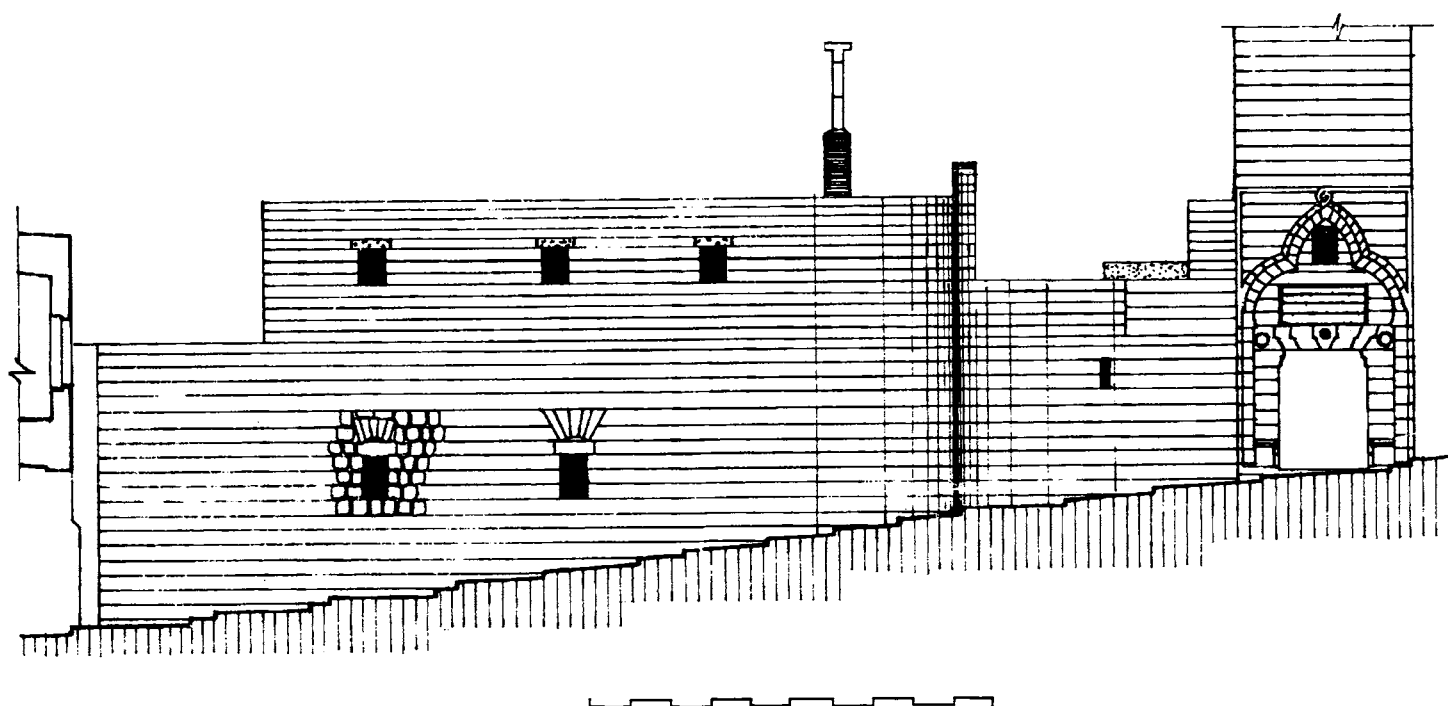


Fig. 15.3 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), north elevation.

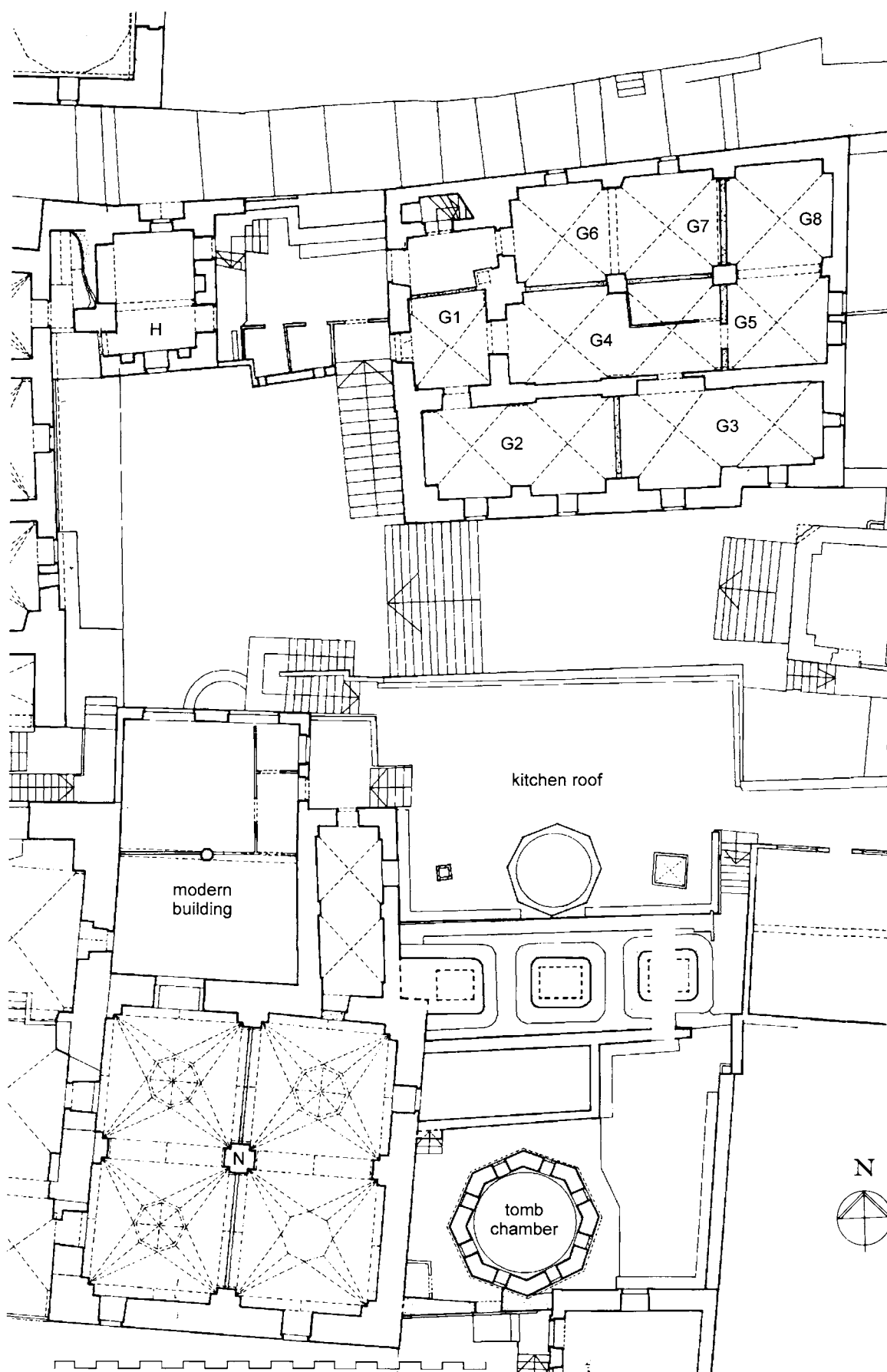


Fig. 15.4 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, floor plan of upper level.

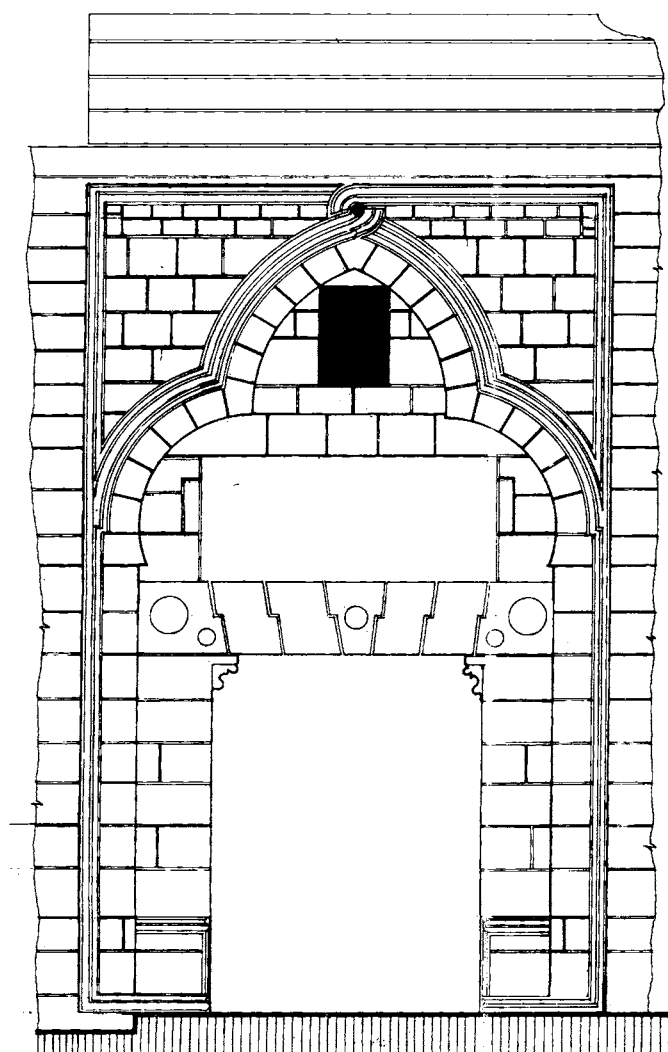


Fig. 15.5 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), north entrance portal, elevation.

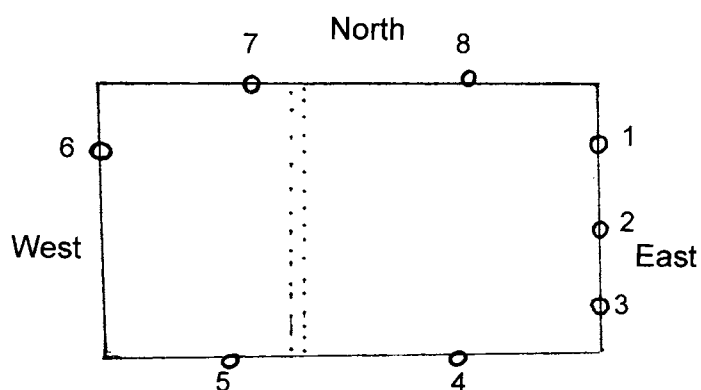


Fig. 15.6 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), schematic sketch of location of roundels on south-western courtyard (caravansera).

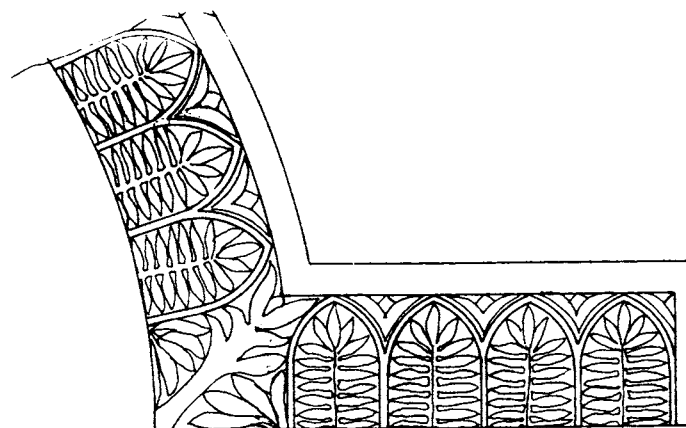


Fig. 15.7 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, detail of decoration over south portal.

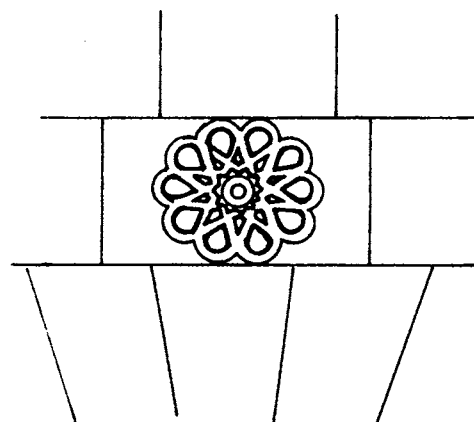


Fig. 15.8 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, sketch of decorative roundel over window in north façade.

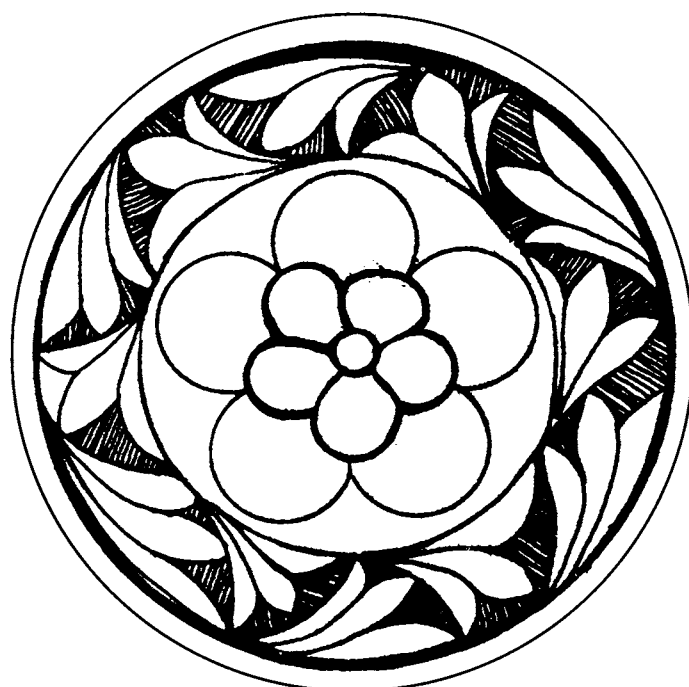


Fig. 15.9 Al-'Imara al-'Amira, sketch roundel on caravansera wall.

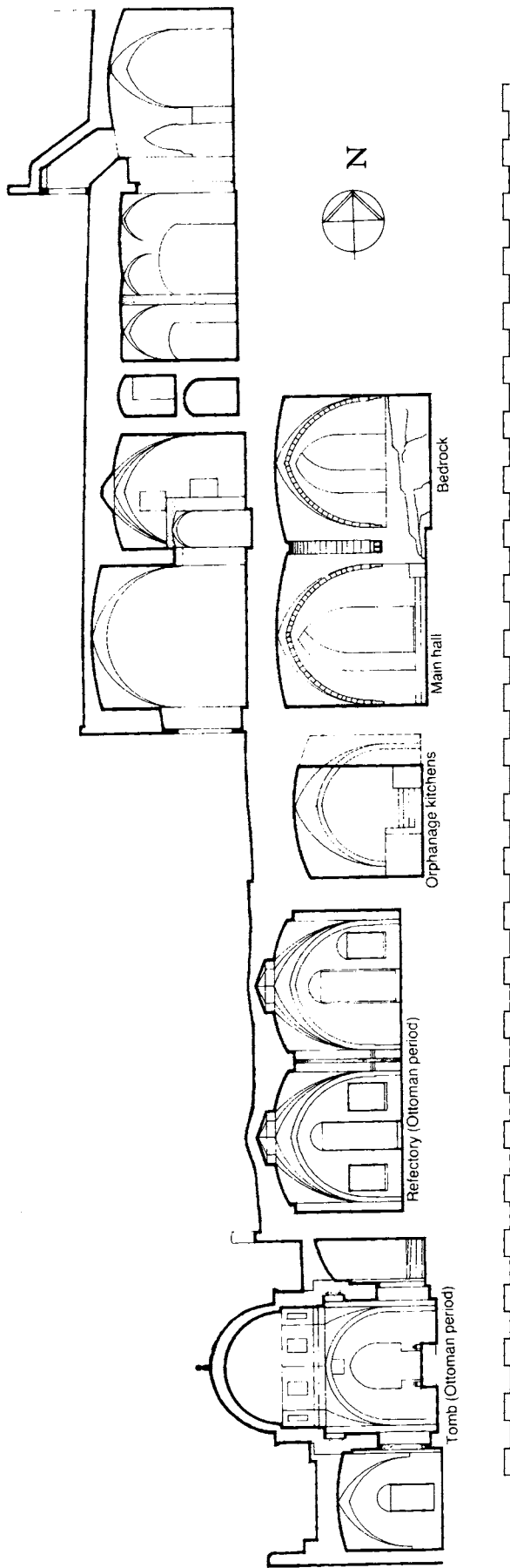


Fig. 15.10 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), east-west section looking south (after Burgoyne 1987: 501).

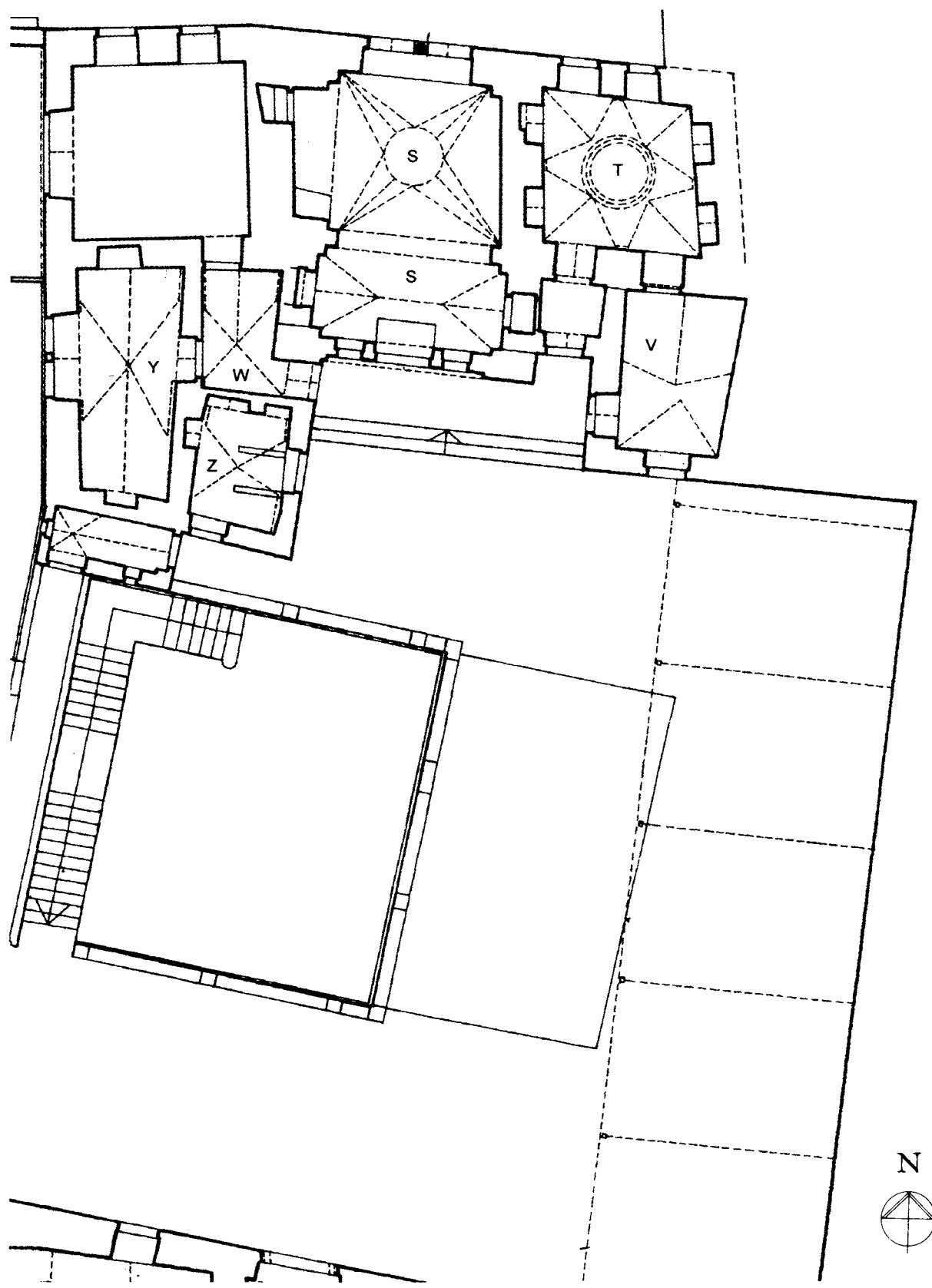


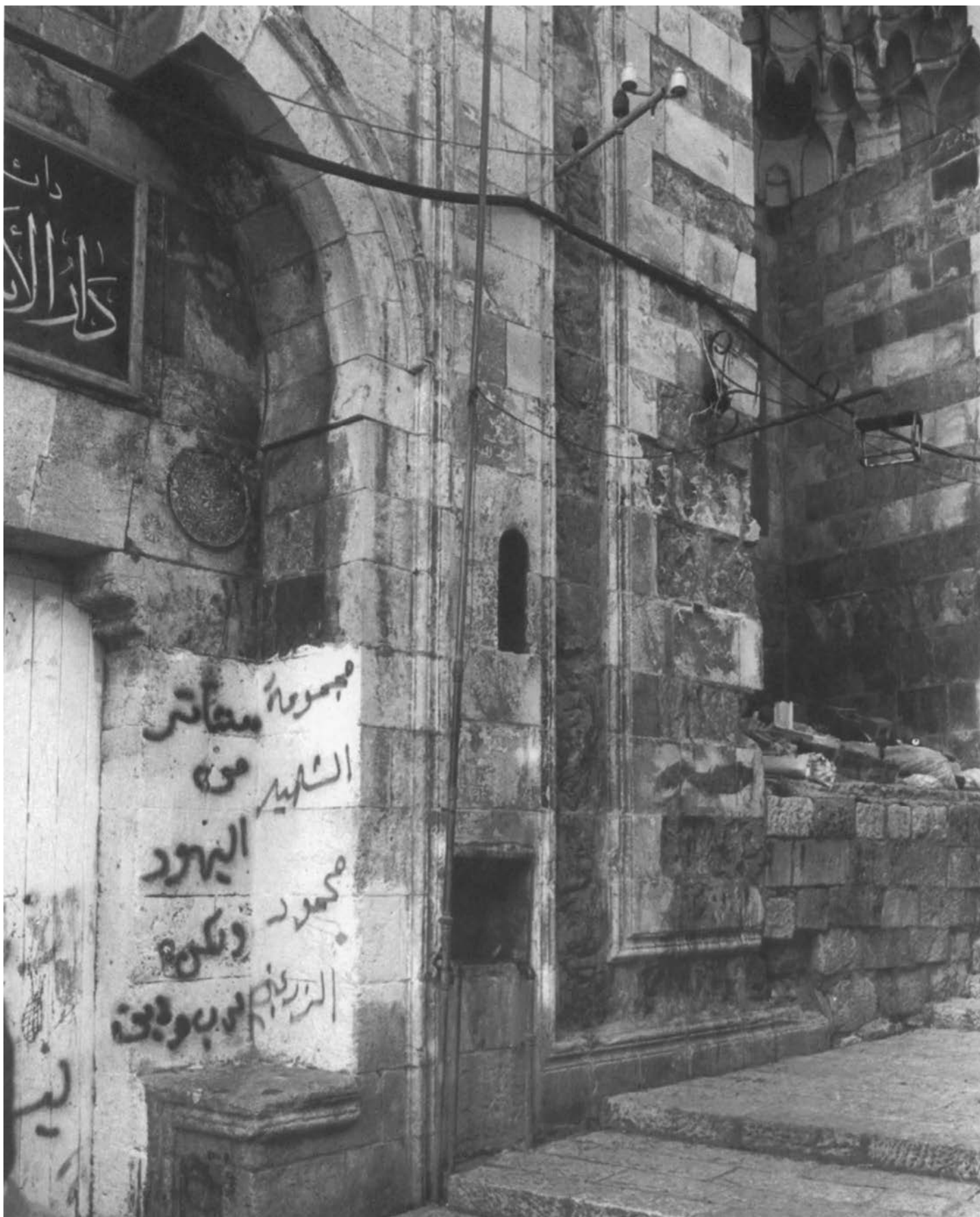
Fig. 15.11 Al-ʿImara al-ʿAmira, upper level plan of the caravanserai.



P1. 15.1 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), south façade of complex along 'Aqabat al-Saraya.



Pl. 15.2 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), outer wall along ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya.



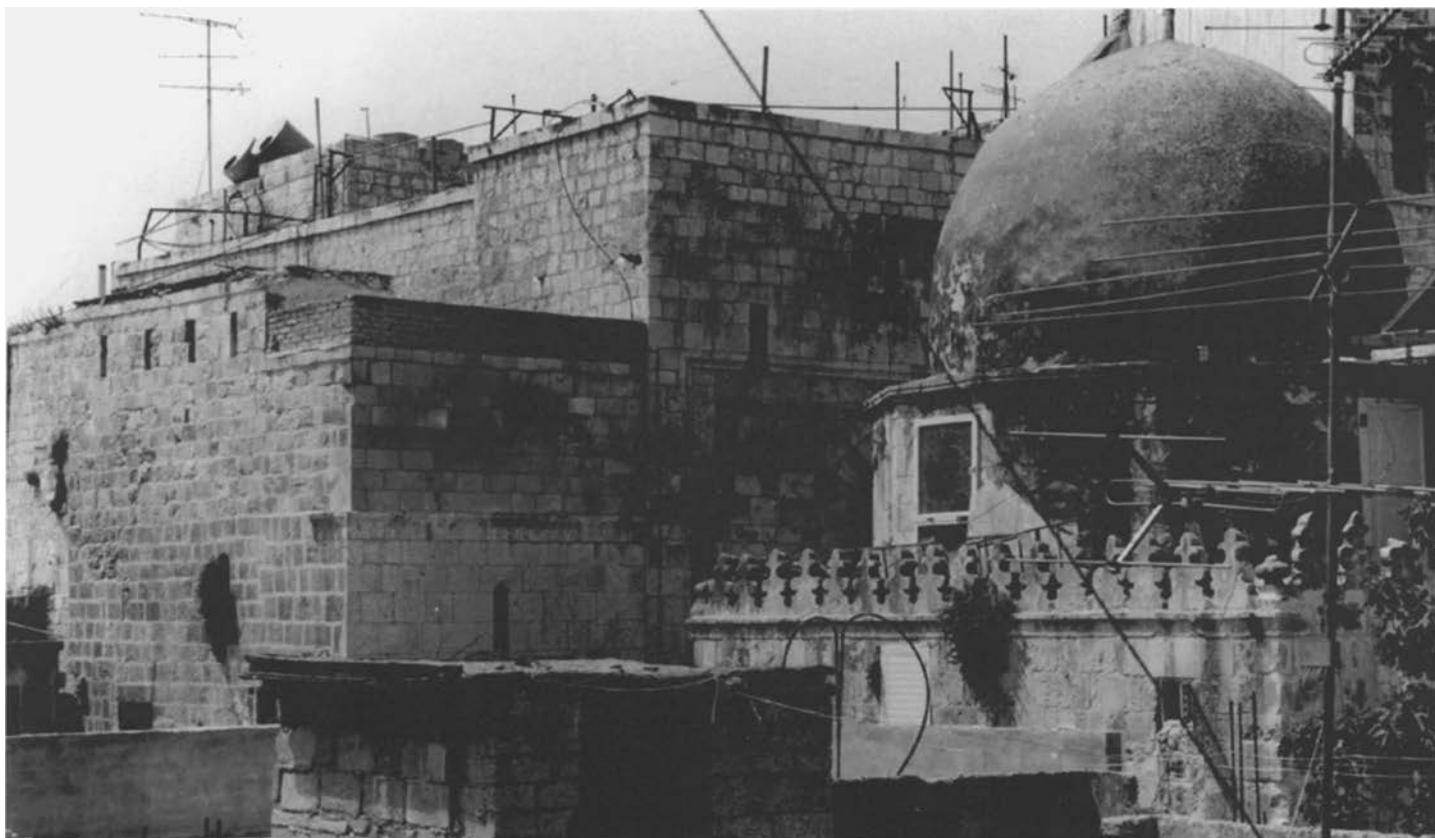
Pl. 15.3 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), northern entrance on 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, detail.



Pl. 15.4 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), south façade of refectory.



Pl. 15.5 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), area of north-eastern part of complex.



Pl. 15.6 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), view towards south east of complex, showing relationship to Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq.



Pl. 15.7 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), roof of kitchen, showing chimneys in background.



Pl. 15.8 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), south façade of *adliye dairesi*.



Pl. 15.9 Al-Imara al-Amira (Khassaki Sultan), inscription on façade of *adliye dairesi*.



Pl. 15.10 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), view over kitchen roof to Dome of Rock in background.



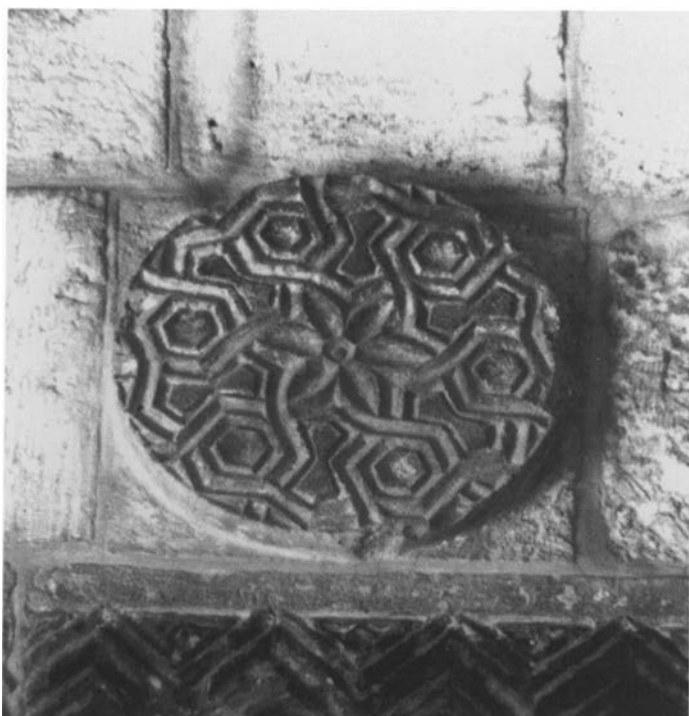
Pl. 15.11 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), steps in northern courtyard with children waiting for their class.



15.12 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), detail on northern façade.



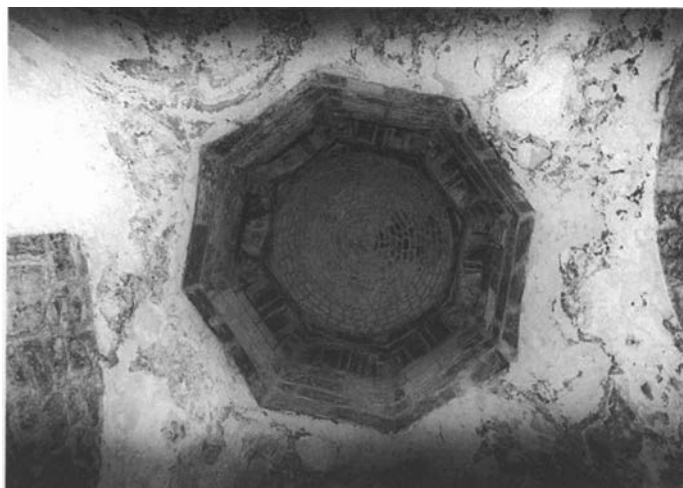
Pl. 15.13 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), stairway in north-western courtyard leading to upper storey of north gatehouse and bakery.



Pl. 15.14 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), detail on northern porch.



Pl. 15.15 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), interior of tomb chamber.



Pl. 15.16 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), interior of kitchen dome.



Pl. 15.17 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), dome of tomb chamber.



Pl. 15.18 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), tomb chamber.



Pl. 15.19 Al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Khassaki Sultan), north courtyard looking towards al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya with *sabil* in foreground.



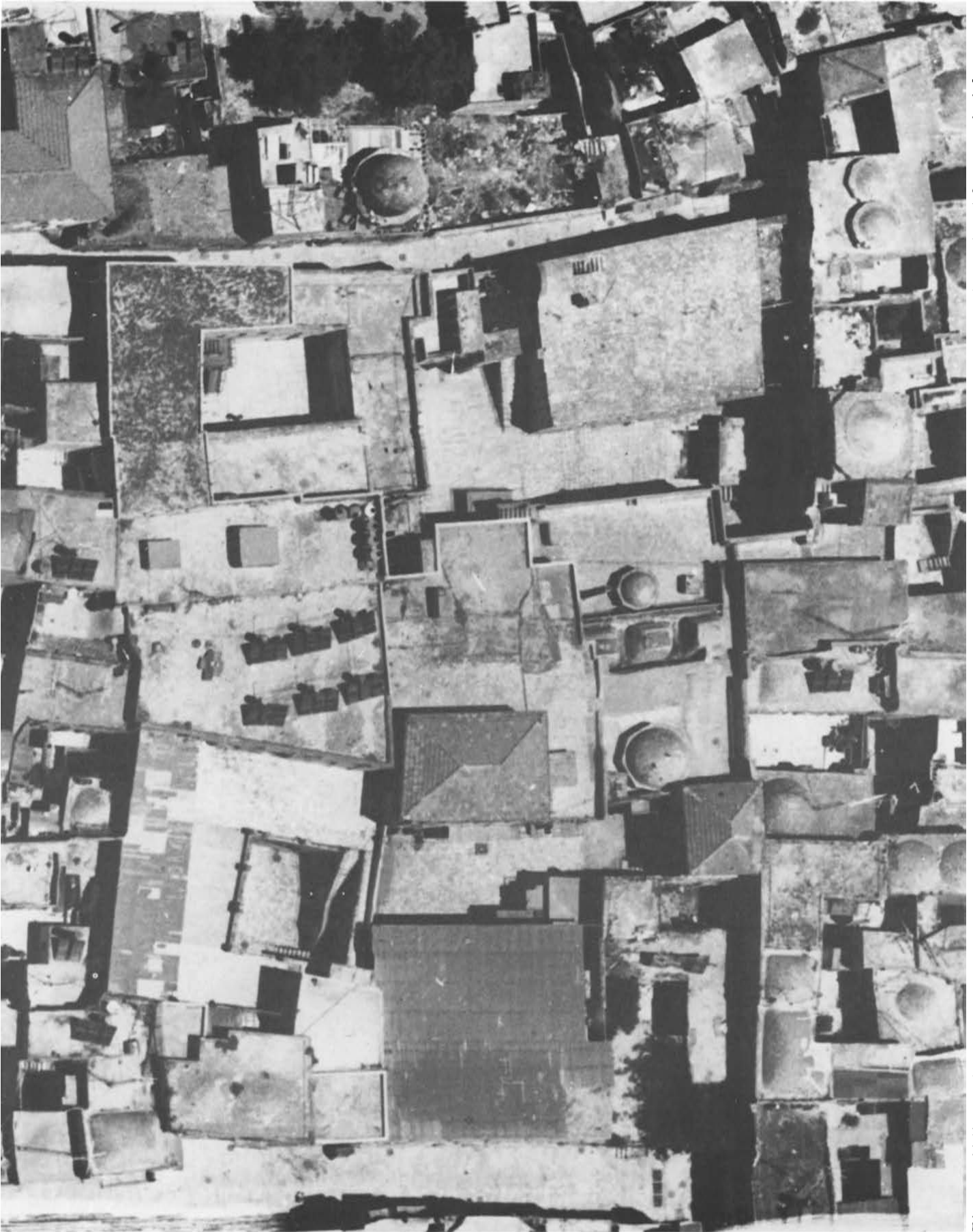
Pl. 15.20 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), south elevation of bakery.



Pl. 15.21 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), wall of bakery with epigraphic and decorative *spolia*.



Pl. 15.22 Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan), detail of southern porch.



Pl. 15.23 Al-Imara al-Amira, aerial photograph showing the complex in context. 'Aqabat al-Takiyya is to the right of the photograph, 'Aqabat al-Saraya to the left.

16 KHALWAT QITAS

Name: Khalwat Qitas

Date: 967/1559-60

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known.

Modern name: *Maktab Haras al-Haram al-Sharif* (The Office of the Guards of the Noble Sanctuary). For a general discussion of the names given to the *khalwas* of the Haram, see below.

Location

The *khalwa* is situated in the north-western area of the Dome of the Rock esplanade, next to Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17).

Site and brief description (figs. 16.1-16.4, pls. 16.1-16.7)

Khalwat Qitas is located between Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17) and Khalwa Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24). It is built on the line to the north of the Haram which marks the change between the two levels of the esplanade, the northern façade of its lower storey being on the lower level and its main façade on the upper terrace, facing south towards the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosque. The cell is a free-standing structure but is linked to a vestibule entrance to the west. The building consists of two sections, each made up of two small chambers. Those of the lower storey are covered by a cross vault, and are used today as a residence for some of the Haram staff—it is likely that they have always served a similar purpose. The upper chambers are covered by a shallow dome and together with Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17) serve as the office of the Haram guards.

History

Identification

The history of Khalwat Qitas resembles that of Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17), for all that had been known until now about either of them is contained in the short account by van Berchem (1925: 187-8). An inscription published by him securely places the *khalwa* within the Ottoman period, but at that stage the date and the name of the founder remained uncertain. An entry in the *sijills* (see below) now confirms the tentative date and the name of the founder suggested by van Berchem.

Date

The plaque on which the inscription appears is attached to the wall in the centre of the southern façade between the two rooms. This siting has been carefully chosen to show that the two domed chambers belong to a single building. The marble plaque measures 80cm wide by 40cm high. It consists of two lines of Arabic written in a slender, elegant Ottoman *naskh* with diacritical and auxiliary points. The lines are set within two rectangular cartouches separated by a fillet. The Arabic version of the inscription is in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 16, and my translation (which differs somewhat from that of van Berchem) is as follows:

(There) has constructed this (*khalwa*), in order to bring himself closer to the Master of good deeds and of favours, Qitas Beg. The date (is by these words—the chronogram) ‘In their strength the reward is complete’.

The numerical value of *fi ‘izzihim fa’l-‘ajr tamm* amounts

to 967 (1559-60), which led van Berchem to propose that date, albeit with some diffidence. It seems, however, that this date is indeed appropriate, for it is identical to the date of Khalwat Parwiz (see cat. no. 17) and it also corresponds to the facts known about the identity and career of the founder (see below).

Founder

The name of the founder appears in the inscription in a puzzling form. Van Berchem (1925: 187-88) attempted to read it and proposed a possible ‘Fintas’ as a first choice. Other proposals were ‘Qintash’, ‘Qantash’, or ‘Qatas’. With the discovery of the entry in the relevant *sijill*, it is now possible to be more certain, and it is proposed here that probably the correct reading is ‘Qitas’—a name close to the ‘Qatas’ proposed by van Berchem, who rejected ‘Qitas’ only because of the absence of two dots under the second letter of the name, leading him to read this as a *nun* rather than a *ya*. Van Berchem also believed that the two dots—which in the reading adopted here are seen as belonging above the first letter (*qaf*)—belonged rather to the first and the second letters, hence the *fa*’ and *nun* in Fintas. There are, however, many records in the *sijills* with the name of Qitas. In *Sijill* 39 dating to the year 967, there were two sultanlic orders (*amr*) sent to *maulana* (‘our master’) Qitas Beg, the governor of Jerusalem district (*mir liwa’ al-Quds al-Sharif*).

The first (*Sijill* 39: 30) was for the expansion of the kitchen of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (for further details see cat. no. 15), and the second (*Sijill* 39: 249) concerned the restoration of al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya, which was outside the walls of Jerusalem. More entries in the same *sijill* (39: 42) show that Qitas manumitted his slave, as well as the arms and horse that belonged to him, for the sake of Allah. The records (39: 80; 39: 635) contain references to the financial transactions undertaken by someone called ‘Qitas *timar*’ at the village of Bait Ta’mar. *Sijill* 66: 155 reveals that on 2 Rajab 994/9 June 1586, when another order reached Jerusalem requesting that the *za’ims* and the *timars* in Jerusalem join the sultanlic journey (*al-safar al-sultani*), ‘Qitas the son of the deceased (*ibn al-marhum*) Parwiz’ was so seriously ill that he was unable to move. This reference adds considerably to our knowledge, for it reveals the name of his father (Parwiz), and that Qitas was a *timar* holder.

Further references to Qitas appear in *Sijill* 83 (pages 132, 171, 175, 208, 276, 359, 455, 459, 468, and 474), which includes the proceedings for the year 1010/1601-2. All these entries record financial transactions and raise the question as to whether they all refer to the same man. The reason for this doubt stems first from the fact that ‘Çelebi’ was added to the name so that it becomes ‘Qitas Çelebi the son of Parwiz Beg the *za’im* in Jerusalem the Noble’. Secondly, we have just left Qitas seriously ill in the year 994/1585-6—unless, of course, he was unwilling to accompany the sultanlic tour and was using illness as an excuse. Did he recover and continue to live until 1036/1626-7 as *Sijill* 112: 270 would imply? If one accepts that both names belong to a single person, it means that Qitas continued to live some seventy-three years after he became governor of Jerusalem in 967/1559-60. This is plainly unlikely. In any case, whether all the later entries refer to our Qitas or not is irrelevant to the main point, which is the new light shed on the founder of the *khalwa* under discussion here, and on the name of his father, who was the patron of the neighbouring *khalwa* (cat. no. 17). It is particularly interesting to note that the son followed his father in the endowment of buildings with charitable purposes.

Purpose of the building

The reason behind the construction of almost half the *khalwas* and *hujras* erected on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock (cat. nos. 17, 25, 46, 51, 52 and 53) is not recorded. This is also true of Khalwat Qitas. The original purpose is recorded neither on the foundation plaque nor in any of the references in the *sijills* discovered so far. Such information is, however, given for other *khalwas* in Jerusalem, either by means of a foundation inscription or in the relevant *waqfiyyas*, and this information appears under the individual catalogue entries.

As a general rule, these cells were established for one of two reasons. They either served as a place for teaching—e.g., Hujrat Muhammad (cat. no. 14), the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23), and al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 24); or as a site in which the Holy Qur'an was recited—e.g., Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21), Khalwat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 34), and Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20). But a third, if subsidiary, function for the cells was as a residence—e.g. the Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24). Further information can be found in the *sijills*, which give additional insight into the original function of the cells. Sijill 51: 157 reports that one of the *khalwas*, which is no longer standing, was used to store the shoes (*wazifat hafz al-an'al*) of visitors to the Haram, while Sijill 77: 453 contains an entry which reveals that the chief architect of Jerusalem and the Haram, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, used to keep his equipment in one of the cells. Sijill 72: 375 indicates that some of the cells were used as offices for the employees of the Haram, as is still the case today. In all probability, the unrecorded cells were originally intended for some similar purpose.

The travellers who visited the Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman period assigned a number of different names and purposes to these structures. Al-'Ayyashi (al-'Asali 1992: 210) called them 'houses (*buyut*) for worshippers'. Al-Madani (al-'Asali 1992: 320) called them 'chambers (*odas*) for students who sought knowledge' (*talabat al-'ilm*). It is al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 259) who uses the term *khalwa* for these small buildings. He wrote: 'We have found these various *khalwas* with domes on the edges of the platform of the Mosque of al-Sakhra (the Rock) these are built with columns and coloured stones ... some of the *khalwas* are inhabited, some are not, and some are blocked.' Al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 304) and al-Luqaini (al-'Asali 1992: 302) followed al-Nabulsi in the use of the term *khalwa* to refer to the buildings and, according to their separate accounts, both stayed in a cell during their visit to Jerusalem. Al-Qayati (al-'Asali 1992: 325-26) described them both as 'chambers' (*oda*) and cells (*khalwa*). He reported that they were used as dwelling places by those who resided within the Aqsa Mosque (the Haram al-Sharif) in order to study, and by foreign visitors. Al-Qayati went on to report that one of the *khalwas* had been offered to him for his use during his visit. And finally, in the early years of this century, al-Qasimi used the term *hujra*, *hujurat* ('room/rooms') for the buildings (al-'Asali 1992: 338). This latter visitor to Jerusalem also recorded that the majority of the occupants offered to share their *hujra* with him.

It is unfortunate that none of these accounts give enough information to allow an unequivocal identification of the fifteen listed *khalwas*. Apart from the facts given here, almost nothing more has been recorded, other than the names of certain of the cells, which reflect the patronym of the patron or the occupant—such as Khalwat Jaralla, Khalwat al-Dajani, al-Khalwa al-Bairamiyya, or the Summer (*al-saif*) Khalwat al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 299-300).

Architecture

Exterior

The southern façade has two different sizes of stones employed in its construction; the upper courses are of small white dressed masonry above four courses of larger, coarser stones. It is simply conceived, the main element being the division of the wall into two parts with the inscription plaque at the centre of the upper section. A rectangular window measuring 80cm wide by 1.1m high pierces the western part of the wall; it is surmounted by a stone lintel. Immediately above this there are three decorated stones; the central one is carved into the approximation of a cup-shape and is darker in tone than the rest of the wall. It is decorated with a shallow relief arabesque which is continued in the stones to either side of it. The whole forms a triangular device reminiscent of a cusped book flap or manuscript illumination.

[Editorial note: It is highly likely that the stones are in re-use. The upper border is cusped, a groove running parallel to the outer edge. The design does not match precisely across the three stones. The outer two are from the same building, being similar in colour and technique, while the central one does not match. The outer two contain elements of a split-palmette motif, with dart-shaped cinquefoils between them. The central stone appears to have been reversed, for here similar cinquefoils point towards the centre rather than outwards. The technique of carving is close to certain stones re-used in the fabric of the Khassaki Sultan (see cat. no. 15), which were probably taken from the Ashrafiyya of Sultan Qa'itbai. It is possible that these stones came from the same source. SA]

A door measuring 75cm by 1.6m gives access in the eastern section. It too is surmounted by a slab lintel and above it is a relieving arch similar in design to that above the window of the Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17). Two small slit windows to the east of both door and window give light to the interior. Both are crowned by a lintel in the centre of which, over the window, there is an elegant fluted motif, its outline accentuated by a groove running round its profile. The wall comes to an abrupt end without a cornice or parapet. Above each section of the *khalwa* there is a shallow dome, which is now covered with flagstones, and which has a very short stone finial.

The northern elevation is also divided equally into two identical parts but in place of the inscription plaque, the middle section is marked by a carved roundel.

[Editorial note: This has an eight-petalled rosette in the centre, from the cardinal points of which emerge four heart-shaped motifs made up of split-palmette foliage. Each contains a trefoil. In the spandrels between the four main elements of the design, further split palmettes emerge to curl back on themselves, meeting at the centre. The design is close to the familiar four-part *rumi* motif found on metalwork and carpets, but has been adapted, for the elements of the pattern do not emerge from each other, but are treated separately. This is unusual, and may reflect a copy, being reminiscent of certain roundels on the city walls—the north-west façade of tower 18, for example. The carving is crisp, and is contained within two stones, the break occurring across the centre of the design. SA]

The style of this panel and the joints of the courses unite both parts of the northern elevation, and it seems that the roundel has been as carefully positioned as the rectangular inscription plaque on the southern wall. There is a door (75cm by 1.5m) in each half of the northern façade, surmounted by a shallow double arch. Above the keystones of each arch there is a slit window measuring 17cm wide by 28cm high, each with the same

charming little apex as the slit windows in the main façade to the south. The keystone of the upper east door is decorated with a roundel.

[Editorial note: The roundel is contained within a single stone. It has a groove round the circumference which is bisected by the tips of a six-pointed *khatam Sulaiman*. Within each tip, a secondary small equilateral triangle has been outlined by a groove. The inner hexagon formed by the bases of the outer triangles contains another roundel. The border of this is in relief. Within this circle there is a five-petalled flower, with a small five-pointed star at its centre. It is unusual to find a change in number like this; it would be more usual to have a six-petalled flower within a six-part overall motif. In addition, it is more difficult to produce a design with five parts than with six, and the change must therefore be deliberate. There is, perhaps, a connection with the five-petalled motif found on the Khassaki Sultan (see cat. no. 15). The position of Qitas Beg as *timar* holder and governor (*mir liwa'*) of Jerusalem may be relevant for it may be further evidence that the five-part design is an official sign of some sort. SA]

A rectangular window measuring 73cm wide by 1.04m high is placed two courses above each slit window; each is fitted with a simple iron grille and surmounted by a slab lintel. An 'eyebrow' relieving arch consisting of three voussoirs is built above the lintel. Each voussoir is decorated with a carved trefoil. Three courses above the arch the building ends abruptly. Neither the western nor eastern elevation is either broken or decorated.

Interior

While the exterior fabric of Khalwat Qitas convinces the viewer that it was built as a single entity, the elements of the interior have almost nothing in common. The upper and lower storeys of the *khalwa* are separated from each other by heavy masonry, and each has its own entrance and lighting and ventilation system. There is now, however, an internal connection between the two parts, for a recent opening in the upper portion (62cm in depth) runs between them. This was done in 1980 when it was first converted to house the guards of the Haram. The interior of the lower part is made up of two small chambers, the eastern one being rectangular in plan. It is now paved in flagstones and covered by a cross vault. On the western side, there is a blind niche, and ventilation and light are provided only by means of the door and a slit window. This makes the chamber an ideal place of retreat and solitude—or a good storage place, as it is today. The chamber to the east is similar to that on the west, but it is square in plan and larger.

The interior of the two sections of the upper storey are also similar. Both consist of a single chamber that is square in plan and is covered by a hemispherical dome resting on four large-scale pendentives with no zone of transition. The whole interior has been plastered and whitewashed. Access to this pair of chambers is through a door in the eastern chamber preceded by two steps, but also from the west through an inner vaulted vestibule, which has been built between this *khalwa* and the neighbouring Khalwat Parwiz (see cat. no. 17). The door at the eastern end of the vestibule, which leads to the interior, measures 76cm wide by 1.81m high and is surmounted by a lintel made up of three blocks. The floor of the western chamber was repaved in 1980, using flagstones measuring 20cm by 30cm. There are two windows in the chamber, and two blind niches for storage are placed to the north and south of the door, the former measuring 78cm wide by 1.91m high, and the latter 60cm wide. The interior of the eastern chamber is similar, but with minor variations in the

windows and the blind niches; in all there are two windows (one in the north side and one in the east side) and five blind niches (two in each of the west and the south sides and one in the east side) in this eastern chamber. The door is reached by means of a stone dais. At present this room is kept locked and access is by way of the recent opening that connects the two upper sections.



Pl. 16.1 Khalwat Qitas, north façade.

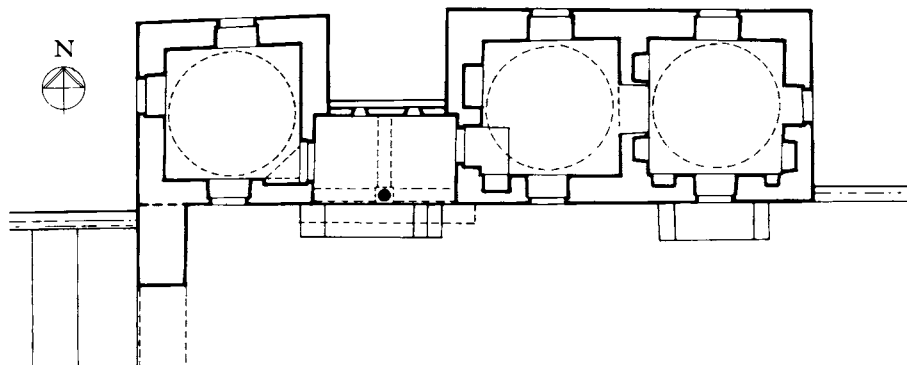


Fig. 16.1 Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz, ground-floor plan.

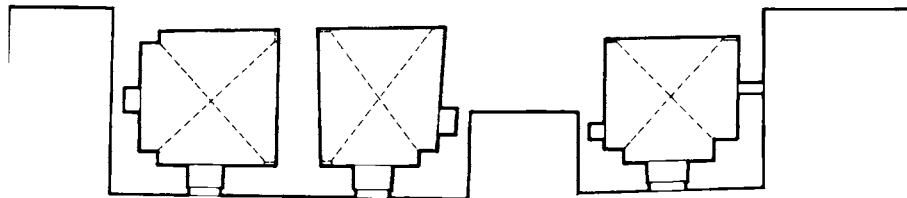


Fig. 16.2 Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz, basement plan.

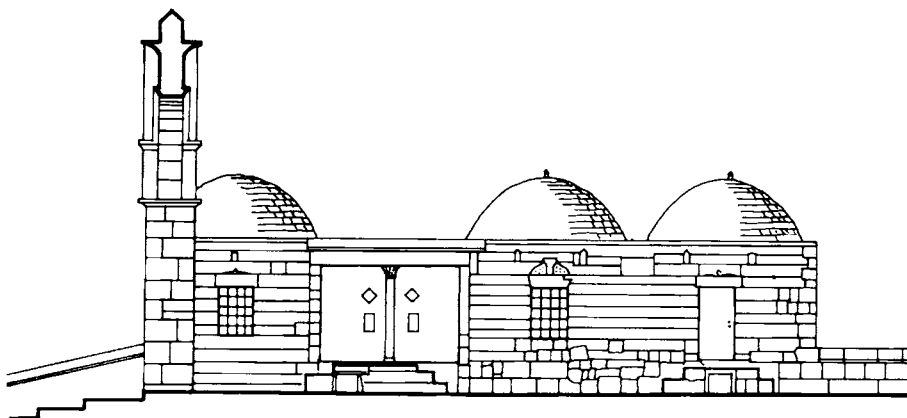


Fig. 16.3 Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz, elevation of south façade.

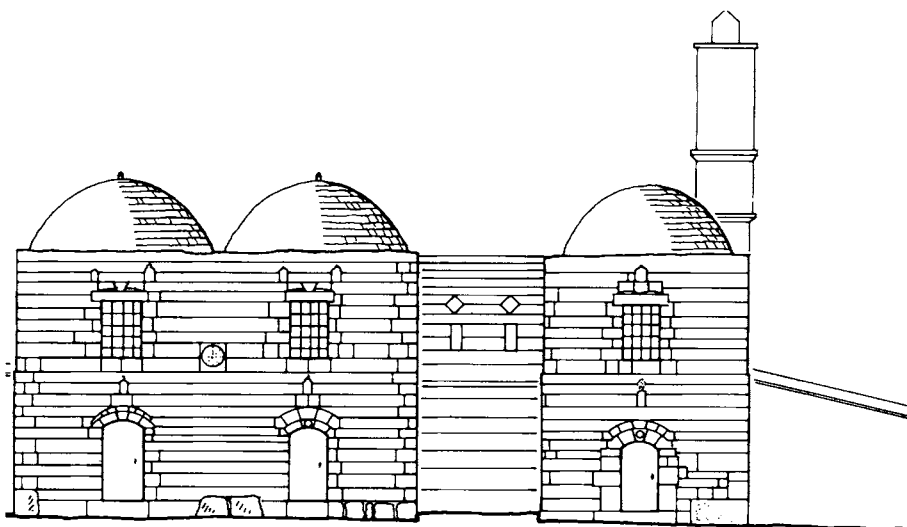
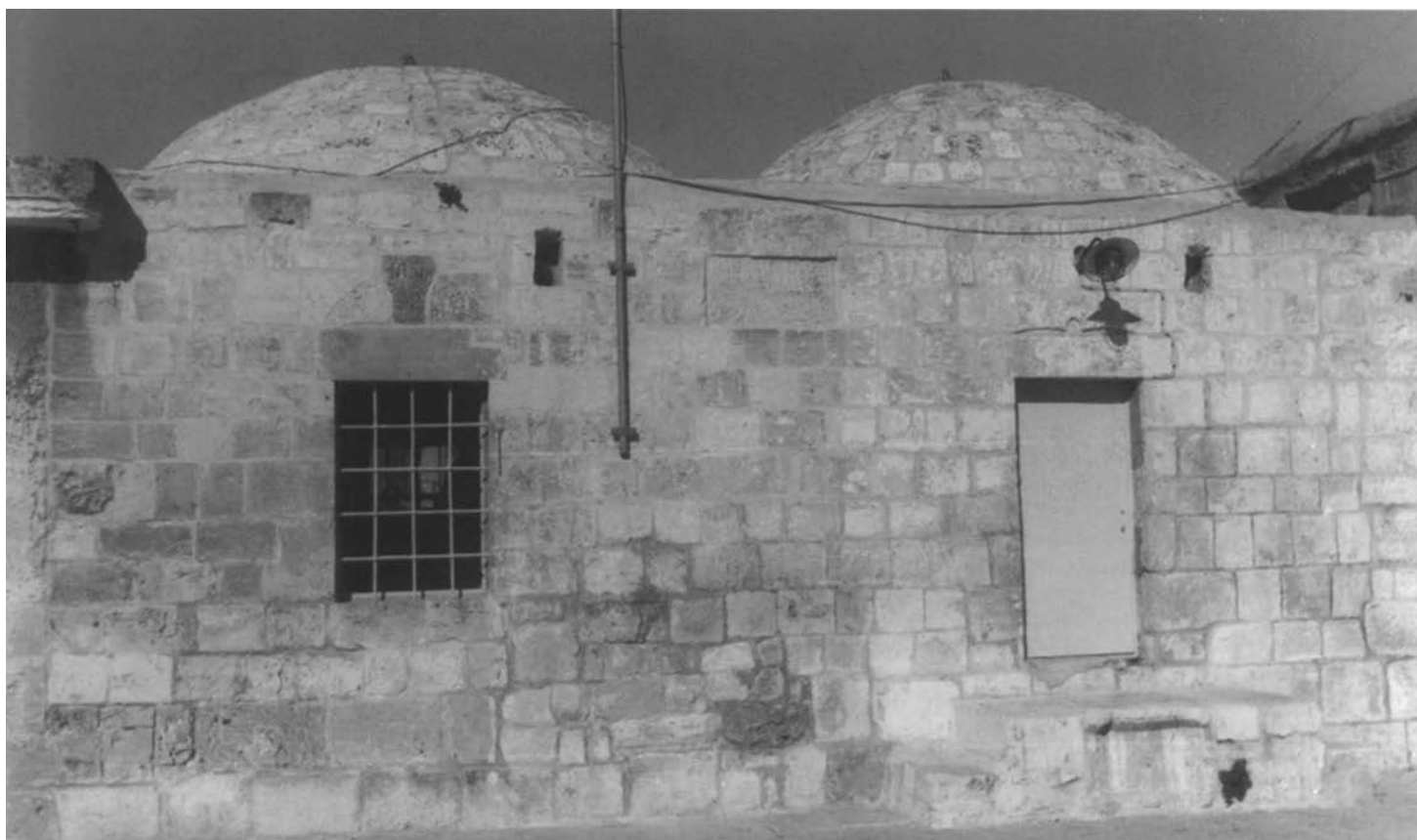


Fig. 16.4 Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz, elevation of north façade.



Pl. 16.2 Khalwat Qitas and Khalwat Parwiz, south façade, general view.



Pl. 16.3 Khalwat Qitas, south façade, detail.



Pl. 16.4 Khalwat Qitas, ornament over lintel on north façade.



Pl. 16.6 Khalwat Qitas, inscription on south façade.



Pl. 16.5 Khalwat Qitas, decoration above window on south façade.



Pl. 16.7 Khalwat Qitas, roundel decoration on north façade.

17 KHALWAT PARWIZ

Name: Khalwa (cell) Parwiz

Date: 967/1559-60

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: Khalwat Barviz, Parvin, Parwin or Barwin

Modern name: 'Maktab haras al-Haram al-Sharif' (Office of the Guards of the Noble Sanctuary).

Location

The *khalwa* is located at the north-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, abutting the northern end of the north-western colonnade.

Site and brief description (see figs. 16.1-16.4 and figs. 17.1-17.2, pls. 17.1-17.6)

Khalwat Parwiz is built at the edge of the boundary between the two levels of the Haram al-Sharif. Like other *khalwas* built on the upper esplanade of the Haram, the northern façade of the lower part of the building is on the level of the esplanade, while the southern façade of its upper part is on the level of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The cell is a single-unit structure and is unconnected to another building, except at its south-west corner, which adjoins the north-western colonnade. The building consists of two sections; each is made up of a single small chamber. The lower one, now used as a storage space, is cross-vaulted, while the upper room has a shallow dome. In association with Khalwat Qitas (cat. no. 16), it now provides office space for the Haram guards.

History

Identification

Khalwat Parwiz is identified as dating to the Ottoman period by an inscription which could be read either as a construction or a restoration text (see below).

Date

The cell is dated by a chronogram contained at the end of the last line of the inscribed panel. The numerical value of *fakhr bi-'izz abada* amounts to 967 (1559-60). The text of the inscription was published by van Berchem (1922-3: 188), although he had misgivings about the interpretation of the date. The text is located on the southern façade to the east of the window. It is inscribed on a marble plaque measuring 27cm wide and 30cm high, and consists of two lines of Arabic written in Ottoman *naskh*, in a fine, slender, slightly compressed script with diacritical and auxiliary points. The text is contained within two rectangular cartouches separated by a fillet moulding. The translation is as follows:

1. (There) has constructed and built it anew (or restored—*jaddadaha*), Parwiz the perfect *katkhuda*
2. At a time whose date is (the chronogram)
'honour with glory forever'.

The word *jaddadaha* used in the inscription is confusing, for it has two meanings in Arabic; the first, 'built anew', has been preferred here since it is accompanied by the word 'constructed' (*ansha*). The second meaning is 'restored', and this is the interpretation that was chosen by van Berchem (1922-3: 188). It is, however, difficult to envisage how the cell could have been 'constructed' and 'restored' at the same time. But why the double statement of 'constructed' and 'built anew' is used it is difficult to explain, unless it represents a linguistic mistake.

The word *ansha*, in order to be correct grammatically in reference to a building, needs the suffix *ha* ('it'). It is possible that the calligrapher, because of lack of space, confined himself to a single *ha* to serve both *ansha* (constructed) and *jaddada* (built anew).

Instead of the name 'Parwiz' (see below), van Berchem read it as 'Parwin'. He thought *na'am* was a name, commenting that it should have been written as *Nu'aim* in the masculine form (1925: 188, n. 3). It is considered here to be an adjective describing the noun *katkhuda* for it appears to be made up of an unusual combination of Arabic and Turkish. The calligrapher has filled the space, despite its limitations, with many decorative slashes as if he were afraid to leave any space undecorated.

Founder

Previously, nothing was known about this cell or its founder apart from the short account by van Berchem. Even the correct spelling of the founder's name was not confirmed, as already mentioned. Van Berchem thought the name might be Barwin or Parwin. However, an entry in the *sijills* (see above, cat. no. 16) has now shed some light at least on the name of the founder, in that it determines that the final letter of his name is *za*' rather than *nun* or *ra*', thus giving the name 'Parwiz'. This name occurs frequently in Sijill 66 as the father of Qitas (cat. no. 16). It is possible, therefore, that the *khalwa* was founded by Qitas for his father Parwiz, but it is more probable, to judge from the inscription, that it was built by Parwiz himself. The epithet *al-katkhuda* was translated by van Berchem (1922-3: 188) as '*le commandant*' (commander), but Cohen (1990: 38), who was basing his argument on the *sijills*, considered it to mean 'the deputy of the *dazdar*' (the commander of the citadel); Parwiz is thus identified as acting as a deputy for the commander of the Citadel of Jerusalem. Other possible translations could be 'the responsible employee', or 'the authorised deputy', or 'the entrusted person'. In any case, the founder was probably one of the ruling élite in the second half of the 16th century in Jerusalem, if not in Palestine as a whole.

Purpose of the building

The plaque described above does not give a name to the building, nor is there one contained in any other reference uncovered so far. The travellers, who visited the Haram during the Ottoman period, have given different names—but all with a similar meaning—to the structures scattered around the north and west sides of the Dome of the Rock terrace, assigning to them a variety of purposes. Al-'Ayyashi (al-'Asali 1992: 210) called them 'houses' (*buyut*) for worshippers. Al-Madani (al-'Asali 1992: 320) called them 'chambers' (*oda*) for students who sought knowledge (*talabat al-'ilm*). It is al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 259) who uses the term '*khalwa*' for these little structures. He wrote: 'We have found there various *khalwas* with domes on the edges of the platform of the Mosque of al-Sakhra (the Rock); these are built with columns and coloured stones ... some of the *khalwas* are inhabited, some are not, and some are blocked up.' Al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 299-300) and al-Luqaini (al-'Asali 1992: 304) followed al-Nabulsi in the use of the term *khalwa* to refer to the buildings. According to their travel accounts, both men stayed in one of the cells when they visited Jerusalem. Al-Qayati (al-'Asali 1992: 325-6) described them as 'chambers' (*odas*) and as 'cells' (*khalwas*); he reported that they were used as residential units for those who resided inside al-Aqsa Mosque to study, and also for foreign visitors. He went on to report that one of the *khalwas* had been offered to him for his own use. Al-Qasimi, in the early part of the century, used the term *hujurat* ('rooms') for them (al-'Asali 1992: 338), and he also recorded that many of the occupants of the

rooms offered him the possibility of sharing their *hujra*. It is unfortunate that none of these accounts give enough information to allow an assured identification of the sixteen listed cells. Almost nothing has been recorded over and above the information given here, apart from the name of some of the cells which have been called after the patronym of the patron or user—such as Khalwat Jaralla, Khalwat al-Dajani, Khalwa al-Bairamiyya, and the Summer (al-Saif) Khalwat al-Saddiqi (al-‘Asali 1992: 299–300).

Architecture

The south elevation is the principal one of the building, and faces the Dome of the Rock. It is a simple façade, built of small white stones like most of the *khalwas* on the upper terrace; its first course is constructed at the level of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock itself. A rectangular window, measuring 73cm by 1.03m, is placed at the centre of the façade; it is surmounted by a slab lintel and directly above the lintel there is a relieving arch made of three voussoirs. Each voussoir is decorated by a trefoil. The relieving arch, instead of the more normal ‘eye-brow’ shape, has a small horse-shoe break at the centre. The plaque with the inscription described above is placed to the east and at the same level as the arch of the window. A small slit window is set slightly to the west, above the keystone of the arch. It measures 20cm wide by 30cm high, and it is also finished by a small incised trefoil. One course above the slit window, the building terminates without the usual projecting cornice. Since the upper part of this façade has been treated with recent concrete and with a different quality of stone, it is probable that there was originally a cornice which was damaged at some time, and has been replaced. The small hemispherical dome rests directly on the roof of the *khalwa*, and both roof and dome are now covered with small stone slabs. Unlike most other domes in the Haram, this one has no finial, so it is likely that it too had been damaged at some point and has been removed.

A stone dais measuring 1.82m long by 67cm wide and 56cm high, preceded by two crude steps to the west and three fine steps to the east, leads up to a rectangular area which acts as a vestibule. This measures 1.92m in width and 2.95m in length. The vestibule is used for both Khalwat Parwiz and for the western chamber of Khalwat Qitas (cat. no. 16). It is covered with old flagstones of various colours and sizes, the biggest of which is 46cm wide and 64cm long. The roof of the vestibule has been constructed recently, for it is flat and made of concrete. It is difficult to be sure of the original appearance of the roof—if, indeed, it existed at all. To judge from the fabric of the masonry of both *khalwas*, Parwiz and Qitas, and comparing their entrance to others on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock, it seems probable that the vestibule was never roofed. A column has been built in the centre of the south side. The shaft is a marble cylinder, and measures 56cm in diameter. It has no base and its capital is a type of modified Corinthian, presumably in re-use here. Unpublished, although known to Walls and Abu’l Hajj (1980: 29), a dated commemorative inscription is carved into the shaft of the column. It is composed of seven lines, most of them made up of two words written in a fine, sloping, Arabic script that is a form of very slender *naskh*. The Arabic wording appears here in Cat. Appendix 2 (no. 17) and its translation runs thus:

Praise be to God, it is written (by one) who is in need of the Exalted God, Ibrahim Abi [?] Hasan for (the sake of) remembrance. The year nine hundred and thirty nine (1532–3).

The north elevation is taller than the one to the south, for it is built at the ground level of the Haram esplanade and, as a result, consists of two sections. The lower part is built of stones larger in size than those of the upper part, a phenomenon that characterises all the *khalwas* of the Haram. A door in the centre of this part leads to the interior; it measures 70cm wide by 1.4m high, and is flanked to either side by a heavy stone jamb. The door is surmounted by a double arch, each section of which is made up of simple masonry blocks. Directly above the keystone of the second arch there is a stone roundel with geometric decoration. It is surmounted by a slit window, similar to the one mentioned above in the southern façade.

[Editorial note: The roundel is carved on a single stone, and is somewhat worn. It appears to be in re-use, for both the top and bottom of the fillet border running round the circumference of the medallion have been cut—the top by the bottom of the slit window and the bottom by the upper of the two relieving arches. The motif is in reserve, the spaces between having been cut away to leave the lines standing proud. It is difficult to read, and the interstices may once have been coloured with paint. The design is based on an octagon, the lines from each angle running to the centre and thus forming an 8-part star-polygon. The triangular wedges of the eight sections thus formed are filled with the triangular points of another star polygon, the tips of which touch the octagonal frame. Between this frame and the outer circumference there are narrow segmental spaces. Because of the wear and lack of colour, the basic clarity of this design—which is ultimately derived from two interlocking squares (see El-Said and Parman 1976: 8–9 and especially the first drawing of fig. 28)—is lost and the lines appear at first sight as a meaningless jumble. SA]

The upper level of the northern elevation is similar to that to the south apart from there being no inscription plaque, and the fact that the arch above the lintel of the window has an ‘eye-brow’ shape.

The western and eastern elevations are solid undecorated walls built in the same way and with the same features as the northern elevation, but without the door and the decorated roundel.

Interior

A door located in the east leads to the interior of the upper level, which consists of a single domed chamber, square in plan, with an internal measurement of 2.9m. The floor of this chamber is raised 57cm above the level of the terrace. It is paved throughout with 30cm square black and grey paving stones which have been laid in a geometric pattern. The quality and layout of this paving suggests that it dates from the Mandate period (1336–68/1917–1948). As described above, there are three windows placed in the centre of the walls to south, west and north, which are similar on the inside and have a semicircular arch with scalloped designs. The chamber is covered by a shallow dome which sits directly on the four walls. Small pendentives in the four corners serve as a transitional zone. The walls and the dome have been recently plastered and whitewashed.

The interior of the lower level is an almost square chamber measuring 3m by 2.9m; it is raised 10cm above the ground level of the Haram esplanade and its floor is paved with traditional flagstones. There is a blind niche in the north corner of the east side measuring 40cm wide and 30cm deep. A slit window in the centre of the western wall measures 20cm wide and 30cm high. It provides the only light source for the interior when the door is closed; the cell is thus a perfect place for a retreat. The chamber is covered by a cross vault, and is plastered.



Pl. 17.1 Khalwat Parwiz, south façade.



Pl. 17.2 Khalwat Parwiz, decoration over window on south façade.



Pl. 17.3 Khalwat Parwiz, south façade, inscription panel.

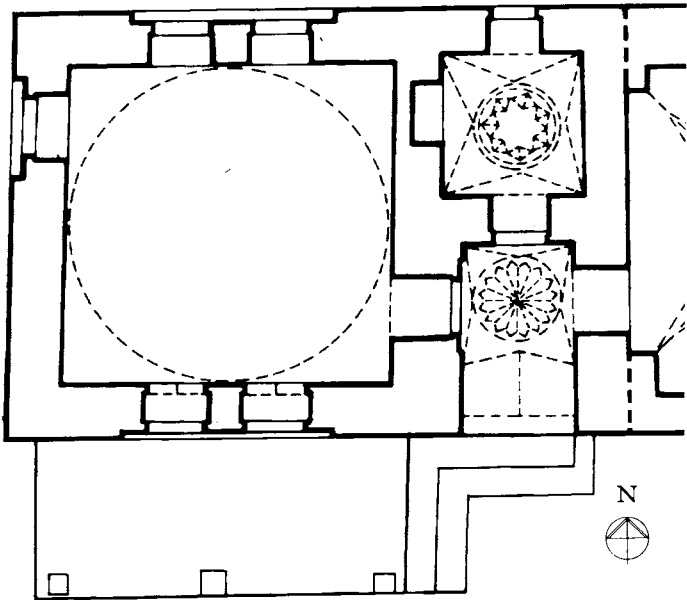


Fig. 17.1 Khalwat Parwiz, ground-floor plan.

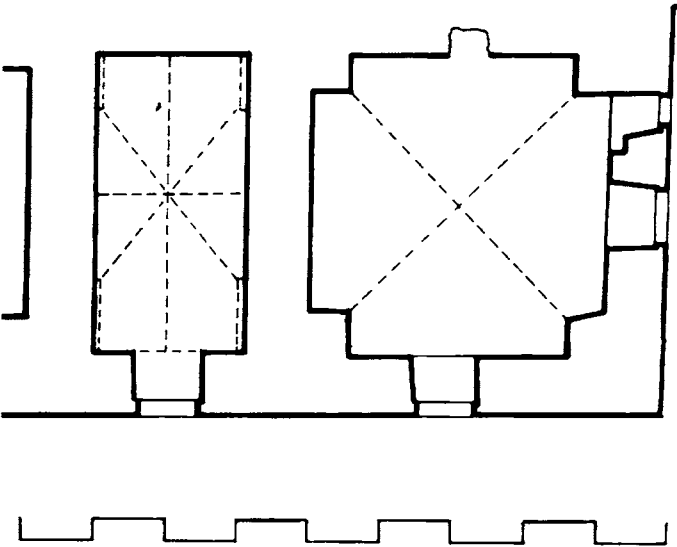


Fig. 17.2 Khalwat Parwiz, basement plan.



Pl. 17.4 Khalwat Parwiz, south façade, inscribed column.



Pl. 17.5 Khalwat Parwiz, north façade.



Pl. 17.6 Khalwat Parwiz, decorative roundel above doorway.

18 SABIL BAB AL-MAGHARIBA

Name: Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (Fountain of the Gate of the Maghribis)

Date: Undated, but probably between 948-87/1541-79

Endowment: First endowment 987/1579, second endowment 1137/1724-5

Variants of name: Sabil Jami' al-Maghariba, Sabil Ahmad al-Kutahi; al-'Arif (1947: 94) refers to it as Bi'r al-Qubba (The Well of the Dome).

Modern name: Sabil Bab al-Maghariba

Location

The *sabil* is located within the Haram esplanade, about 15m east of Bab al-Maghariba.

Site and brief description (fig. 18.1, pls. 18.1-18.4)

The Sabil Bab al-Maghariba is a free-standing structure, close in design to the layout of the Well of Ibrahim al-Rumi (see below). It is simply constructed, consisting of single room which is square in plan and is covered by a shallow dome. A door in the eastern wall gives access to the interior, which is constructed around the mouth of a cistern. This, which was given the number Cistern 19 in the Ordnance Survey list (Warren and Conder 1884: 222), is certainly earlier in date than the building itself. While it was still functioning as a well-house, water was drawn from the cistern and distributed among three basins located inside the building, in front of the three windows. Although the cistern still contains water and a modern waterpipe was recently connected to the *sabil*, it no longer functions as a water distribution point. The cistern was converted from part of an inner passage that led from the Herodian gate now known as Barclay's Gate to a domed chamber, before turning south to slope up to the ground surface opposite Robinson's Arch. The gate is known as the Bab al-Nabi (Gate of the Prophet) from a late¹ Muslim tradition (Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 31) which claims that here the Prophet Muhammad tethered his steed al-Buraq, before visiting the Masjid al-Aqsa. Al-Nabulsi's description of the site (1101/1689) corresponds to the present layout (for a translation of the text, see Elad 1995: 101-2). Some time in the Ottoman period, before al-Nabulsi, part of the passage was adapted for use as an underground mosque, known as 'Masjid al-Buraq'.

History

A brief reference to the *sabil* was published by al-'Arif (1947: 94) when he listed it as one of the extant cisterns of the Haram, calling it Bi'r al-Qubba. Al-'Asali (1982: 294) also referred to it as one of the *sabils* of the Haram but called it 'an anonymous *sabil*', attempting to link it to one of the three fountains rebuilt by Daniyal Pasha, cited by Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 93-4). A third and more recent reference appears in *The Tübingen Atlas* (Bieberstein and Burgoyne 1992: no. 136) where it is again classified as 'an anonymous *sabil*', and dated tentatively to the 14th century without further elaboration. This date goes against a slightly earlier reference in 1988 by Taha (1988: 78), who considered the *sabil* more likely to have been constructed in the Ottoman period because of its layout and its decorative scheme. Taha, however, did not comment on the similarity between Sabil

Bab al-Maghariba and the Well of Ibrahim al-Rumi (see Burgoyne 1987: 542) dated 839/1435-6 (see also below for a full discussion of the possible date).

Endowments

There are two document in the *sijills* which seem to relate to Sabil Bab al-Maghariba. The first is short and imprecise but could be interpreted as referring to the *sabil* under discussion. It is in Sijill 59: 43 which includes the proceedings of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 987/December-January 1579. It states that 'in the presence of Muhyi al-Din Efendi al-Hanafi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, Khalil ibn Zuraiq has acknowledged that his deceased mother, Asil the daughter of Muhammad ibn Hubaish, during her lifetime before she died, made a legal *waqf* of a big copper bowl to pour water from the *sabil* in front of the mosque of al-Maghariba. This was registered upon his (Khalil's) request.' The second document is a long *waqfiyya* recorded in Sijill 220: 33-4 dated Jumada I 1137/January-February 1725. It reports that 'Ahmad Efendi al-Kutahi, the former *qadi*² of Damascus, has endowed through his legal agent, Abu 'l-Wafa' al-'Alami, the whole half (12 *qirat* out of 24) of the shop that is located in Bab al-Qattanin district (the borders are given) for the benefit of the *sabil* which is located in al-Masjid al-Aqsa opposite Masjid al-Maghariba'. Ahmad al-Kutahi stipulated that the inspector of his *waqf* was to collect annually the rent from the shop, which amounted to eight *ghirsh* (gold coins). The inspector was to retain 3 *ghirsh* in recompense for his supervision, and he was to allocate each year 3 *ghirsh* to pay a water-carrier for the *sabil*. The water-carrier was to fill the basins of the *sabil* with water daily from morning until evening without omission. If he neglected his duty for one or two days, the inspector was to replace him. The surplus of the income, that is 2 *ghirsh*, was to be allocated to the cost of buckets and ropes for use in the cistern located below the *sabil*. In the event that the *waqf* could no longer be applied to the *sabil*, it was to be devoted to the poor anywhere. The donor also stipulated that the inspector was to make the *waqf* and its maintenance his first priority, and he appointed al-Shaikh Ahmad the son of Muhammad, the *imam* of the Malikiyya *sayyids* in the Maghariba mosque, inspector for his *waqf*. The position of the inspector should go after him (Ahmad) to any one who was the *imam* of the Maghariba mosque.

Architecture

Exterior

The four external walls of the building are identical. They are built of finely dressed stone blocks, both square and rectangular, of which the majority are white although there are also some which have weathered to black. Each of the four walls measures 3.55m wide and 4.2m high, and they are unbroken except for three identical windows set into the northern, western and southern façades. The windows share the same measurements of 1.03m wide by 1.48m high, they have the same sills and lintels, and they are now all fitted with iron grilles made from four vertical and six horizontal bars. The grilles of the windows to south and west appear original, but the grille covering the window to the north has been renovated, for the vertical bars are flat rather than cylindrical, and their upper ends stop short of the lintels rather than being inserted into them as in the other two windows. Below the sill of the northern window there is a rectangular stone measuring 74cm wide by 50cm in height; once

¹ On the traditions concerning the site where al-Buraq was tethered, see Elad (1995: 99-102).

² According to Sijill 215, which includes the proceedings of the years 1131-2/1718-20, Ahmad was *qadi* of Jerusalem.

this was pierced by a small circular aperture in the lower half, but the hole is now blocked and concealed. The block resembles one in the same position in the 'Well of Ibrahim al-Rumi 839/1435-6 (see below), and it is hard to guess its function. But it may once have acted as an overflow for any surplus water in the cistern. A stone dais, measuring 2.15m long by 84cm wide by 91cm high, runs along the eastern wall. Three steps lead up to it from the north and it serves to give access to a simple wooden door. The door opens into the interior; it is rectangular and is constructed of a single panel measuring 85cm wide by 1.48m high.

A stone cornice in the form of a *cyma recta* moulding runs around the top of the building, marking the roof level and the beginning of the dome. The dome has a shallow profile and is set directly onto the four walls without a transitional drum. It is capped with flat stones as a protection and terminates with a stone finial constructed in three sections. The upper part of the finial is in the form of a circle, facing south-north. Two plain roll mouldings serve both to mark the central section and to separate it from those above and below.

Interior

The floor of the interior of the *sabil* is raised about 1.1m above the level of the Haram. The head of the cistern is in the centre of the floor, surrounded by a white flagstone pavement. At the level of the window sills there are three similar but not identical marble basins. The basin to the north is covered by a white stone slab measuring 41cm wide by 86cm long by 11cm thick with a hole 15cm in diameter cut in the centre. The basin to the west measures 39-49cm wide by 72-82cm long by 22-24cm deep, whereas the south basin measures 46-58 cm wide by 66-76cm long by 33cm deep (the variations in measurement relate to the external and internal sizes). These basins must have held water drawn from the cistern, and cupfuls of water could then have been passed through the windows. The door and the three windows are each surmounted by an arch, constructed of five simple voussoirs, and above the arches there are rectangular niches. The niches all have an almost identical height (80cm) and width (52cm) but their depths differ, for the recesses to west and north are 30cm deep and those to south and east 20cm and 26cm respectively. The saucer dome is ribbed and rises directly from the walls with no intervening drum, the transitional zone being achieved by four small pendentives in the corners. The walls and dome are plastered and whitewashed.

Features and dating the *sabil*

The *sabil* has no foundation inscription and no incontrovertible contemporary reference to it has yet come to light. The present appearance of Sabil Bab al-Maghariba and the Well (*bi'r*) of Ibrahim al-Rumi 839/1435-6 are strikingly similar in many respects. With the exception of minor architectural variations such as the style of the cornice, the blocked up arches of the windows, and the measurements (see Burgoyne 1987: 542) the buildings are identical. One similarity among many is the location, for both are built close to one of the western gates to the Haram, and both are built over a cistern. Each consists of a single square room raised above the level of the Haram esplanade, covered by a ribbed dome carried on pendentives without a transition zone, and each has three windows. The problem is when Sabil al-Maghariba was first built.

There is no visible evidence that the present structure replaces an earlier building; neither al-'Umari (c. 745/1345 1924) nor Mujir al-Din (c. 900/1494-5, 1973 2)—the two most

informative authorities on the monuments of the Haram in the pre-Ottoman period—makes any mention of a building on the site. Burgoyne's *Mamluk Jerusalem* (1987) also makes no reference to the *sabil*, which appears anyway to be a single integrated construction. It is for these reasons the *sabil* is listed here among the Ottoman monuments, although there is no definitive evidence either to prove or disprove its Ottoman attribution.

There are, however, three references which might suggest an Ottoman attribution. The first, recorded in the relevant *sijill* (al-Husaini 1982: 109-10,15), reports that in the year 948/1541-2, Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash announced the completion of the restoration of an aqueduct and nine *sabils*. The aqueduct used to conduct water from the Pools of Solomon to nine public fountains in Jerusalem, in addition to others on the Haram precinct, and to certain *hammams* (bathhouses) in the city. Six of the nine *sabils* are known (cat. nos. 4-9) but three remain unidentified—and it is possible that Sabil Bab al-Maghariba is one of these.

The second reference is by Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 93-4) who states '... near the water-basin of el-Imam esh-Shafi'i is the Dome of Moses and the public fountains of the great Imam Abu Hanifa and of the Imam 'Ali. These [three *sabils*] were rebuilt by Danial Pasha in honour of the Imam 'Ali.' Unfortunately Evliya Çelebi gives no more information, nor does he specify when this rebuilding took place. However, there is a water-basin still extant which abuts the south side of the Mastaba of the Dome of Moses, which is dated 647/1249-50 (the Dome of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub). This is probably the water-basin of al-Imam al-Shafi'i. There thus remain two *sabils*—those of Abu Hanifa and the Imam 'Ali—to be identified. This might conceivably be taken as additional evidence for an Ottoman date for the Sabil Bab al-Maghariba in the event that perhaps Sabil Bab al-Maghariba was once called either the Sabil Abu Hanifa or the Sabil al-Imam 'Ali.

The third statement, which has been already discussed, is the record in the *sijill* that a copper bowl was made a *waqf* for the *sabil* in the year 987/1579, although this does not necessarily mean that the *sabil* was not already in existence at that date. From the shreds of information garnered above, it seems likely that Sabil Bab al-Maghariba is an Ottoman building, possibly constructed some time between 948-87/1541-79.



Pl. 18.1 Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, south and east façades with steps.

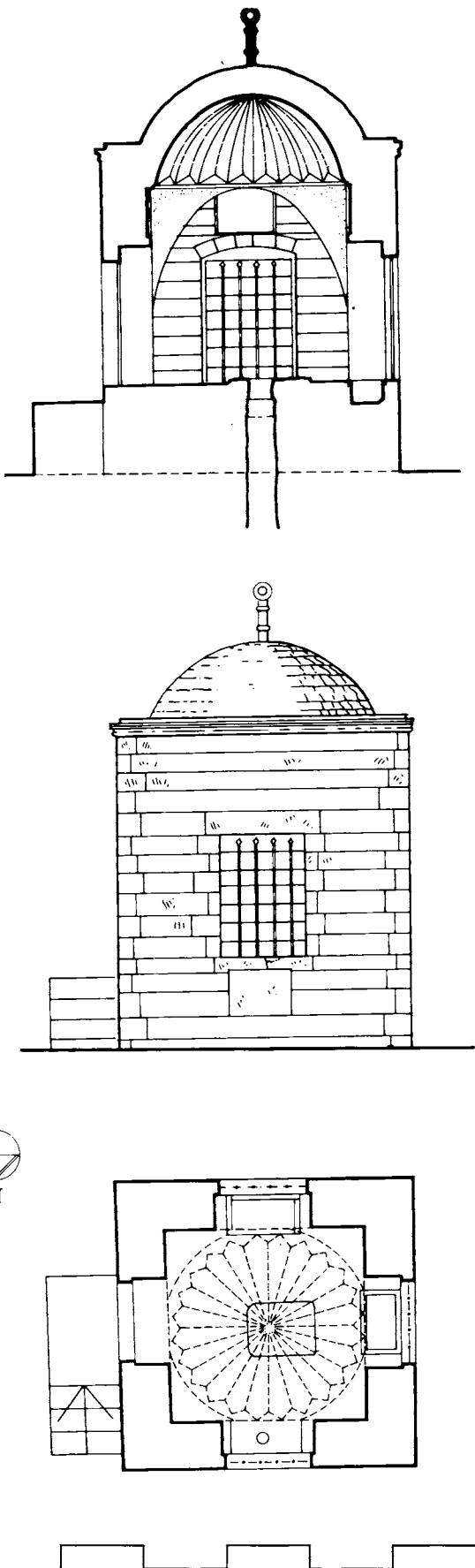


Fig. 18.1 Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, section, elevation and plan.



Pl. 18.2 Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, south and west façades.



Pl. 18.3 Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, inner dome.



Pl. 18.4 Sabil Bab al-Maghariba, interior view.

19 AL-KHANQAH AL-MAULAWIYYA

Name: al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya

Date: (A) The date of conversion of the earlier Crusader church into a mosque is unknown (see below)

(B) The minaret is undated, but must have been built before 995/1586-7

(C) The first (ground) level and the mezzanine level are undated, but are before 995/1586-7, the date of the second (roof) level

(D) The main chamber of the roof level is dated 995/1586-7

Endowment: The first endowment is dated 995/1586-7, and the second 1036/1626-7

Variants of name: The monument appears under several related names. In the *sijill* (see below) it is called either 'al-Khanqah' or 'al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya'. Some of the records in the *sijills* refer to it as 'al-Saifiyya' following the *nisba* of its first *waqif*, Khudawirdi Beg Abu Saifain. The 16th-century plaque records the name as 'al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya' (see below). Al-Nabulsi (cited by al-'Asali 1992: 271) and al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 295) both call it 'al-Takiyya al-Maulawiyya'. Al-'Arif (1961: 500-1), al-'Asali (1981: 314) and the Auqaf File 30/17/29 refer to it as 'al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya', but it is also designated both as 'Jami' and 'al-Masjid al-Maulawiyya' in Auqaf File 30/17/29, Burgoyne (1976 no.117), al-Husaini (1977: 20), and Najm *et al.* (1983: 367).

Modern name: Masjid or Jami' al-Maulawiyya.

Location

The complex of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya is located in the northern section of the Old City, to the north of the midway point on 'Aqabat al-Maulawiyya which runs between Tariq al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra' to the east and the main thoroughfare of Harat al-Sa'diyya to the west.

Site and brief description (figs. 19.1-19.8, pls. 19.1-19.8)

The complex at present consists of four levels. The first, the basement, is at street level, and access to it was possible for a short time recently. At ground level there is an entrance vestibule, followed by an open courtyard, a mosque that was originally built as a church, a tomb chamber, and a cluster of rooms grouped to the east and west of the courtyard. The mezzanine level contains a series of rooms, a courtyard occupied recently by a modern structure, and two staircases. The fourth and roof level consists of a staircase and the upper main reception chamber (*al-sama' khana*). The minaret is located in the south-eastern corner of the complex with its base at ground level; its apex rises above the level of the second storey.

To the west, the site is bordered by the street and to the east, north, and south by unsurveyed buildings which are presumed to be secular and to belong to the Ottoman period. Some of these are surmounted by domes which culminate in elaborate stone finials. The fact that these domed buildings are clustered round the *khanqah* might lead to the supposition that they are connected to it in some way. However, similar finials are to be found on many of the domes of secular buildings in the Old City of Jerusalem, and this may indicate that the finials were for the purpose of decoration rather than with any religious significance. The minaret and mosque still function, with daily

prayers recited in the mosque. There is, however, no longer a Sufi presence in the *khanqah*, and the other buildings in the complex are used for domestic housing.

History

Identification

The architectural layout of what is now the mosque confirms that it originated in the Crusader period. Western scholars from the first half of the 19th century to the recent past (for a complete list see Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 2: 318) have attempted to identify the church with St John, with St Peter and finally with St Agnes. Vincent and Abel (1926 2: 164) were the first to identify the building with St Agnes, and Pringle (1982: 97) is the most recent scholar to support this identification. Al-'Arif (1961: 500) wrote concerning the site that 'it appears that the ground floor was originally a convent containing a Catholic church; after the Muslims took it over, it was converted to a mosque. This took place after the conquest of Salah al-Din'. Al-'Asali (1981: 340) gave the name of the Crusader church as St Agnes, but thought that it was the Ottomans who had converted it into a mosque. Al-'Arif and al-'Asali do not cite any supporting evidence for their opinions.

One *sijill* (66: 551) reference writes of '... the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, which was constructed by our master (*maulani*) the donor Khudawirdi in Jerusalem the Noble, located in the neighbourhood of Bani Zaid of the Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate) district ...' In another record (*Sijill* 107: 302 and see below) it is recorded that 'the *waqf* income should be for the benefit of the *sayyids* of al-Maulawiyya who reside in Jerusalem in their own *zawiya* which is named after them, situated in the city of Jerusalem the Noble.' A foundation inscription confirms the identification of the main reception chamber (*al-sama' khana*) as being early Ottoman and equally the style of the minaret, which is cylindrical, is typically Ottoman (see below).

Al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 271), who visited al-Takiyya al-Maulawiyya in 1101/1690, has left a detailed description. His rhetorical style is redolent of his period and it is striking that he makes no reference to the minaret despite the fact that it had been constructed before he visited the monument.

His account runs 'From there we set out in the direction of al-Takiyya al-Maulawiyya ... until we reached it with our brothers and we went up the stairs and entered the first level. It is a spacious courtyard with high walls. Then we climbed the second stairs to another courtyard smaller than the first. At this point we continued through up the third stairs reaching an open space smaller than the second courtyard. As we ascended we nearly reached the heavens (sky). All of these (buildings) are constructed with big stones and (have) strong arches of large boulders. From here we entered a spacious *diwan* (hall) paved with fine flagstones (*dufuf manhuta*) and surrounded with benches made for seating; and it (the *diwan*) is provided with a high attic (a small upper room—*al-sidda al-'aliya*). In the *diwan* there is a small fountain made of fine white marble; the water flowed within it as if it were a net (*shababik*) of pearls and sapphires. The whole *diwan* is covered by a cross vault of fine stone; it is surrounded by windows opening onto the entire Holy City. We were received by its pious Sufi Darwish Shaikh and by his brothers (colleagues). We were placed in front of the *diwan* and they performed the noble (*sama'*) for us, accompanied by the finest musical melodies. We enjoyed it.' In 1122/1710, al-Saddiqi (al-'Asali 1992: 295) also visited al-Takiyya al-Maulawiyya, but he gives no details of the building.

Date

The minaret¹

Burgoyne (1987: 416-7) writes that 'it [the Maulawiyya minaret] bears an unpublished inscription recording that it was built in 995/1586-7.' First, the inscription is not on the minaret but is above the lintel of the door of the *sama'* chamber. Secondly, the inscription was published by al-'Arif in 1961 (1961: 500) but his reading was, I believe, mistaken (see below), and finally there is no reference to the minaret in the inscription panel. The Minaret al-Maulawiyya is thus undated, contrary to the opinions of al-Husaini (1977: 20), Najm *et al.* (1983: 367) and finally Burgoyne (1987:416-7); not only is there no reference to it in the inscription but it also does not appear in any known contemporary account.

It is important to date the minaret correctly because the dates of the other three Ottoman minarets—the minaret of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3), the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1) and the minaret of al-Qal'a (cat. no. 26) are all much harder to establish with any degree of accuracy. Therefore, unsatisfactory as the situation is, they depend to a high degree upon the Minaret al-Maulawiyya for their dating. This in turn is because, in spite of the difficulties, the Minaret al-Maulawiyya is the only one whose date might be considered to have any textual support (see below). Yet this is only circumstantial.

In the absence of any solid external dating control, architectural technique has to provide a tentative answer. The south-eastern corner of the second floor—namely the *sama'* chamber—abuts the cylindrical shaft of the minaret as well as its octagonal transitional zone. The outer wall of this upper chamber at the point of intersection with the minaret is not a right angle like the other three corners at this level and the right angle of the same corner at ground floor level, but is instead built to encircle part of the shaft of the minaret. This suggests that the minaret was already built before the construction of the second floor, and further that it was built either at the same time as, or after, the ground floor. The date of this upper level is confirmed as 995/1586-7, first by the foundation inscription (see below), and second through the unpublished *waqfiyya* (see below under Endowment) which has been discovered in the *sijills*. It follows therefore that it is most likely that the minaret was indeed built some time before 995/1586-7. Another clue in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 66: 551) confirms this suggested date. The donor stipulated that two of the five Sufis were to be *mu'adhdhins* in the minaret which stood in the *khanqah* (*wa ithnan mu'adhdhinnan bil-manara al-ka'inatu bil-khanqah al-madhkura*). Since Mujir al-Din (1973 2) mentions neither the *khanqah* nor the Maulawiyya order, and since the growth of the Sufi orders is associated with the coming

of the Ottomans to Jerusalem, the Minaret al-Maulawiyya is thus most likely to have been built during in the 16th century, some time before the year 995/1586-7.

The *Sama'* Chamber

The chamber is dated by the inscription plaque. This measures 85cm wide by 26 cm high and is placed above the lintel of the door leading to the main chamber in the second storey. It has a recessed frame with chamfered edges and consists of a single block of Arabic, disposed on four interconnected levels and written in Ottoman *thulth*, enclosed within a rectangular cartouche. The script is elongated, and its words are linked by dramatic *lam-alif* ligatures and by examples of the letter *ya* written with a strong horizontal termination running backwards. The style of the script is almost identical to the inscription recording the foundation of the Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20), and it is possible that the two plaques were designed by the same calligrapher. Van Berchem (1922-5) did not record the inscription but it has been published by al-'Arif (1961: 500). According to his reading, the translation of the inscription is as follows:

(There) has ordered the construction of this place that is called the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, the Commander of the Noble District of Jerusalem, Khudawand Kar Beg (in the) year 995 (1586-7).

Al-'Asali (1981: 314) and Najm *et al.* (1983: 367) accepted the reading by al-'Arif without question. Although the decipherment of both the name of the monument and the date are correct, it would appear that there is an error over the name of the founder and his position, for the space is too narrow for all of these words. According to our version (see also the Arabic text in Appendix II, no. 19, below) of the text, which reads *ansha'a al-maqam al-sharif al-musamma bi'l-khanqah al-Maulawiyya amir al-umara' al-kir[am] Abu Saifain ghazi fi sanat 995*, the translation should be as follows:

(There) has constructed the noble *maqam* (place) that is called the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, the prince of the esteemed princes, the warrior Abu Saifain, in the year 995 (1586-7).

For a comment on the epithet *al-ghazi* and the *kunya* Abu Saifain, see below under 'Founder'.

The rooms of the ground and first floors are not dated and it is impossible to suggest a date for them from their structural technique. But since the upper level can only be reached by way of the ground and first floor levels, these were obviously in existence some time—if not in their present form—before 995/1586-7. The details of the conversion into a mosque of what seems from its layout to have been a Crusader church are not known, as already explained, but the diversity in building technique and style would seem to indicate a slow development over a long period.

Founder

Just as the date of the conversion into a mosque, and the date when rooms were also added on the ground floor, are not known, so too the name of the patron is lost to us. The name of the patron of the upper level *al-sama'* chamber (the *khanqah*) is however recorded as *amir al-umara' al-kiram ghazi* Abu Saifain. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 66: 551) is even more informative on the founder. It states, after listing a long series of epithets, that the donor and the patron of the *khanqah* is '*malik al-umara' al-kibar maulana*

¹ The term *khanqah*, which is used in the inscription, does not necessarily indicate that a minaret was part of the building. Three *khanqahs* that date from the pre-Ottoman period still exist in Jerusalem. These are, in chronological order: (a) al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya (*waqf* dated 585/1189); (b) al-Khanqah al-Dawadariyya (dated 695/1295); and (c) al-Khanqah al-Fakhriyya (before 732/1332). Of these three, only the Salahiyya has a minaret, perhaps because of its position, which is remote from the Haram area in what was traditionally a Christian neighbourhood, where a symbol of Islam was considered to be desirable. Similarly, the existence of the Minaret al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3) seems to stem from the need for a visible symbol of Islam in its district. The presence of the minaret on the site of the Maulawiyya may result from the fact that there was already a mosque there; it is also located in a area relatively remote from the Haram. It would appear that a either minaret was a standard feature of a *khanqah* or was present if a religious building was located at a distance from the Haram al-Sharif.

Khudawirdi Beg *al-shahir bi* (known as) Abi Saifain, the Governor of the district of Jerusalem the Noble'. In addition to the *waqfiyya*, there are many other records in the *sijills* under the name of Abu Saifain (see below under Endowments), but most of these records deal with the *waqf* rather than the person of the patron.

There is one, however, which gives further information on the life and work of Abu Saifain in Jerusalem. This record is to be found in *Sijill* 69: 486 which dates to the end of Jumada II 998/5 May 1590. It reveals that 'Khudawirdi Beg Abu Saifain, the former Governor of Jerusalem District, and the son of Muhammad Agha' (see cat. no. 20), had been killed by insurgents; unfortunately a precise date is not recorded for the event. In the religious court, Bayan, the *subashi*, accused Mahmud ibn Muhammad, one of the *timar* holders of Jerusalem, of collaborating with the Arab rebels (*al-'arab al-'usa*, the Bedu), and with highway robbers (*qutta' al-turuq*); they had killed Khudawirdi Beg and his companions, and had robbed them. Mahmud had taken the mule of Abu Saifain as part of his share. The final judgment found that the *timar* holders were not involved in the incident, and Abu Saifain the son (*walad*)—Muhammad Agha—had been killed by 'Ahmad al-Tüfekçi'.

Heyd (1960: 91) has summarised an interesting Order preserved in the Mühimme Defteri dated 16 Rajab 995/22 June 1587, which was sent to the vizier Sinan Pasha at Damascus. Sinan Pasha was informed in the Order that Khudawirdi (Hudaverdi) Beg of Jerusalem, had been exempted from taking part in the forthcoming campaign (see Heyd 1960: 92 n. 3) in order to guard the Holy Land. Khudawirdi had reported that the Bedu tribe named Kallaniyya (*sic*) had taken up a dominant position near Nabi Musa; he had fought fiercely against them and as a result seven rebels had been taken prisoner, thirteen had been killed, and more than twenty men had been wounded.

These two documents are interesting, for they provide information on the activities of Khudawirdi during his governorship of Jerusalem as well as throwing light on the state of security in the country, and they help too towards understanding the motivation and the circumstances which lay behind the string of epithets that appear both in the foundation inscription and in the *waqfiyya*. Our concern here must be focused on the last of these, namely the titles of Khudawirdi Beg, specially on the *kunya* Abu Saifain. This means literally 'the father of two swords'. The epithet *al-ghazi* is comparatively common in border contests especially in earlier periods, and denotes a Muslim warrior of the *jihad* or Holy War. Nevertheless, such a title does seem unusual in Ottoman Jerusalem. Other similar titles are given in the *waqfiyya* such as *ahad arkan al-daula al-mashhur bi-shiddat al-'azm wa'l-rujula wa'l-asad al-usud al-battal al-ashadd hamil rayat al-majd wa'l-fakhr*—'one of the pillars of state, known for [his] extreme might and courage, the lion of lions, the strongest hero, the bearer of the banners of pride'. It is true that such exaggerated claims are common in the period, but the events concerning Khudawirdi as reported help to place these epithets in their historical perspective.

The founder of the second endowment of 1036/1626-7 was a man called Muhammad Pasha, the then governor of Jerusalem. There are many records in the *sijills* concerning the architectural works in Jerusalem sponsored by Muhammad Pasha. One of his important projects was the construction and endowment of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (1043/1633-4). Muhammad Pasha continued to live in Jerusalem after he had retired from office; while he was governor of the area, the Sabil Sha'lan was restored by means of a donation from Bairam Pasha, the vizier of Egypt. For more details on his biography see cat. no. 35 under 'Founder'.

Endowment²

Early period

Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 60) records that Sultan Selim, among other measures undertaken when he conquered Jerusalem in 922/1516, confirmed the chief of the Maulawi dervishes, Maulana Akhfash-Zade, in his office and granted him 500 *akçe* as voluntary alms (*sadaqat*). This is the earliest reference to the Maulawiyya order in Jerusalem. There is no suggestion that it was an endowment, and there is no mention of the *khanqah*. *Sijill* 10: 425 includes a brief record dated 16 Shawwal 945/10 March 1539 of the lease of a house 'located in Jerusalem in Bani Zaid neighbourhood by the beginning of the staircase of al-Maulawiyya'. This short reference once again gives no further details, but it is an indication that construction of al-Maulawiyya had begun well before its first endowment dated 995/1586-7.

The Endowment of Khudawirdi Abu Saifain

The first endowment discovered is the *waqfiyya* registered in *Sijill* 66: 551-2 under the year 995/1586-7. It is made up of three parts consisting of almost one thousand words and is dated to the beginning of Rajab 995/7 June 1587. The first part is an introduction concerning the rewards and the importance of a charitable donation according to religious teaching, and the last part as usual covers the validity and legality of the *waqf* after the donor, in the presence of the *qadi*, changed his mind and asked the *waqf* to be returned to his ownership. The middle section is the most important one for this study because it contains historical and architectural data on the monument. Some of this information has already been cited above, and the remainder will now be examined.

This section deals with the type of endowment, the stipulations, and the personnel together with the financial arrangements. The *waqfiyya* states that 'maulana Khudawirdi surnamed Abu Saifain, Beg of Jerusalem District, has attested in the religious court, while sound in mind and body, that he has made *waqf* the whole sum of 400 silver *ghirsh* equal to 500 *sultani*. The donor has handed over all the money to the Administrator of the *waqf*, and has made it a condition that the Administrator should make each ten of this money yield eleven and a half. This means that the *mutawalli* was obliged to lend out the money at an interest rate of 15 percent (*ribh*) provided that he avoided usury (*riba*). The money should be handed over for this purpose (the transaction) to a person who was to be trusted, pious and honest, either having a flexible mortgage or valid guarantees.' According to specialists in Islamic law in the religious court of Jerusalem, such as *al-shaikh* 'Abd al-'Azaim Salhab (the head of the Supreme Muslim Council), this practice would have been illegal, i.e. *riba*, and the words 'should transact legally' (*mu'amallat shari'a*) were blatantly misleading. It is worth noting that most of the *waqfiyyas* in the *sijills* repeat the same stipulation if the *waqf* was for a stated sum of money. Recently a number of Arabic Egyptian newspapers published a *fatwa* against the current *shaikh* of al-Azhar in Cairo, stating that the interest rate of the banks was legal and that there was no difference in principle between the Islamic banks and any others. It is clear from these divergent opinions that this matter is still a matter of dispute between scholars of Muslim law.

The *waqf* instrument states that the profit, which was to be 75 *sultani*, should be allocated for the benefit of five members

² In 1380/1961 the Director of the Auqaf asked the Chief Judge of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem to provide him with a copy of the *waqfiyya* of al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya in order to enforce compliance with the terms of the donor. The *qadi* suggested that an employee of the Auqaf be sent to search for the document, but it was not found.

of the Maulawiyya Sufi order, who were followers of 'the leading savant, the sultan of all the saints, *maulana munla* Khunkar'. They were to be residents in their *khanqah* in Jerusalem which had been constructed by the donor. The first of the five should be a *shaikh* for the *khanqah*; he was also to be *imam* and reader for the book of al-Mathnawi, attributed to 'the sultan of all the saints *maulana munla* Jalal al-Din—may Allah hallow his mighty secret.' Two of the five Sufis were to be *mu'adhdhins* in the minaret which was situated in the *khanqah*; one should be in attendance and in charge of lighting the lamps, and one Sufi should be the *bawwab* (door-keeper). The donor stipulated the following conditions:

(1) Shaikh Mustafa Muslih al-Din who was well-known and was called 'al-shaikh 'Alami Dida', the *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya order, was to be the '*shaikh* of the *khanqah*', *imam* in the mosque that was situated within the *khanqah*, and reader for the book of al-Mathnawi. He was to be allocated seven '*uthmani*' each day, three in recompense for the office of *imam*, and four for the position of *shaikh* and the reading.

(2) The donor has appointed *maulana darwish* 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maulawi, the son of Ahmad Çelebi al-Khalwati, on account of his honesty and piety as the Administrator of the *waqf*. He was to be allocated one '*uthmani*' per day, and after him the position was to be given to anyone provided that he possessed the same qualities.

(3) Qadi Muhammad, son of the deceased Qadi Badr al-Din al-Shafi'i, was to be the Inspector of the *waqf* during his lifetime and after him the position was not to be filled.

(4) The Administrator of the *waqf* should spend what had been assigned above for the personnel; he should pay the following:

Position	Salary in 'uthmani dirhams per day
The Administrator	1
The <i>shaikh</i> , <i>imam</i> , and the reader	7
2 <i>mu'adhdhins</i> (each two ' <i>uthmani</i> ')	4
The Attendant and the <i>sha'al</i> (lighter of lamps)	2
The door-keeper	1
Total expenditure per day	<u>15</u>

(5) Each of the five Sufis should be of the Maulawiyya order, a Turk, and of no fixed abode (*affaq*).

(6) Maulana 'Alami Dida had the authority to appoint and to dismiss; he was in addition to supervise the Administrator as well as the Inspector. After him, the post was to be given to anyone provided that he had the same qualifications.

From the various records in the *sijills*, it seems that the *waqf* of Abu Saifain for the benefit of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya proved to be unusually prosperous, and that the Administrator kept to the stipulations of the donor. Sijill 67: 161, dated 1 Jumada I 996/29 March 1588, reports that Amir Muhammad ibn Amir Hasan, the *subashi* at Ramla, owed a certain amount of money (not specified) to the *waqf* of Abu Saifain and al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya called al-Saifiyya. A record in Sijill 72: 436 dated Muharram 1000/October–November 1591 shows that the master builder Mahmud, the son of the master builder Husain ibn Nammur, owed the sum of 23 gold coins to the *waqf* of Abu Saifain, in return for which he had mortgaged in its entirety his orchard, which was located outside Jerusalem. It appears that most of the money of Abu Saifain was lodged with Jews living in Jerusalem. Sijill 72: 295 dated 7 Rajab 999/1 May 1591 records that a group of Jews owed the *waqf* of Abu Saifain 400 gold coins and 60 coins as a profit. Cohen (1995: 181, 192, 195, 197, 199)

has recently summarised many citations from the Jerusalem *sijills*³ with respect to the money owed by Jews to the endowment of Khudawirdi, Beg of Jerusalem.

Another detailed document has been located in Sijill 91: 99 indicating that the interest on the money dedicated by the *waqfiyya* yielded so great a profit that there was a surplus of additional funds. The *qadi* therefore ordered 'Abd al-Qadir Zain al-Din, the Administrator of the *waqf*, at the request of the *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya, Muhammad ibn Nuh, to spend the surplus on buying food for the Sufis resident in the *khanqah*, and to appoint a *da'i* to perform petitioning prayers after *al-sama'*. It should be noted that these last two stipulations were not mentioned in the original *waqf* of Abu Saifain; they were an innovation and give a good idea of how the conditions of the *waqf* were altered, and how later it deteriorated.

The endowment of Muhammad Pasha on the Maulawiyya

In addition to the endowment of Khudawirdi Beg Abu Saifain, Sijill 107: 302-3 includes a *waqfiyya* dated 3 Rabi' II 1036/22 December 1626. It is relatively short, and was drawn up by the governor of Jerusalem, Muhammad Pasha. His name and some of his titles appear in the *waqfiyya* as '*amir al-'umara' al-kiram kabir al-kubara' al-fikham sahib al-'izz wa'l-majd wa'l-ihitiram maulana* Muhammad Pasha, Governor of the Noble City of Jerusalem'. The *waqfiyya* states that 'Muhammad Pasha, while sound in body and mind, attested in the religious court of Jerusalem in the presence of the *qadi*, Mahmud al-Husaini, that he has made *waqf* the whole *hakura* (vegetable garden) which contains planted trees (*ghiras*) of fig, rose, almond, and so on. It is situated in the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud) neighbourhood in the Noble City of Jerusalem. The *hakura* is bordered to the south and to the north by passable roads, to the east also by the road but it is here that the door is, and to the west by the house of Ibn Firkah.'

Muhammad Pasha stipulated that the *hakura* was to be *waqf* for the benefit of *al-sada* al-Maulawiyya who were resident in the *zawiya* named after them, located in the Noble City of Jerusalem. If this were not possible, the *waqf* should be for the Muslim poor of the nation of Muhammad. Muhammad Pasha assigned *maulana* Muhammad Efendi, the *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya order in Jerusalem to be Administrator of his *waqf* during his lifetime and, after him, whoever was the *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya. In the case of the *waqf* being changed to benefit the poor, the Administrator of the *waqf* was to be appointed by the *qadi* of Jerusalem. No further details are given with regard to income or expenditure, but from a later *sijill* (179: 40) dated the last day of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1087/3 February 1677 it is clear that the *waqf* of Muhammad Pasha at that time was devoted to feeding the Maulawiyya Sufis. 'Ali Efendi, *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya order, is also mentioned there as the Inspector of both the Maulawiyya *waqfs*—the first being that of Abu Saifain, and the second of Muhammad Efendi (Pasha) 'which is allocated for the feeding of the Maulawiyya Sufis'. Sijill 179: 40 dated the beginning of Dhu 'l-Hijja 1087/4 February 1677 confirms the above information for it states that 'al-Shaikh Kamal al-Din ibn al-Khalili, the Administrator of the *waqf* of Muhammad Efendi, which is allocated for the feeding of the Maulawiyya Sufis, asked the *qadi* to nominate a salary for him, for the post of Administrator demanded time and effort. The *qadi* assigned to him two '*uthmani*' per day'.

Later history

Both *waqfs* dedicated to al-Maulawiyya began to suffer from

³ The numbers of these *sijills* are 67: 222; 77: 448, 298; 78: 66; and 79: 43 respectively.

mismanagement at the hands of their administrators. Muhammad Efendi, holder of the post in the year 1076/1665-6, reported to the *qadi*, according to Sijill 165: 101, that part of the original capital money (that is the 400 *sultani*) had been lost during previous administrations. The *qadi* agreed to the request of Muhammad Efendi to raise the percentage of interest on the *waqf* money from eleven and a half *ghirsh* per ten to twelve *ghirsh*, in accordance with the rate of all transactions at that time (that is to 20 percent).

Sijill 220: 143, which includes the proceedings for the year 1137/1724-5, contains a document concerning the restoration of many parts of the *khanqah*. This had become necessary owing to the seriously dilapidated condition of the complex. The *sijill* reports on some of the architectural elements in the *khanqah* that were badly in need of repair and it implies a decline in the level of income from the *waqf*. The repairs which had been carried included: new plaster for the *sama'* chamber with new wood for its windows and door along with a new *takhtabush* (balcony), rebuilding the latrines, rebuilding the house below the latrines, and rebuilding the wall of the kitchen. According to the estimate made by the master builders, these works cost 150 *ghirsh asadi*, including the price of lime, wood, iron, *kittan* (flax or linen, probably used in plastering the walls), tools and carpenters. However, Muhibb al-Din, *naqib al-ashraf* (head of the descendants of Muhammad), who donated the money for the repairs, had managed to do all of the restoration work for only 115 *ghirsh asadi*.

A list of the men who acted as *shaikhs* of the Maulawiyya order can be drawn up from the *sijills* cited above.

Name	Year	Sijill no.
Mustafa Muslih al-Din ('Alami Dida)	995/1586	66: 551
Muhammad ibn Nuh Efendi	1019/1610-1	91: 99
Muhammad Efendi	1036/1626-7	107: 302
Muhammad Dida	1043/1633-4	121: 326
'Ali Efendi	1087/1676-7	179: 40
Danish 'Ali Efendi	1096/1684-5	187: 45
Al-Darwish Rasul	1137/1724-5	220: 143

The Administrators of the Maulawiyya *waqf* also feature in the *sijills*:

Name	Year	Sijill no.
'Abd al-Qadir al-Maulawi	995/1586	66: 551
ibn Ahmad al-Khalwati	999/1590-1	72: 295
'Abd al-Qadir Zain al-Din (surnamed ibn Da'ud)	1000/1591-2	72: 436
	1019/1610-1	91: 99
Muhammad Efendi	1036/1626-7	107: 302
	1076/1665-6	165: 101
Kamal al-Din ibn al-Khalili ⁴	1087/1676-7	179: 40

⁴ Sadr al-Din al-Dajani was the last person to be appointed *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya order and also caretaker of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya in Jerusalem according to an authorisation (*ija'za*). This is dated 1383/1963 (Auqaf file 30/17/29: 76-7) and is signed by the three main *shaikhs* of the Maulawiyya order in Damascus, Aleppo and Homs as well as more than twenty other *darwish*. It is possible from it to get an idea of the duties and activities of the Maulawiyya order in modern terms. The specific duties are to serve the members of the Maulawiyya order when they visit Jerusalem by providing them with full board and lodging, as well as travel expenses to the nearest town with a Maulawiyya *zawiya*. The *shaikh* is to perform the *dhikr*, to recite the Qur'an every Monday and Friday night, as well as the nights of Islamic festivals, and to give the summons (*ibtihal*) on the minaret before the '*isha*' (night prayer).

From the same *sijills*, the Inspectors of the Maulawiyya *waqf* can be listed as follows:

Name	Year	Sijill no.
Muhammad ibn Badr	995/1586	66: 55
al-Din al-Shafi'i	999/1590-1	72: 295
'Ali Efendi	1087/1676-7	179: 40

Recent Waqf

Al-'Arif (1961: 500), without quoting his reference, or the date, or giving any further detail, records that 3kg (1 *ratl*) of bread and 2 *ratls* of meat were assigned to al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya, probably daily, but that the allowance was later reduced to 1,470 *piastres* a month to feed all the members of the order.

Various estates are listed in the Auqaf files⁵ (30/17/29: 95) as endowments to provide income for the running costs of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya. These include: two houses, a single room, a stable, three chambers, a storage place, and a plot of land. All the estates are located either in the complex of al-Maulawiyya itself or in its vicinity.

Architecture

The Khanqah Maulawiyya is one of the more complicated sites in Ottoman Jerusalem. The plan of the site and the remains which still survive of the architectural fabric of the building make it obvious that the site had a long history before its Ottoman development began in the 16th century. The church (B—the mosque) clearly originated in the Crusader period. The basement was opened for a short period in late 1998, when a restoration project was initiated by the Welfare Association in collaboration with the Auqaf administration. The basement certainly needs further investigation, but the present study cannot wait any longer for its result. However, it might be dated either to the Crusader or the pre-Crusader period, and would thus fall outside the chronological scope of this book.

The site is located in a core residential area, at a relative distance from the Haram al-Sharif, and this has exposed it to alteration and modification. The difficulty, added to the topography of the area where the site is located, explains why the development of the Maulawiyya site formed a challenge for the developer. The transformation of the church into a mosque was relatively straightforward, involving as it did the insertion of a *mihrab* in the south wall and the blocking of part of the apse in the east wall. But when it was decided to build a minaret, it was no easy matter to reach the bedrock of the site or to integrate the body of the minaret within the fabric of the former church. Therefore the minaret, and in particular its base, is so to speak out of place. It is a massive base to serve such a modest minaret. When further development occurred, namely when the hall of the second floor (the *sama' khana*) was being built, the developer, for reasons that are not now obvious, instead of using the complete

⁵ File no. 30/17/29: 95 in the archives of the Auqaf Administration, as shown above, includes information about various aspects of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya. The earliest entry in the file, which contains some two hundred and fifty pages, is dated 22 Dhul 'l-Qa'da 1380/6 May 1961, and the most recent 30.11.1411/12 December 1991. The file deals among other things with the usual information on recent personnel and maintenance work relating to the building. In addition to the information given above, it notes that the Judge of the Shari'a Court made the Director of the Auqaf Administration caretaker of al-Zawiya al-Maulawiyya after 'Adil al-Maulawi, the last *shaikh* of the Zawiya, took up residence in Tarabulus (Tripoli).

space available used almost half of that space, leaving the whole appearance of the south façade of the prayer hall looking very odd. Finally, if one compares the plan of the basement with the plan of the ground floor, it becomes clear that the size of the former church was reduced, probably when it was transformed into a mosque. This surmise is based on the size of the last two piers of the prayer hall (namely those at the west end), for they are unfinished. Thus the site of the Maulawiyya has many inherent difficulties. These difficulties have continued to prevail until today, and the addition of a new house built of stone and concrete well illustrates the negative development of an historic site.

Exterior

The western street façade

Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya has one façade which forms the eastern support of the arched passageway which bears the name Qantar al-Maulawiyya. The *qantara* is undated, but it is obviously a later addition built after the façade. It is made up of four vaulted bays (three of them cross-vaulted) supported by five pointed arches. The arches span the passageway from east to west (3.4m wide by 3.25m high), apart from the northern arch which measures 2.1m wide by 2.3m high. The bays are all rectangular in plan, but they have different measurements. Only the north and the south arches of the *qantara* are visible externally, and although both are built of a double tier of voussoirs, surmounted by a rectangular window, they have a different span, as mentioned above, owing to the irregularity of the street alignment.

The masonry of the western façade consists of regular courses of simple, square, roughly dressed stone, and its upper part is largely obscured by the above-mentioned *qantara*. The façade is 18.45m long by 4.8m high, and it has five doorways. The first, to the north measures 1.05m wide by 1.4m high; it is surmounted by a pointed arch built of mainly square and occasionally rectangular stones. The door is blocked with stones of a quality similar to that of the arch and the courses above it. Formerly this opening gave access to the northern aisles of the basement (the undercroft of the church), but then the level of the street was raised and this explains why it is now only 1.4m high. It is not known when it was blocked, but taking the type of stone as a guide, it seems that the blocking took place some time ago. The second door measures 1.53m wide by 1.47m high; it has finely-dressed, white stone jambs with a slab lintel. Directly above it there is a relieving arch surmounted by a slit window, 22cm by 66cm. This door once led to an underground basement through the central aisle, but it has recently been blocked by concrete blocks. These blocks were removed recently to do a quick survey. The third opening is hard to see, for much has been changed there, but its place seems to be where two recent pipes now stand. The fourth, central doorway gives access to the interior of the *khanqah*. It is raised 87cm above the level of the street by means of four steps. The steps end in a rectangular landing measuring 90cm by 64cm which is paved in stone. The door is itself rectangular, measuring 80cm by 1.75m and it is surmounted by a simple slab. Twelve stone steps, each 28cm wide and 95cm high, lead onto an open courtyard. This serves today as the main entrance to the *khanqah*. The fifth door measures 1.05m by 1.9m and is fitted with a modern iron door; it too is very simple, and is surmounted by a lintel. It leads to a storage room which might once have been used as a shop. There are two further doors to the south, the first (the sixth in succession) measuring 83cm wide by 1.08m high, leads to the western rooms of the *khanqah*; these are built above the *qantara*. Here there are seventeen steps and the

passage is roofed by a barrel vault. The second door (the seventh in succession) leads to chamber K through a residential house known as Dar Tutah.

Interior

The Basement

The basement level, as mentioned above, was opened in late 1998 for a short time to enable a quick survey to be made. The survey was done by Riwaq for the Welfare Association with the approval of the Auqaf. I managed to obtain a copy of this survey,⁶ but was unable to spare the time to conduct a thorough investigation of the site. One may hope that in the near future such a study will be made.⁷ The plan shows that the basement—i.e. the undercroft of the Crusader church—comprises three aisles running from west to east. The central one is the largest. Six piers divide the three aisles into twelve unequal cross-vaulted bays. It is not known what the original function of this basement was. It is worth noting that the recent level of the street, though it was lately raised by the addition of a new pavement when the sewage system was renovated, accords with the level of the basement. This level was approached by the two openings described above which are set in the west façade of the mosque (i.e. the transformed church).

Ground (First) Level

The open courtyard (A1-A3)

The courtyard is irregular in shape, and is now divided into two by a stone wall. Access to each part is through a separate doorway. The first part (A1), which is nearly rectangular in shape, is approached through the sixth door described above (no. 33). Courtyard A1 contains two architectural components: the first is the staircase in its centre which leads up from the street level. The second part (A2) is a small room almost square in plan, built of stone, and located at the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. A door with a slab lintel in the northern wall gives onto the interior of the room. In the western wall there is a semicircular opening which is now blocked except for a door opening. The interior of the room is simple. There is a rectangular well-mouth in the floor and a square blind recess in the northern wall adjacent to the door. The chamber is roofed by a cross vault. Its extreme simplicity combined with the lack of any further information makes it hard to date with any certainty, or even to be sure if it constituted an original part of the *khanqah*.

Access to the second part of the courtyard A3 is through the main entrance of the *khanqah*, namely the fourth, central door described above in the discussion of the west façade. The floor of the second part of courtyard A3 to the north is paved with stone slabs of different colours. Its eastern section, lower by 60cm than the western part, is reached by means of three steps. To the north, it is bordered by the southern façade of the mosque and by the base of the minaret, to the east by various rooms and cells used today for residential purposes, and to the south by the tomb chamber G of the *shaikhs* of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya. Here

⁶ I am deeply grateful to Dr Shadia Tuqan, the Director of the Technical Office for the Restoration of the Old City of Jerusalem, for her kindness and generosity in allowing me to publish this plan together with other plans and sections of the site of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya.

⁷ Simona Ricka, a freelance architect, who supervised the survey, has kindly informed me that he is considering publication of a report on the basement and the mosque (the former church) of the *khanqah*.

there are also steps leading to the upper floor. There is also a stone tomb within this section of the courtyard, and close by there are two walled areas with plants. The first of these small gardens is square in plan and measures 1.6m by 1.6m; the second is more rectangular in plan and measures 3.8m by 2.1m. The tomb is surrounded by plants and is constructed of two courses of stonework on a rectangular base, the top being covered by a half-cylindrical block. The western end has a tomb marker in the form of the head-covering (a turban) of a Maulawiyya *darwish*; it has a funerary inscription on a stone plaque. This is rectangular and measures 22cm by 60cm. It has five lines of Arabic in simple Ottoman *naskh*; the exception to this is the one word *ruhichün*, which is written in Ottoman Turkish. The script is slender, well-cut and clear with diacritical points. The translation runs as follows:

1. He (Allah) is the Creator, the Eternal—
2. The late—he who has been forgiven—
3. Maulawi *shaikh*
4. al-Hajj 'Ali -
5. Say the *Fatiha* for his soul (in the) year 1271(1854-5).

The mosque (B)

The southern façades

The main—and indeed the only façade—of the mosque faces south. It is on a large scale, measuring 15m long by 7.4m high, and it is constructed throughout of regular courses of white, roughly chiselled stone. The façade is undecorated and is made up of two sections. There were once three window openings in the lower part; two of the three are still identical; each measures 90cm by 2m and is surmounted by an arch of three voussoirs. Modern iron grilles have now been fitted to these windows. The third window, to the east, was converted into a door at some point. Its measurements are now 90cm by 2.5m, and it is surmounted by a similar arch to the others. The jambs,⁸ the arches, and the grilles of the two windows and the door opening are similar to some on other buildings which date to the late Ottoman period, but which predate the modern architecture of the city. This suggests that the windows were either made recently or at least have been recently restored. West of the central window there is a blocked-up door surmounted by a double pointed arch, and vestiges of a further opening between the present central window and the door can also be seen. Perhaps the blocked-up door was originally a window or a door in the church, and the reason it was blocked, following the change in function, was to provide space for the *mihrab*. Below the western window there is a rectangular opening now closed with modern concrete blocks. The upper part of the façade is solid wall apart from three slit windows for illumination and ventilation, each of which measures 20cm wide by 80cm high.

The other façades of the mosque are obscured behind later buildings, although a further three slit windows are visible in the upper part of the western elevation.

The interior of mosque B is raised 70cm above the level of the courtyard and access is by means of two rectangular stone steps. The floor is paved with white flagstones. The interior consists of a rectangular hall divided into three aisles by four massive piers. A further two roughly finished piers form the west

end of the hall. They were probably reduced in size when alterations took place to modify the church to serve as a mosque. Square in plan, the isolated piers measure 90cm by 90cm. They are constructed of masonry blocks and there is an engaged column with the debased type of Corinthian capital with thick-leaved foliage typical of the Crusader period at the four corners of each. Below the capital, each pier is decorated at its apex by a *cyma recta* moulding.

The central aisle is subdivided into three square bays, each covered by a cross vault carried on four pointed arches. These vary slightly in span and spring from the four piers and from wall-brackets. The narrower side-aisles are also divided into three bays but here these are rectangular in plan. There are, as described above, three arched windows. The six small windows expressed externally as slits open out to appear inside as lancet arches. A concave *mihrab* niche now occupies the space once taken up by the door to the church in the centre of the south wall. The niche measures 80cm wide by 40cm deep, and is built of dressed masonry. It is surmounted by a semicircular arch of five white stone voussoirs decorated with a simple chamfered splay moulding at their lower edge. The arch is supported by two identical columns, each consisting of an octagonal marble shaft, a debased Corinthian capital of the thick-leaved type, and a square base with two torus mouldings enclosing a scotia. New repointing in black indicates a recent restoration of the niche.

The eastern wall of the mosque retains its original church layout; it is thus still dominated by three large blind recesses that correspond to the eastern ends of each of the three east-west aisles. The central niche (originally the apse) is the largest, as would be expected of the recess corresponding to the main aisle. The only minor modification that has occurred to this wall is that three stone platforms 80cm above floor level have been built within the recesses to act as benches. The northern wall is unbroken except for a slit window placed in the upper section of the north-western bay. The western wall too is now broken only by the three slit windows, but in the south-western bay there are traces of an earlier opening which may indicate that there was once a door here. There are also two engaged piers in the western wall; their function is probably to reinforce the wall.

The minaret (C)

The minaret is located to the north of the main courtyard (A) at the south-eastern corner of the mosque (B). It is constructed throughout of white masonry of varying sizes of stones, both square and rectangular. The elevation has four main parts. First there is the cubed plinth which has an octagonal zone of transition leading to a cylindrical shaft, which is subdivided in two by a ring moulding. The shaft is topped by the *sham'a* (lantern) which is, as usual, slimmer and shorter than the shaft.

The plan of the plinth is square, measuring 2.6m by 2.6m. It is 4.7m high. It is integrated into the south-eastern corner of the prayer hall, part of its western and northern sides merging into the corresponding walls of the mosque. The stones of the plinth differ in size and chiselling technique from the stones of the shaft, being both larger and rougher than the masonry of the rest of the minaret and of the upper storey. The masonry resembles that of the mosque, which would suggest that the outer walls of the mosque were rebuilt when the minaret was constructed. The plinth is solid and undecorated. It is remarkably massive to serve such a modest minaret, and is especially bulky when compared to other minarets of the period within Jerusalem. It is difficult to offer a reasoned explanation for its bulk.

⁸ Similar jambs can be seen flanking the windows of Sabil Sha'an (cat. no.36); they date to the last phase of restoration carried out sometime after 1831.

A chamfered triangle transforms the cube of the base into an octagon to support the cylindrical shaft. Such triangles serve only as the first step of the transitional zone, for the builder has constructed another, supplementary element in the eight solid faces that rise for six courses above. The first part of the transition is similar to that of the minaret of al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1) and the minaret of al-Qal'a (cat. no. 26), although the example here is clumsier. The triangles in al-Maulawiyya differ from those used in the construction of the minaret of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3) and the minaret Bab al-Asbat (restored 1007/1598-9), for these achieve a greater grace. The only explanation, of course unsubstantiated, is that the difference is due to the relative skills of the master builder.

A roll moulding encircles the main cylinder of the shaft, dividing it into two unequal sections, with the upper one shorter than the lower; the lower section consists of fourteen courses of plain masonry 3.20cm in height. The only entrance to the minaret is to the north east of the lower section of the cylindrical shaft. Its location is thus different to the entrances of the other Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem—al-Hamra', al-Qal'a, al-Nabi Da'ud, and Bab al-Asbat—for in each of those cases it is located beneath the zone of transition.

The entrance to the minaret of al-Maulawiyya is rectangular and measures 60cm by 1.55m. The approach is by way of a stairway with 30 steps. This leads from the ground up to the first floor. The minaret is reached along a balcony which abuts the eastern wall of the main chamber of the third wall. It is supported by an iron corbel and has a modern metal barrier. The entrance gives immediately onto a spiral staircase which rotates round a cylindrical stone core. The stairs consist of twenty-nine steps, and terminate in the door (71cm by 1.7m) leading to the gallery for the *mu'adhdhin*.

The upper storey of the minaret is featureless apart from an oculus window placed two courses above the level of the roll moulding. There is a triple moulding at the head of the shaft which acts as a simple corbel. While the first levels of this are a simple *cyma recta*, the uppermost level is broken by a series of toothed recesses. The gallery for the call to prayer is set immediately over the summit of the shaft; it has a circular stone parapet of five courses measuring 1m in height, and it is topped by a slightly projecting cornice. Directly above this there is an additional parapet of stone slabs, 7cm thick, linked by iron joints reaching a height of 70cm. The gallery for the *mu'adhdhin* has no shelter. The uppermost part of the minaret is the *sham'a* (lantern), which is typically Ottoman in form, being a shorter, slimmer cylinder than the shaft. It rises directly from the gallery and is built of small stones of the same quality as the main fabric of the minaret. The lantern consists of two parts separated by a stone roll-moulding. The lower level acts as a support for the upper which is crowned by a small ogival dome. There is still a trace of what was once presumably a stone finial at the apex.

The cells and the chambers of the ground floor

The rooms are located to the east, south and west of the courtyard (A3) and the main prayer-hall. They were probably intended for use by members of the Maulawiyya community who lived in the city, or who were visiting Jerusalem. All the cells are today occupied by local people. Both the style and technique employed in their construction are simple, most of the masonry being undecorated. Usually only the elevation with the entrance door can be seen, and most of the cells and rooms are poorly lit and badly ventilated, for they rarely have a window. They are truly

representative of the local domestic buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem rather than of the public or commemorative architecture of the city. This makes it difficult to date them, particularly as there is no supporting literary evidence. To add to the problem, the use of the rooms as domestic dwellings has meant that for the last fifty years they have been constantly restored or modified to bring them up to standard. Most of the old floors have been replaced, the walls have been replastered, new doors and windows have been fitted, and so on.⁹

Room D is located to the east of the mosque at the northernmost point of the second (eastern) section of the courtyard A3. Access to it is gained by way of a door (80cm wide by 1m high) with a slab lintel in its southern wall. The interior is rectangular in plan measuring 6.85m long by 3.6m wide, and it is divided into two unequal bays by a pointed arch, which springs from an engaged pier to either side. Both sections have been recently paved and plastered, and each is covered by a cross vault. A recessed niche with a pointed arch dominates the eastern wall of the eastern section.

Rooms E1, E2, and E3 are situated to the east of the courtyard and to the south of chamber D. A large round-headed arch of simple masonry leads into room E1 which is rectangular in plan, measuring 2.3m wide by 3.5m long and 1.95 m in height. The room has a barrel vault, and a doorway at the east end leads to room E2. This is nearly square in plan, 3.55m wide by 3.35m long. There is a blind recess, 1m wide by 60cm high, in the north-eastern corner of the north wall under a semicircular arch. The room is illuminated by a slit window in the eastern wall. Both rooms E1 and E2 have been recently paved and plastered.

Room E3 is approached through a doorway in the east wall of room E1. It is nearly square in plan, measuring 3.35m by 3.55m, and is roofed by a cross vault. A blind niche measuring 1.1m wide by 60cm deep is opened in the north east corner of the room, and there is a splayed window in the east wall to provide light and ventilation.

Rooms E2 and F occupy the south-eastern corner. They are rectangular, 3.9m long by 3.55m wide, and are approached through two semicircular arches built into their western elevation. The arches are supported by a central pier and by the walls of the room to either side. The floor has recently been paved with geometrical tiles of various colours of a type which was popular in Palestine during the British Mandate, and has a double cross vault. A doorway in the north wall connects this chamber to room E1. In the eastern wall the traces of a door opening are still visible, although it has been recently blocked. It once led to unrecorded rooms situated to the east; these are now sealed, for they are full of rubble.

A tomb chamber is to be found in the south-eastern corner, 1.6m below the level of the eastern section of courtyard A. It measures 6.95m long by 4.4m wide. Four steps lead down into it and it is entered through a simple door measuring 1.1m wide

⁹ On a visit to the site in early November 1995 it was clear that a good deal of new construction had been undertaken at the *khanqah*. The character and features of the rooms and cells have been radically altered, and the plans will thus show a great many discrepancies from the current state of the complex. This is true of many of the monuments under discussion besides the Maulawiyya—al-Masjid al-Qaimari, al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya and so on—are continually being modified. The changes between the descriptions of this catalogue and the present state of the buildings will serve to document some of the recent rapid changes within the Old City of Jerusalem.

by 1.6m high in its northern wall. A semicircular arch precedes the doorway, and is so constructed that it provides support for the stairs to the south which lead up to the first floor. To the east of the door there is a small blind niche measuring 35cm wide by 60cm high by 30cm deep, which once contained the candles and oil-lamps that used to provide light for the chamber, as was the custom in some tombs in Jerusalem. The tomb chamber is rectangular in plan, 4.4m wide by 6.1m long, and it has a floor of high-quality white marble paving-slabs, 60cm by 80cm. The crisply cut edges of the slabs probably denote a recent restoration. Three identical rectangular stone tombs occupy the south-western corner of the room. Each has a cylindrical stone headpost with a cloth wrapped around each post (15–25 cm in diameter, and 65 cm tall), the form of which is probably intended to represent the tall hat (*kutah*) worn by members of the Sufi Maulawi order. The heads of the posts and the tombs are covered by a green pall. The three tombs are contained within a wooden enclosure. Although, unlike the tomb in the courtyard mentioned above, they have no inscription to help in the identification of their occupants, they probably belong to members of the Maulawiyya order. The tomb chamber has a barrel vault and its walls as well as the roof are plastered.

The *qantara* spanning the street is located to the west of the mosque hall and contains chambers H, J, K, L, and the vestibule I. The *qantara* was built at a later date, and most likely does not belong to the *khanqah*, for there is no evidence to associate it with the Maulawiyya complex. However, for the record, it is fully described in a separate footnote.¹⁰

The cells and rooms of the mezzanine floor

Access to the mezzanine floor is by way of two staircases. The first is situated in the northern part of courtyard A. The flight is split

between a first section of six steps running east, and a second section of nine steps running south. The lower section has been recently demolished. The second stairway is located to the south of the open courtyard (A). It has nine steps running east. It leads through a rectangular vestibule (1m wide and 3.6m long) to the open courtyard of the mezzanine floor (A). Courtyard A is a rectangle measuring 3.4m wide by 1m long, and it almost corresponds in size and situation to chamber F of the floor below. The ground of the courtyard is paved by good quality flagstones, and it is flanked to the north by chamber B, to the east by cells C, D, and E, and the south by rooms F, I, and K. This section of the courtyard was roofed in October 1995 with concrete and walls were built within it to create new residential space. This comprises room no.18, room no. 22, and room no. 23.

Since chamber B of the first storey is built over chamber D on the ground floor, it shares the same layout. A door 75cm wide by 1.95m high in the south wall gives access to the interior; it has the customary slab lintel. To the west of the door, a rectangular window measuring 94cm wide by 1.5m high illuminates the interior. It has a grille and a slab lintel, and directly above it there is a semicircular arch. The interior of the room is rectangular in plan (6.85m long by 3.6m wide), and, like the floor below, is divided into two rectangular sections by a pointed arch that springs from the northern and southern walls. Both sections have been recently paved and plastered, and each has a cross vault, although the eastern one is clumsily finished. A blind recess with a pointed arch, which serves as a cupboard, dominates the east wall of the eastern section.

Cells C, D, and E form the eastern side of this first-storey level. They are all approximately square with small variations in size and accuracy of construction, and are all reached through simple doors opening to the west. The original entrances for cells D and E were round-headed arches, but these have been recently blocked, leaving only the door openings constructed of concrete, probably to provide more privacy for the inhabitants. The cells have been recently paved, and they are tunnel-vaulted.

Cell F is located at the south-eastern corner of courtyard A. Although its entrance faces north, it resembles that of the three cells described above in that it was once an open arch but has

¹⁰ There are three chambers to the west of the mosque, located off the north-western section of courtyard A1. Together they make up the bridge-house (*qantara*) built on the archway above the entrance to the *khanqah*. Room H is, like the others, built of stone. Its approach is through the fourth entrance to the south in the only, western, façade of the *khanqah*, by way of the stairs leading to courtyard A1. A door in the east wall leads into the interior. It measures 80cm wide and 1.67m high, and is surmounted by a slab lintel. Two rectangular windows give light to the interior of the room; the one to the south, 85 cm wide by 1.15m high, opens onto the main road. It has a slab lintel and is fitted with an iron grille. The second window to the west is less elaborate, but it has the customary stone lintel and measures 55cm wide by 80cm high. It is splayed. Both are expressed on the inside by semicircular arches. The room is rectangular (4.25m long by 3.05m wide) with a modern paved floor, newly plastered walls and a shallow saucer vault.

Access to the other three rooms—J, K and L—is from a rectangular vestibule I (which is surmounted by a relieving arch. Room J, which is better described as a cell, is lit by a small, rectangular, splayed window to the west measuring 50cm wide by 50cm high with a slab lintel. Like the rest of the complex, it has been recently paved, and has a cross vault. Room K occupies the main part of the archway to the north of vestibule I and cell J. It consists of a rectangular plan 5.3m long by 3.75m wide, and it too has modern paving; it is covered by a tunnel vault to the north end and by a cross vault, to the south. The northern wall is pierced by a rectangular window (95cm by 1.35m) which is surmounted by a slab lintel and is fitted with an iron grille. There are five niches of various sizes in the room for storage. Chamber L lies between mosque B and room K. It now has a door in the western wall but this appears to be recent, for it is comparatively low at only 1.60cm in height and is only 65cm

wide; there seems to have been a doorway, now blocked, in the south-eastern corner of the chamber. There is a lancet window in the wall to the south, 80cm wide by 1.2m high. The interior of the room is rectangular, measuring 5m long by 3m wide, and is divided into two by a pointed arch. The floor has been recently paved. The section of the room to the south is covered by a domical vault, while that to the north has a different vault, spindle-shaped in ground plan. A bathroom and a small additional room (M) have been built to the north of room L, with access to both through an opening in the northern wall. The additional room is small, only 1.2m long by 1m wide, and is lit by a small square window in the north wall, 50cm by 50cm. The purpose of the room is not clear; it was perhaps intended for storage or as a dressing-room. A narrow door 60cm wide by 1.3m high leads to a rectangular vestibule measuring 1m wide by 3m long. Ten terracotta openings in the tunnel vault of the roof provide air and light. A blind recess 70cm wide by 1.35m high with a semicircular arch acts as storage space in the north-western corner of the vestibule. The bathroom is located to the east of the vestibule and to the north of the small additional room described above. It consists a small single square room, 1.5m wide by 1.5m long. High-quality square white flagstones with a black slab in the centre provide the flooring. The walls are still covered in new plaster. A shallow dome carried on four pendentives is pierced by sixteen irregular round terracotta tubes which provide illumination.

recently been blocked. The interior is square (3.45m long by 3.35m wide) in plan and is covered by a cross vault.

Chamber I is constructed above the ground-level tomb chamber. Access to it is through a door, 85cm wide by 1.5m high, surmounted by the usual slab lintel. The interior is rectangular in plan measuring 6.75m long by 4.45m wide, and the floor is covered in concrete. There is a rectangular skewed and splayed window in the south wall to give light, and the only other feature is a recess in the west wall. The chamber is covered by a cross vault supported on four pointed arches, with the recess formed by them to the north being deeper than the others. The walls and the roof have been newly plastered.

Chamber K is located south of chamber I. It is possible that it was once approached from the open courtyard (A3). Access to Chamber K is now through a doorway situated a few metres south of the sixth door in the west façade of the *khanqah* at street level, and was described above. The access doorway leads up stairs and once gave access to several units, including a small open courtyard. This is now covered by a roof. At present these units serve as a house for a family and together are known as Dar Tutah. The south elevation of chamber K is located in front of the small courtyard previously noted. This elevation is stone-built like the rest of the chamber, with a door and a double window. The door is 90cm wide by 1.7m high; each part of the double window measures 70cm wide by 1.3m high and each has stone jambs of dressed stone, surmounted by a slab lintel and fitted with an iron grille. A slit window pierces the upper section of the façade.

The interior of chamber K is rectangular in plan (6.35m long by 3.1m wide), divided into two parts by a pointed arch. There are four blind niches, two in each of the western and eastern walls. The first niche (to the north in the western wall) is large—2.1m wide by 50cm deep—and begins only 50cm above floor level. It is contained within a semicircular arch. It would appear that this niche might have originally been a window, for a slab lintel and jambs are still visible at the same level on the external western wall. The second niche is located on the same wall to the south; it is smaller, measuring 1m wide by 30cm deep, and starts even closer to the floor at a level of 30cm. It too is framed by a round-headed arch. The first niche in the northern section of the eastern wall measures 1m wide by 30cm deep; it also has a round-headed arch. The second niche in this wall, which is located to the south of the niche already described, also has a round-headed arch, but is larger at 1.8m wide by 30cm deep.

The northern section of room K is covered by a cross vault with a small saucer dome in the centre. The southern section, which is nearly square in plan, has an elaborate dome, expressed on the inside as a shallow saucer of multiple flutes. The transition from square to circle is achieved by a way of four pendentives at the corners and eight folded triangles, each one representing one side of the octagon. The whole of the roof has been recently plastered and stylistically resembles the Northern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22).

The second floor (roof level)

This floor contains chamber A, an open courtyard B, and a rectangular balcony D (described above) which leads to the entrance of the minaret. Access is by way of a flight of eleven steps, followed by eight steps, each measuring 1.1m wide by 34cm high. The stairs run north from the floor below, leading to an open rectangular courtyard (B). This courtyard measures 8.1m wide by 4.2m long and is paved with old flagstones of high quality. To the

north, east, and south it is surrounded by a wall of stone and concrete blocks. At present two recent small rooms (B1 and B2) of concrete occupy the courtyard, and constitute the northern part of it. The western room measures 3.15m long by 2.05m wide, and access to it is through a door in its south wall; a square window is situated to the east of the door. The eastern room measures 2.65m long by 1.85m wide, and is approached by a simple door in the south wall. These two rooms appear to have been constructed during 1995, for a survey by the Department of the Islamic Archaeology (which was finished in 1979) shows that there used to be a square building in the north-western corner of the courtyard.

The principal façade of the main chamber (A) is to the east. It has the only door giving onto the interior. The door has a heavy white slab lintel with the inscription plaque described above, which is 85cm wide by 25cm high, set directly above it. To the south of the door, there is a large rectangular splayed window with a slab lintel, covered by a modern iron grille. With the exception of the door and the window, the façade is featureless, the courses of the stones showing no variation to the level of the roof, which rises in a curving arc at the centre of each side of the building and is covered by small flagstones. The remaining three elevations, to the south, west, and north, share similar masonry and design, the only difference being in their fenestration. While the northern elevation is unbroken, the façade to the west has three identical window openings,¹¹ each with a slab lintel and crowning semicircular arch; all are fitted with iron grilles. The southern elevation, like the one to the east, has a single large window.

The interior is a single rectangular space with an internal measurement of 5.55m wide by 5.65m long; in some places the wall is 90cm thick. The floor is paved with dressed flagstones. The chamber is covered by a cross-folded vault with a saucer dome in the centre. The vault sits on four massive pointed arches. The arched recess to the south is deepest and measures 1.6m wide by 3.95m long. As already described, there are five windows in all—one window in each of the eastern and southern walls, and three windows to the west.¹² The windows and the vault conform in general terms to the description by al-Nabulsi (see above). There are two blind niches, the first 65cm wide by 1.8m high, in the eastern wall between the door and the window. The second is in the southern wall to the west of the window, 65cm wide by 1.3m high. There is also a blocked-up door¹³ in the south-eastern corner of the chamber that once gave access to the minaret. The walls, arches and vault have been plastered and whitewashed.

It will be clear from the description of the Maulawiyya complex that the site is complicated by reason not only of its different levels, but also because of the varying types of construction, building materials, and the size and arrangement of the rooms. It would appear that one reason for this complexity is that the buildings were used as housing first for the Sufis and then, later, for ordinary residents. With the exception of the mosque, the minaret and the *sam'a khana* at the second floor level, it is difficult to discern any clear function for the various components of the site other than use as residential rooms. At the

¹¹ The Welfare Association plan suggests that one of these windows is a door.

¹² The Welfare Association plan suggests that there is a blocked-up window to the north.

¹³ The Welfare Association plan suggests that this door is a window.

end of the 16th century, to judge by the evidence in the *waqfiyya* (which was discussed above under the section marked 'Endowment'), it would appear that the number of Sufi residents in al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya in Jerusalem was limited, never being more than ten persons. It is not known how many Maulawi Sufis arrived periodically as *affaq* (wanderers or guests), but it is probable that once it became known that the *waqf* was rich and earning a good deal of profit, the number of the Sufi residents increased significantly. If a comparison is made between al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya and al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35), it will be seen that the latter has survived almost intact as it was built by its founder Muhammad Pasha, unlike the former, whose components, apart from the *sama' khana*, mosque and minaret, are almost impossible to identify. Unfortunately nothing has remained of al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (cat. no. 3) to allow its comparison with al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya.

Although the fabric of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya lacks decoration apart from the moulding on its minaret, this is not exceptional. Most of the architecture of the Sufi foundations—and, indeed, of the Ottoman institutions in Jerusalem as a whole—are without significant decorative elements. The Sufi institutions, such as al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (cat. no. 3), al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35), al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, or al-Zawiya al-As'adiyya on the Mount of Olives (*waqf* 27 Muharram 1033/20 November 1623) appear austere when compared with the imperial monuments, such as the walls of Jerusalem or al-Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15), or even the *khalwas* of Ahmad Pasha on the esplanade of the Haram al-Sharif (cat. nos. 22-25). This could reflect the principles of the Sufis who, as their name implies, originally concentrated on a modest lifestyle of strict simplicity, seeking to avoid luxury or extravagance.



Pl. 19.1 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, minaret, and south and east elevations of the *sama' khana*.

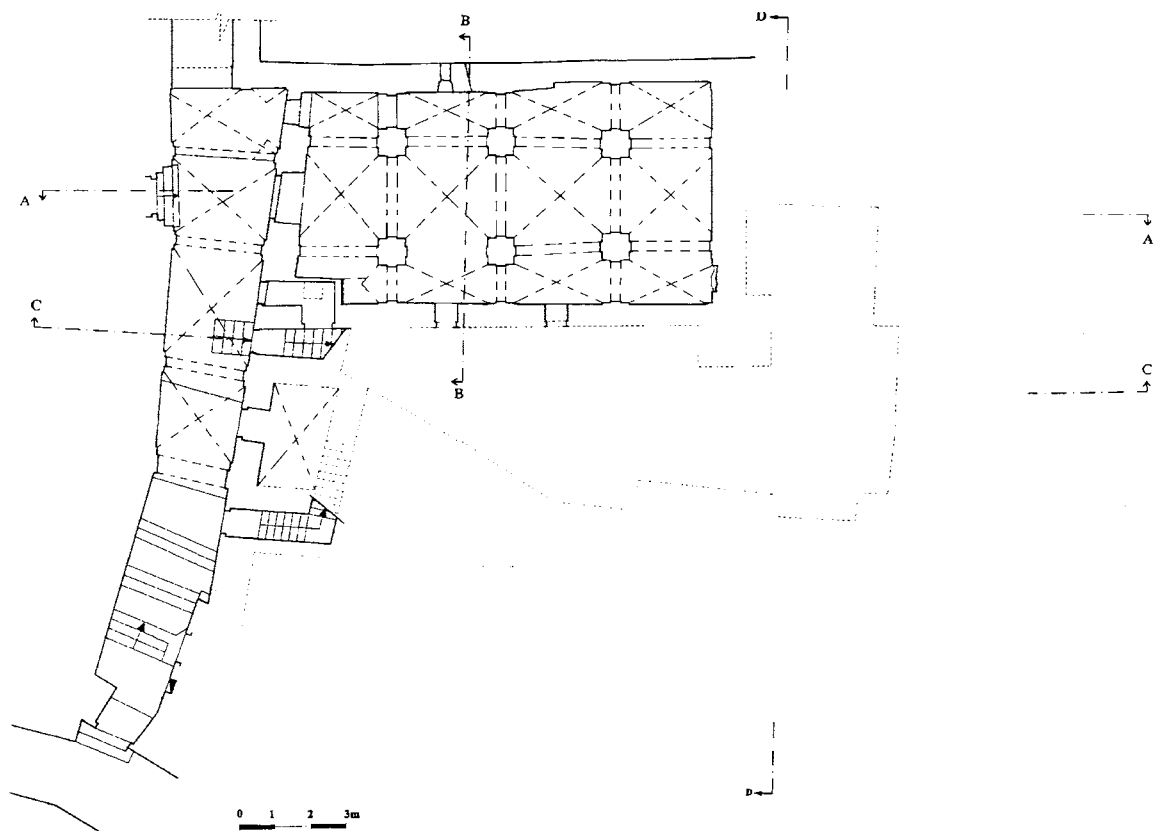


Fig. 19.1 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, basement plan (courtesy of the Welfare Association).

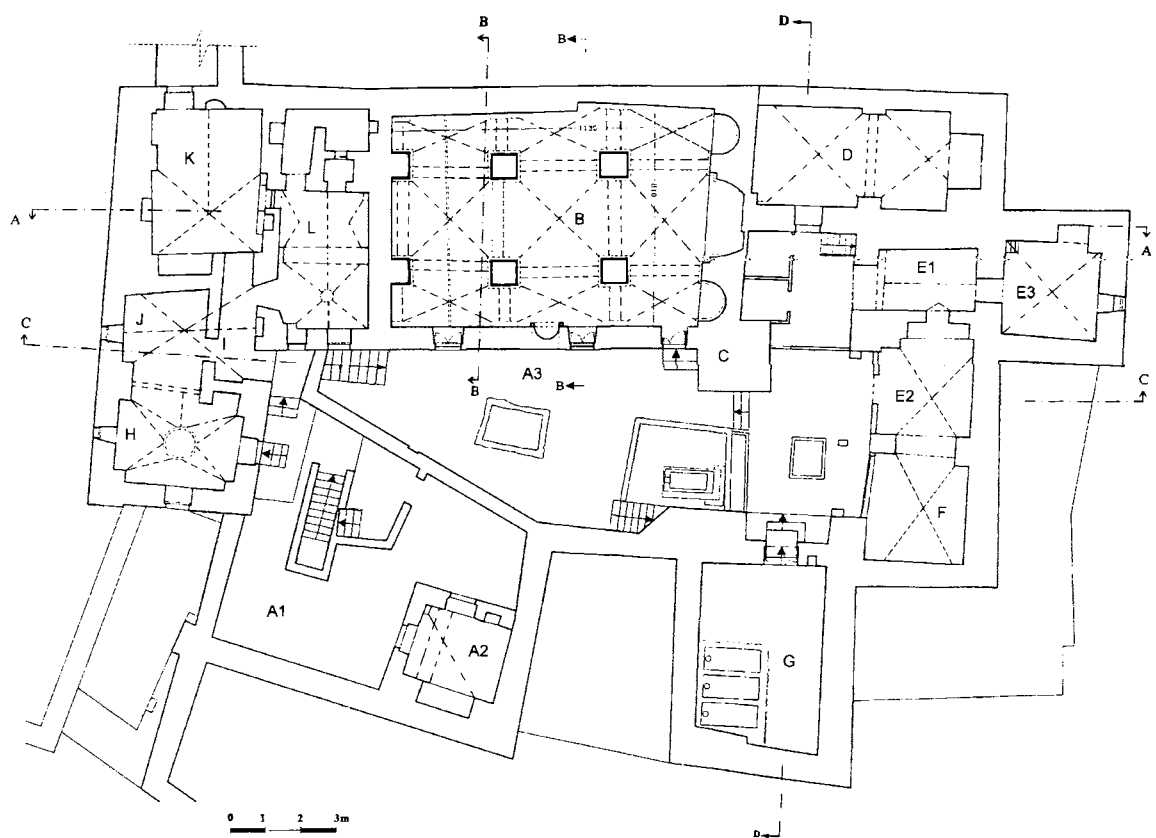


Fig. 19.2 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, ground-floor plan (courtesy of the Welfare Association).

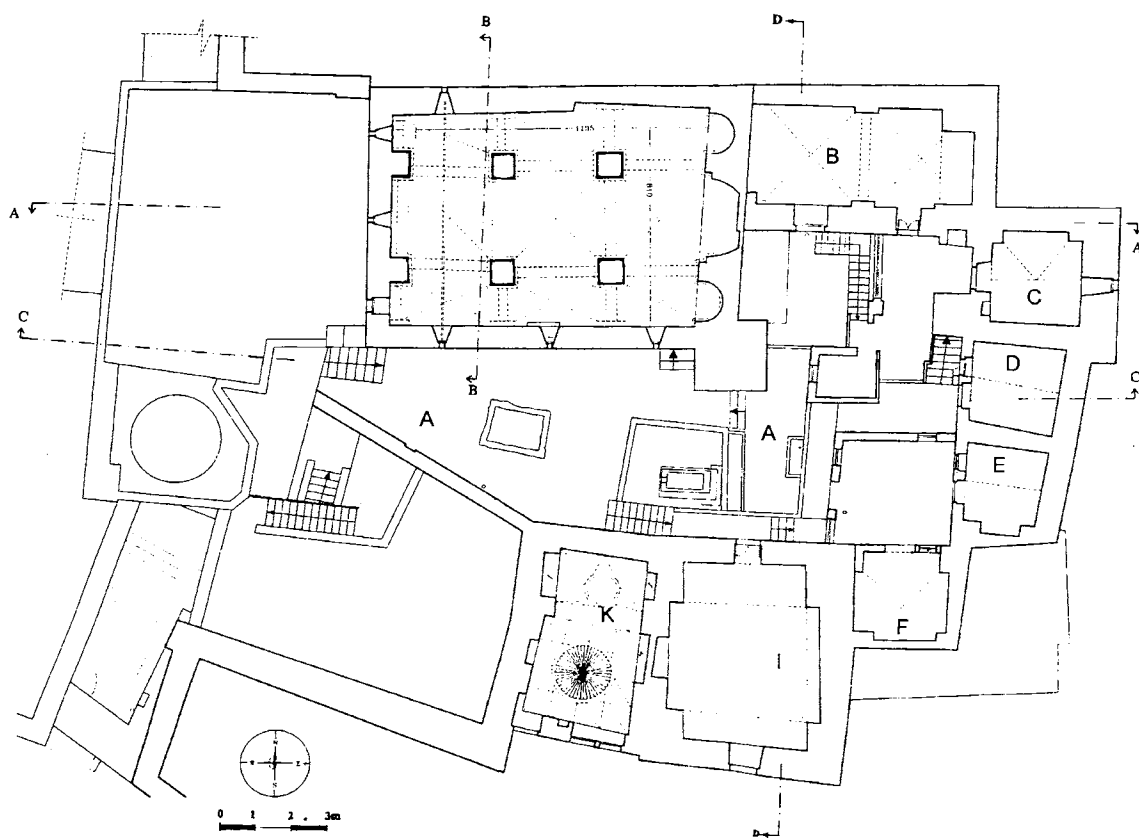


Fig. 19.3 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, mezzanine-floor plan (courtesy of the Welfare Association).

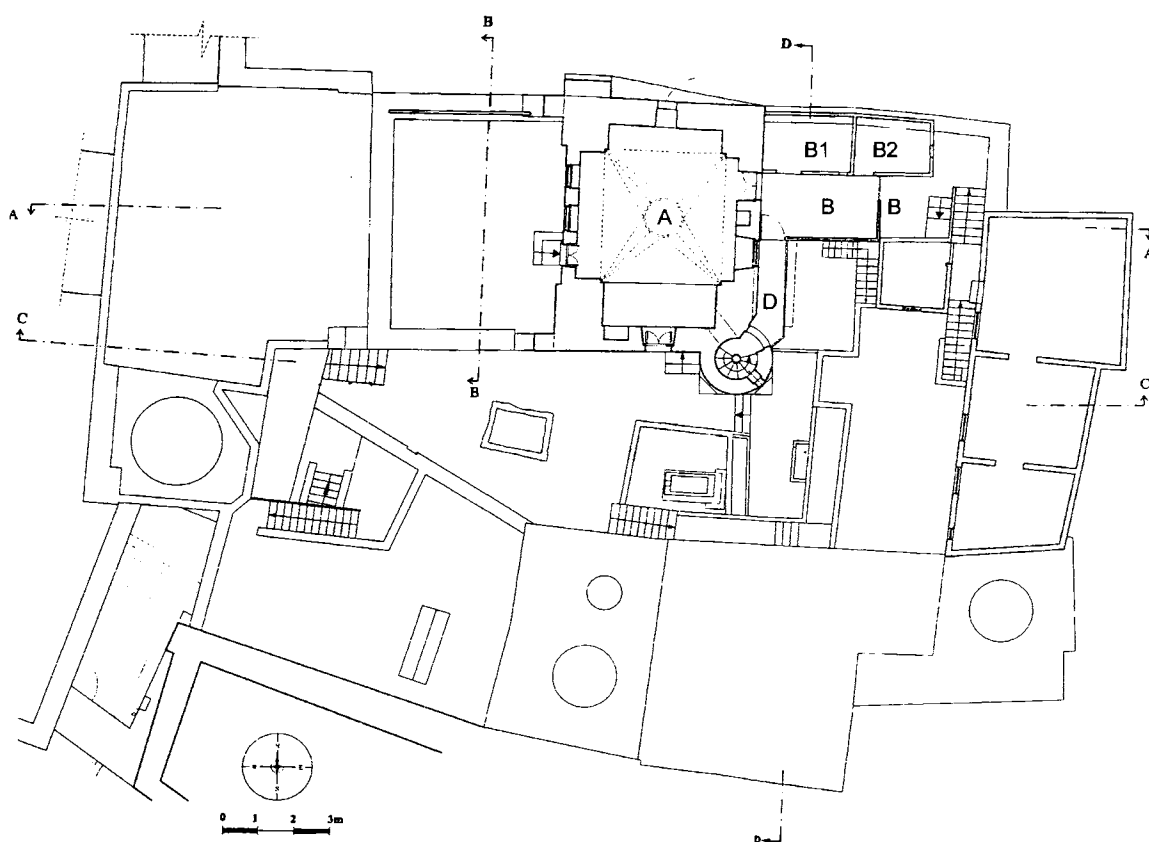
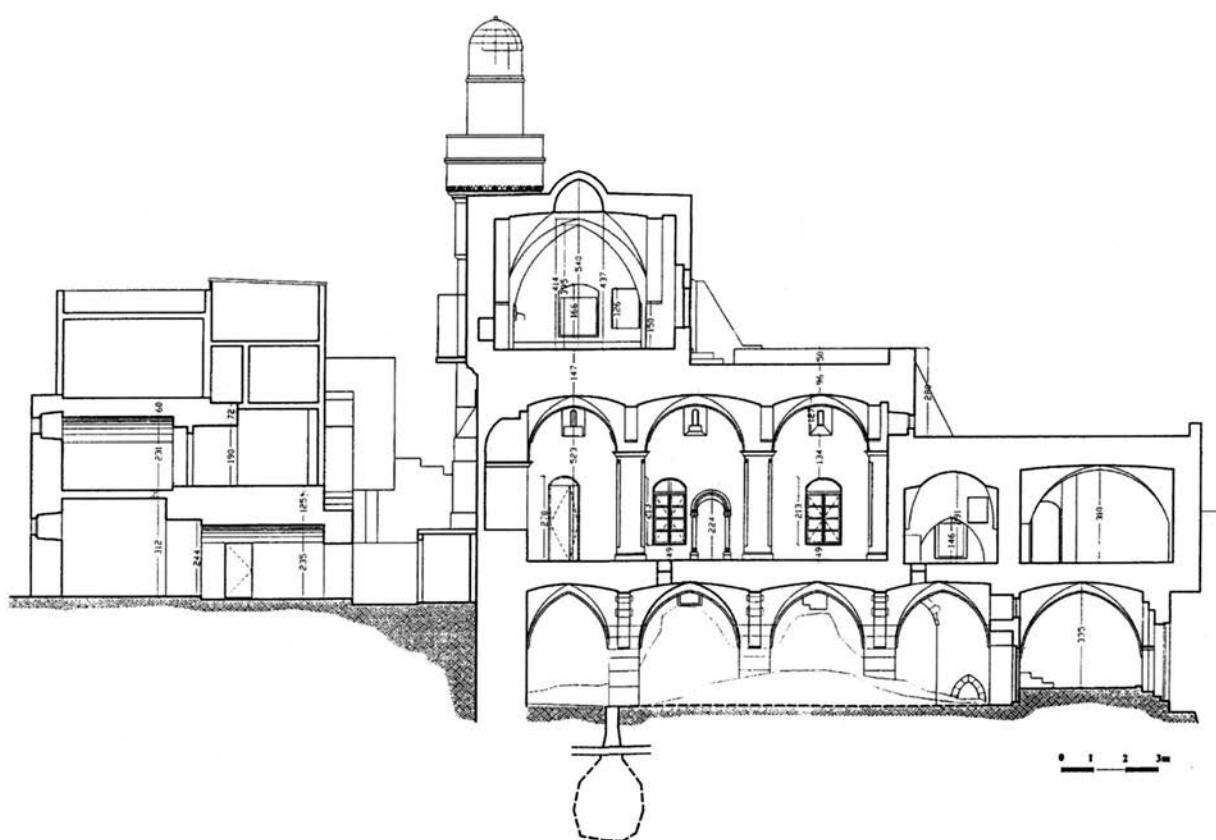
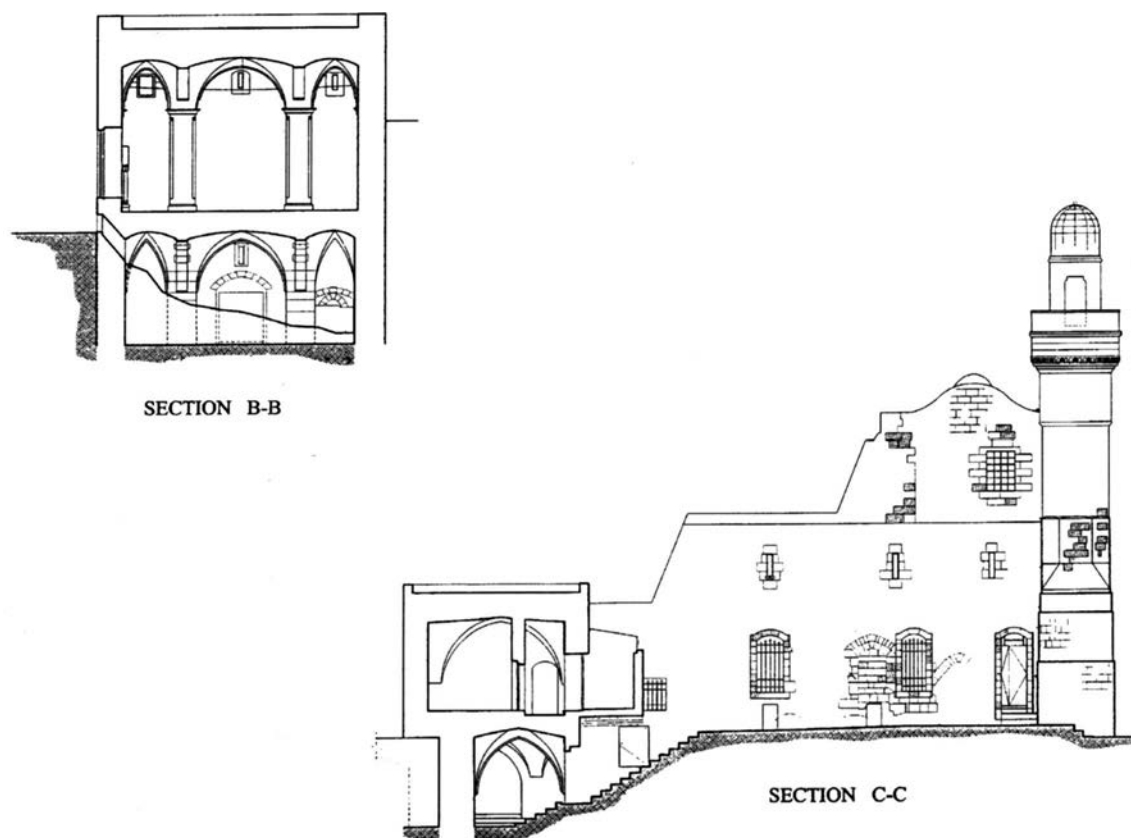


Fig. 19.4 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, roof-floor plan (courtesy of the Welfare Association).



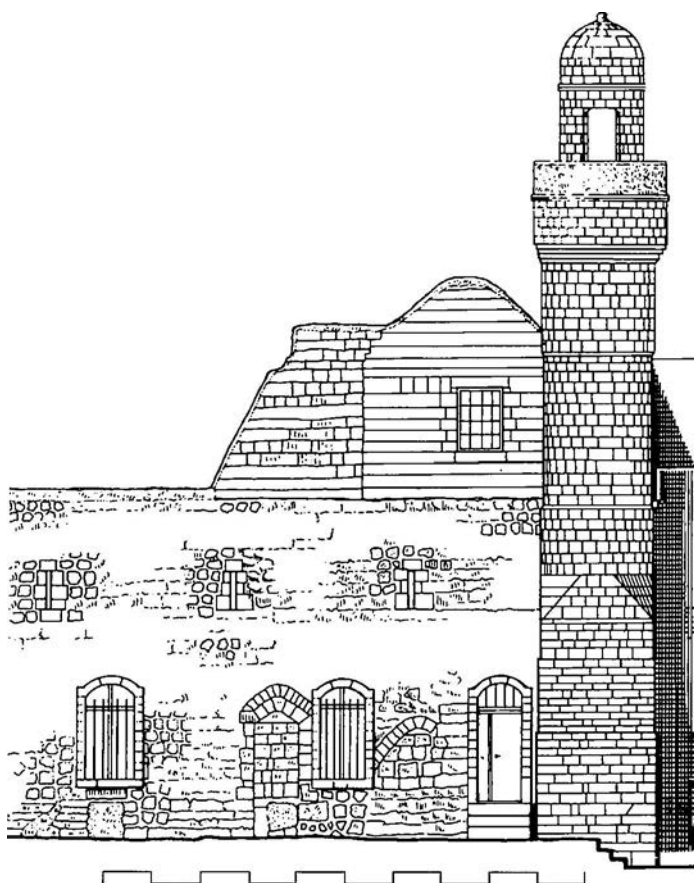


Fig. 19.7 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, elevation of south façade.

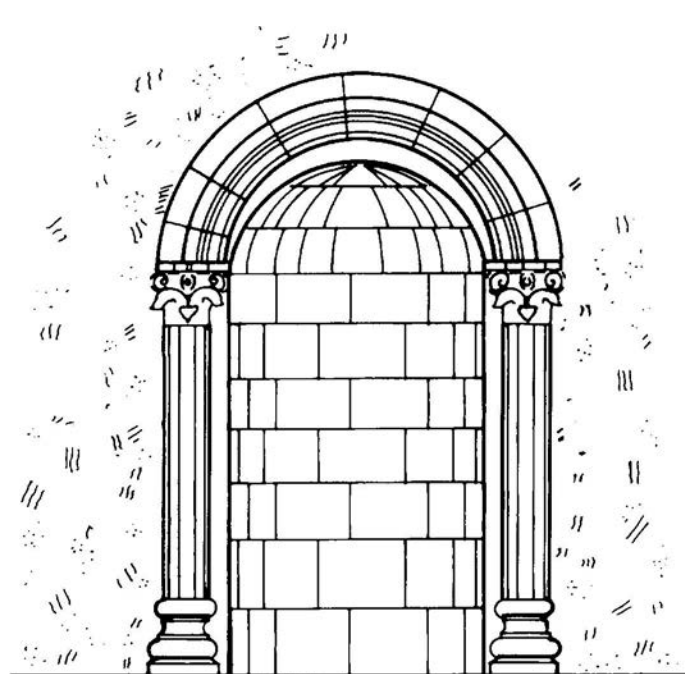
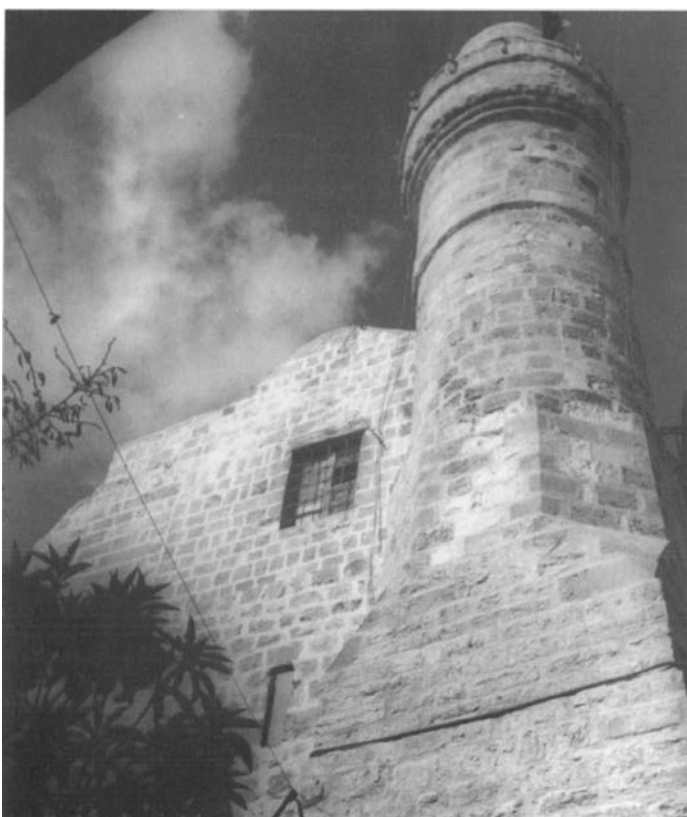
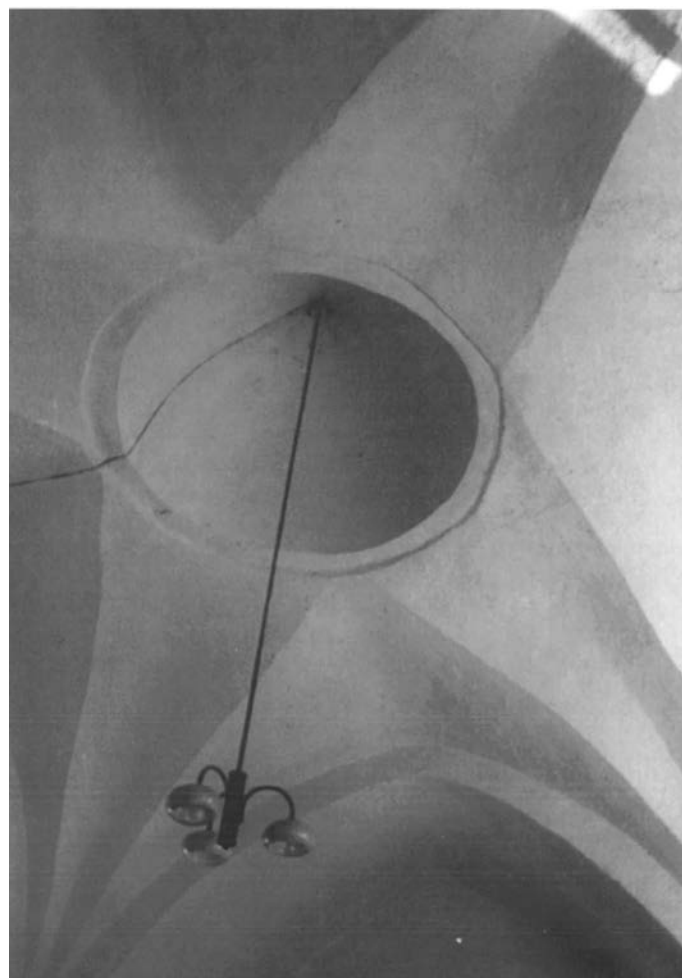


Fig. 19.8 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, *mihrab*.



Pl. 19.2 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, minaret.



Pl. 19.3 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, cross vault of *sama' khana*.



Pl. 19.4 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, north arch of the Maulawiyya qantara.



Pl. 19.7 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, interior view of mosque to south with mihrab.



Pl. 19.5 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, dating inscription of sama' khana.



Pl. 19.6 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, entrance to sama' khana.



Pl. 19.8 Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, entrance from basement.

20 HUJRAT MUHAMMAD AGHA

Name: Hujrat (chamber) Muhammad Agha

Date: 996/1588

Endowment: See below

Variant of name: Khalwat Muhammad Agha

Modern name: Most recent authors who have compiled lists of the monuments of Jerusalem have called the cell 'Khalwat Muhammad Agha' contrary to the evidence of the foundation inscription and the *sijill* documents, both of which use the term *hujra*. It is also known today as 'Maktab Ra'is Haras al-Haram al-Sharif' (Office of the Chief Guard of the Noble Sanctuary).

Location

The *hujra* is to be found to the north of the Dome of the Rock terrace, abutting the west side of the north-western colonnade (738/1336-7).

Site and brief description (figs. 20.1-20.4, pls. 20.1-20.7)

Hujrat Muhammad Agha is built on the north side of the terrace of Haram al-Sharif. The lower part of the north façade is on the same level as the Haram itself, while the south façade is at the higher level of the terrace and faces the Dome of the Rock. It is raised, indeed, 50cm higher above ground level. The *hujra* abuts the north-west colonnade to the east, and the Odat (chamber) Arslan Pasha to the west (cat. no. 41). The building consists of two parts; the lower area is made up of a square room, while the upper consists of a domed chamber preceded by a two-domed portico. Access to the upper part is through a small antechamber. The upper chamber of the *hujra* is used today as the office of the chief guard of the Haram, whereas the lower chamber still serves as a dwelling for one of the custodians.

History

Identification

Hujrat Muhammad Agha is identified as belonging to the Ottoman period by a foundation inscription. An entry in the *sijills* (115: 166) confirms this identification.

Date

The date of the *hujra* is inscribed at the end of the last line of the foundation inscription as 996/1588. The plaque on which the text is inscribed is attached to the eastern part of the southern façade; it is of marble and measures 80cm in width and 60cm in height. It contains four lines of Arabic written in Ottoman *naskh*. The calligraphy is of high quality, slender and condensed, and is placed within a rectangular cartouche. It has been published by van Berchem (1925: 189-90). Its translation is as follows:

1. (There) has constructed this elegant chamber, opposite the Sacred Rock, a man famous in his time and the most distinguished among
2. The notables—our master Muhammad Agha, who has achieved the renown of the highest glory in the august house of the Sultanate (= the imperial palace at Istanbul).
3. By the hand of him whose benefits are world-wide and whose good deeds endure for ever, the most accomplished of princes and the most perfect in his time among the governors,
4. Our master Khudawirdi Beg, surnamed Abi (*sic*) Saifain, in the year nine hundred and ninety six (1588).

Van Berchem (1925: 190) instead of 'Abi Saifain' read 'the second Sufyan', and connected it with two prominent characters, the first Sufyan al-Thauri, and the second Sufyan ibn 'Uyaina. However, another close reading of the inscription, backed by the evidence of the *sijills* (67: 161; 69: 486; 72: 295, 436; 76: 224; 179: 40; 165: 101) would indicate that van Berchem was mistaken.

Founder

It appears from the foundation inscription that Muhammad Agha had asked Khudawirdi Beg to construct a *hujra* for him in the Haram. The relationship between the two men is not made clear in the inscription, but the *sijill* (69: 486) reveals that Muhammad Agha was the father of Khudawirdi, and that Khudawirdi was the governor of Jerusalem district (*mir liwa' al-Quds al-Sharif*). Further details of his role and activities in Jerusalem are given in cat. no. 19. The role of Muhammad Agha in the life of Jerusalem is not, however, clear because of a dearth of information. Nevertheless, it can be inferred from the foundation inscription that he was associated with Istanbul in some way.

Endowments

Some form of endowment, whether in the form of cash or an estate, must have been made *waqf* for the benefit of the Hujrat Muhammad Agha. *Sijill* 115: 166 shows that on 17 Jumada I 1038/12 January 1629 the *qadi* appointed 'Ali Efendi, son of Husain Beg, to the position of reader of the Qur'an. 'Ali Efendi was to recite Qur'an Sura 36 (*Ya Sin*) every morning within the upper room (*al-hujra al-fuqaniyya*) of the Hujrat Muhammad Agha, and the merit of the reading should be for the soul of the Prophet Muhammad. He was to be paid twelve gold pieces a year, and to be allowed to dwell in the lower room (*al-hujra al-tahtaniyya*) of the building; he was also permitted to cultivate and use (*al-intifa'*) the small garden that belonged to the *hujra*. 'Ali replaced his father Husain as *shaikh* of the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem immediately following the latter's death. A *waqfiyya* must have been drawn up to set out the conditions and financial arrangements for the *hujra*, but so far a careful search of the *sijills* in Jerusalem for the years close to the date of construction has yielded no trace of one. Perhaps, in view of Muhammad Agha's connections with Istanbul, it was recorded there. It is unfortunate that there is no information on funding arrangements. It seems possible that funding either came directly from the donor in Istanbul, or it could have been arranged in Jerusalem by his son, Khudawirdi Abu Saifain, who was governor of Jerusalem in 995/1587 (see cat. no. 19 under Founder).

Architecture

The principal façade of the *hujra* is the one to the south, facing the Dome of the Rock. This was the express wish of the patron, Muhammad Agha, as is made clear by the foundation inscription and in the *sijill* (115: 166). The masonry façade is raised above the level of the Dome of the Rock terrace by means of a rectangular stone dais measuring 5.8m long, 2.1m wide and 50cm high. The dais is paved with high-quality white flagstones similar to some of the slabs covering the terrace itself. The façade is fronted by a double-domed portico carried on two pointed arches of the same height and span. The arches spring from two identical piers and from a central column situated half-way between them. The shafts of the two piers are made up of eight square masonry courses whose chamfered edges terminate at top and bottom in a triangular cut. The shaft of the column is constructed from two octagonal fragments; a third acts as a high base which has been

reduced in size at its upper edge to allow it to conform to the octagonal stone above it. Four shallow recesses are cut into its corners. A roll moulding marks the beginning of the capital of the central support, and the capital itself is decorated with four lotus leaves. The square plinths and the astragal mouldings of the piers and the column are similarly plain, apart from a *cyma recta* carving on the astragal. A billet moulding runs around the top of the portico and, directly above, a stone cornice projects forward to mark the level of the roof. The two small domes of the portico are just visible from the ground level of the upper terrace. These domes are therefore rather shallow. In order to provide protection from the weather they have been covered in flagstones. The domes are expressed on the interior as two small plastered vaults with thirty-two ribs each, carried on three lateral arches which spring from three brackets projecting from the south wall, and from the two piers and column that support the portico. The brackets are identical; each is made up of two undecorated parts, the lower with a frame moulding and the upper with a *cyma recta*. The transition zone is achieved by way of four pendentives at the corners of each dome.

The south wall, which is shared by the portico and the main chamber, is built of undecorated masonry, interrupted only by two rectangular windows and the foundation panel described above. Each window measures 74cm wide by 1.3m high, and is surmounted by a slab lintel. Iron grilles are preceded by a recent wire mesh grille. The inscribed panel is situated one course above the window to the east.

A low antechamber was built some time after the *hujra* itself, for the walls are not integrated into the main fabric of the building. The antechamber is raised above the level of the Dome of the Rock terrace by 40cm, and two large steps lead to its interior. Its entrance is comparatively wide, measuring 3m, and was once open but has recently been closed by a wooden door. The entrance is surmounted by a pointed arch which springs from two pillars. The stones of these, now black, have been discoloured by the overspill from two waterspouts at the top of the pillars. A small dome with external flagstones is set directly over the four walls of the antechamber.

The east elevation of the main *hujra* is constructed in two sections. The lower plain part has ten stone courses, and, owing to the slope of the stairway, these reach a height of 2.67m at the north-east corner and 1.4m at the south-east corner. The difference reflects that between the two levels of the Haram, namely its terrace and its esplanade. At the level of the eleventh course a chamfered cut (15cm deep) connects the upper part of the façade. The heavy base of the building is intended to provide a suitably solid foundation for the upper section and has the added feature of acting as a buttress to the terrace above. The feature of such a solid base is to be found in most of the *khalwas* built at the divide between the two levels of the Haram esplanade.

Two similar rectangular windows are set in the upper part of the east façade. They start immediately above the chamfered recess and measure 75cm wide by 1.2m high; they are fitted with simple iron grilles and wire mesh. The windows are each surmounted by a lintel and directly above the lintel there is a relieving arch made up of three voussoirs decorated with a relief moulding. A blind oculus window is centred above; it is made up of eight voussoirs encircling three stones set in the form of a 'T'. A simple stone cornice projects round the building on the east, north and west sides. The portico has a different and, as is fitting, a more elaborate, denticulated cornice. A plain masonry parapet is built above the cornice of the main *hujra*. The main dome of the

hujra rests directly on the four walls of the building. The dome and the roof are both covered with small flagstones. The dome culminates in a simple stone crescent finial.

The north elevation is also made up of two sections. Its lower part, which measures 6.1m wide by 3m high, includes a door opening into a small room. The door measures 85cm wide and 1.55m high and is surmounted by a remarkably white stone lintel slab measuring 42cm in height and 1.97m in width. A very narrow slit window measuring 15cm wide by 48cm high is set above the lintel to give minimal light and ventilation to the interior. The upper part of the north elevation is dominated by two rectangular windows. These windows are placed at the same level as those on the eastern façade but here they are bigger, with a width of 80cm and a height of 1.2m; each lintel is surmounted by a relieving arch consisting of three voussoirs. The courses of this façade continue the same arrangement as the eastern one to the level of the stone cornice.

The western elevation is both the simplest and the heaviest of the four. It is made up of an undecorated wall unbroken apart from a small slit window of the same dimensions as the one in the northern elevation. Although the façade is plain, it is divided into three components. The lower one has the appearance of a buttress, measures 1.5m in height, and is recessed about 40cm. The middle part is 60cm in height and is also recessed, but at the same level as the eastern and northern elevations. The upper part is featureless; it is 1.6m in height, and is built of the same masonry courses as the rest of the *hujra*.

Interior

Access to the upper chamber of the *hujra* is through the antechamber that lies to the west of the building. The interior of the antechamber is very simple. It is rectangular in shape and measures 3m by 2.75m. The floor is flagged. The room is covered by a cross vault with a small shallow dome at the centre, and it has been replastered recently.

Access to the upper chamber of the *hujra* is through a small vestibule in the north-east corner of the antechamber. The vestibule measures 1m wide by 2.2m long, and is covered by a tunnel vault. To its west it is surmounted by a slab lintel and on the eastern side, that of the interior, by a pointed arch. The interior of the chamber is square in plan and is constructed with noticeably thick walls 85cm in depth. It is raised 37cm above the level of the vestibule by means of two steps. The six windows, as already mentioned, open to the south, east, and north; their frames have been recently plastered and they are surmounted by a segmental arch. They begin just above floor level at a height of 20cm. A blind rectangular niche, 1m by 35cm, is opened in the west wall. The hemispherical dome rests directly on the four walls, and on four pendentives at the corners of the chamber without an intervening circular drum. A slightly recessed blind roundel decorates the north wall of the chamber.

The interior of the lower chamber of the building is almost square in plan, measuring 3.8m by 3.9m, and its wall depth is 1m. The floor is not paved and the roof is covered by a plastered cross vault. Three identical blind niches are opened respectively in the east, south and west walls, each measuring 92cm wide, 1.20 m long and 65cm deep. They are surmounted by arches and hoods, and are raised 25cm above floor level. The door is flanked inside by two blind recessed niches; the eastern one measures 45cm in depth by 47cm in width by 65cm in length, the western 40cm by 40cm by 65cm.

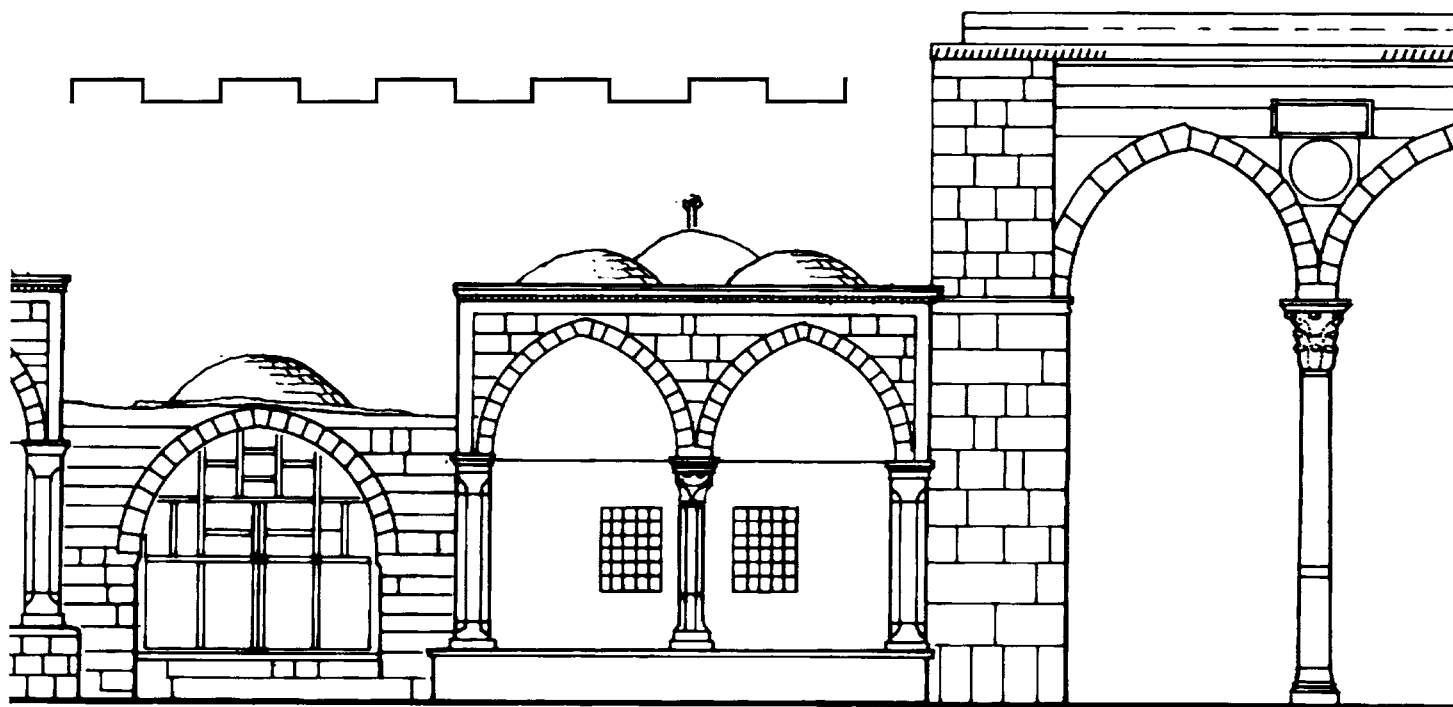


Fig. 20.1 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, south elevation.

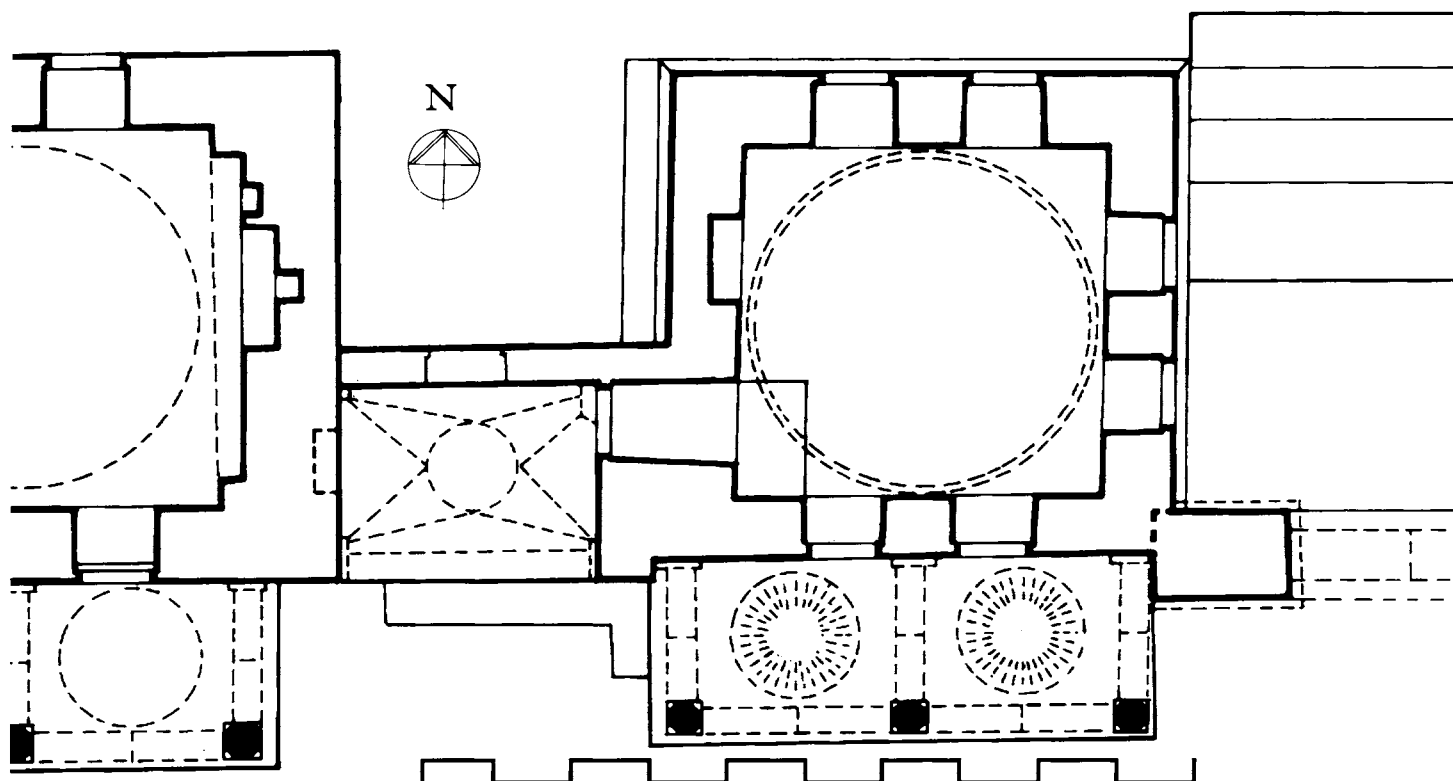


Fig. 20.2 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, ground-floor plan.

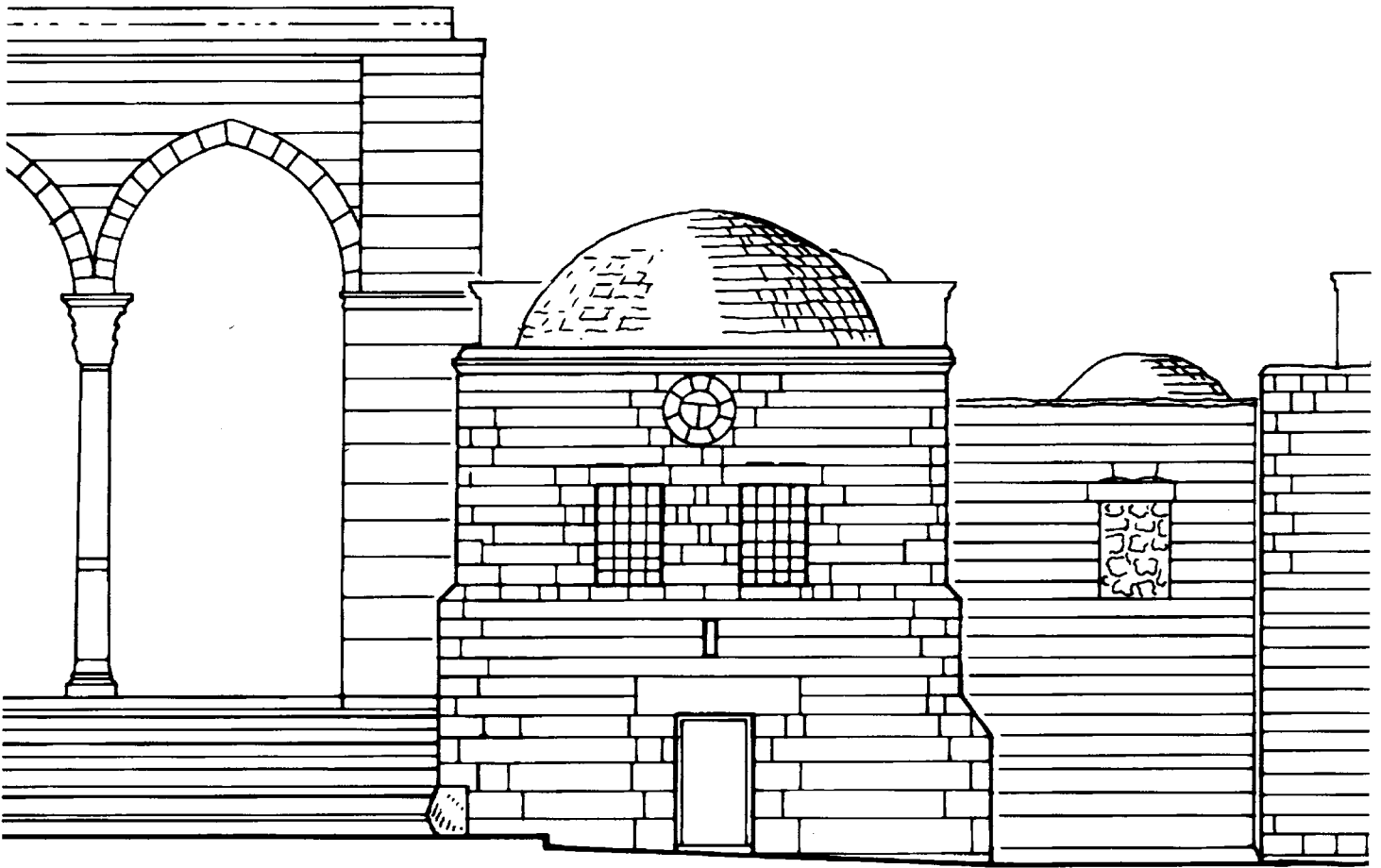


Fig. 20.3 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, north elevation.

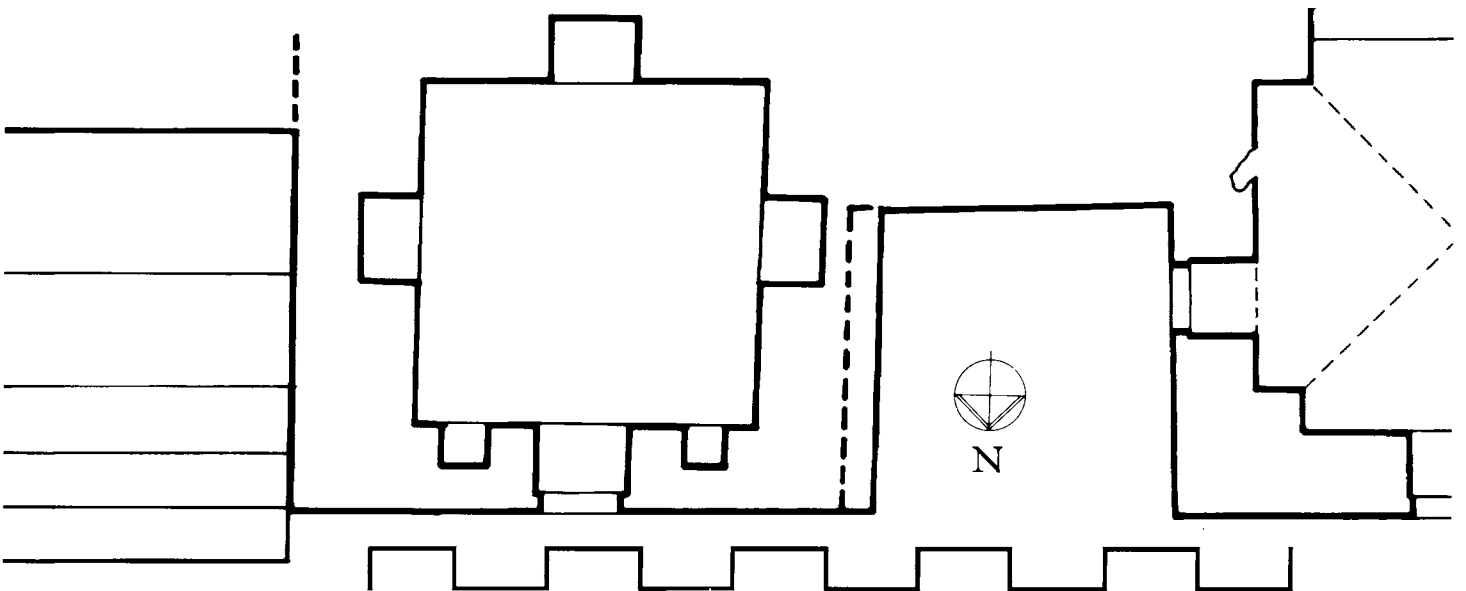
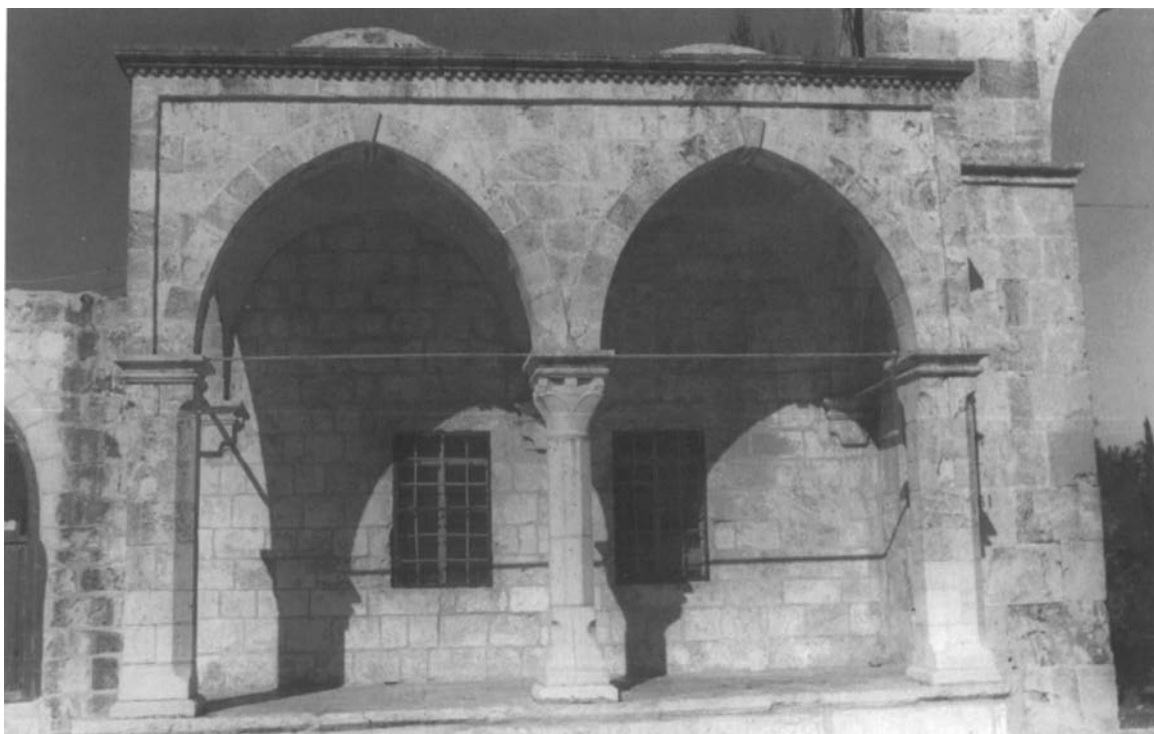


Fig. 20.4 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, basement plan.



Pl. 20.1 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, south façade.



Pl. 20.2 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, north and west façades.



Pl. 20.4 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, north façade.



Pl. 20.5 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, major door in south façade.



Pl. 20.6 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, interior.



Pl. 20.6 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, inscription.



Pl. 20.7 Hujrat Muhammad Agha, north and east façades.

21 HUJRAT ISLAM BEG

Name: Hujrat Islam Beg

Date: 1002/1593-4

Endowment: 1002/1593-4

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: None is known, though the lower part is now used as an office of 'Lajnat Zakat al-Quds' (The Jerusalem Alumnus Committee), and the upper part is the Finance Office of the Aqsa Mosque Restoration Committee.

Location

The *hujra* is found at the extreme western edge of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock, opposite Bab al-Hadid.

Site and brief description (figs. 21.1-21.4, pls. 21.1, col. pls. XLIV, XLVI)

The cell is built between the North Colonnade of 721/1321 and the Khalwat Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34) at the edge of the upper terrace. At the level of the esplanade, it looks west across to Bab al-Hadid and, at the level of the upper terrace, east to al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 43). The *hujra* is similar to others on the Haram in that it is constructed in two sections. The small, lower level chamber is cross-vaulted, while the upper chamber is covered by a hemispherical dome. The entrance to the upper chamber is preceded by a portico of two domed bays also built at the level of the terrace. The *hujra* is a single-unit masonry structure. While the main east façade has remained light in colour, the north and the west elevations have been discoloured by a black substance. It is not possible to identify this without chemical analysis but it would appear to be related to damp, and may be a fungal growth. The same discolouration is also seen on the Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (the Ahmadiyya, cat. no. 25) and Khalwat Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34).

History

As already mentioned more than once, the *sijills* are a vital primary source for the history of Jerusalem's architecture in general, and for the history of the *khalwas* constructed around the Dome of the Rock terrace in particular, for to date these buildings have not been studied and the majority are not listed even as anonymous structures. For Hujrat Islam Beg, the unpublished *waqfiyya* (Sijill 76: 129-30) is the only source of information available to date. It takes the customary form of *waqf* instruments made for such purposes. It comprises three sections. The first consists of an introduction about the deeds of philanthropists and the rewards which await them according to religious teaching and principles. The next section consists of a text which is directly associated with the historical or architectural information needed for the cell and its endowments, in addition to the conditions that have been set up by the donor. The last section is about the validity of the *waqf* after the donor has presented his donations and the *qadi* has pronounced it legal and valid. The *waqfiyya* is dated 8 Shawwal 1002/22 June 1594, and as usual the concentration in this commentary is on the architectural and historical information, although the whole Arabic text is reproduced in Appendix I, no. 21.

Identification

The *waqfiyya* informs the reader that Islam Beg has established his *waqf* (see below) for 'the benefit of the upper chamber, on the

construction of which he has just started. It is located in the Noble Aqsa mosque, abutting the west side of the platform of the Noble Rock.' There are five cells to the west of the Dome of the Rock. Three are simple structures (cat. nos. 51, 52, and 53), identified as being built after 1222/1807, and two are more elaborate with decorative architectural elements. One of these two is explicitly identified as the Khalwat Bairam Pasha (see cat. no. 34). Thus the description in the Islam Beg *waqfiyya* must relate to the cell under discussion, since this is the only remaining possibility. Furthermore, the basic architectural plan resembles the style of the chief master builder of Jerusalem of the period, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammār *al-mi'mar* (for further details see Chapter 36 under the Ibn Nammār Family and under *Khalwas*).

Date

The cell of Islam Beg is not dated, but from the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 76: 129) it is evident that some time shortly before 1002/1593 Islam Beg began (*shara'a*) to build his cell; and while it was still under construction he established a *waqf* for its benefit.

Founder

The founder, Islam Beg, was, as his *waqfiyya* (Sijill 76: 129) shows, from a family that had taken over a number of important posts in the Ottoman administration. For example, in 1002/1593 the founder's brother, Zairak, was Agha at Bab al-Sa'ada (head eunuch of the sultan's harem) and at the same time, the patron himself was the governor of Jerusalem district (*mir liwa' al-Quds al-Sharif*).

Endowments

According to the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 76: 129-30), Islam Beg attested in the council of the religious court of Jerusalem, while living and sound in mind and body and in full legal competence, that he had made a *waqf* of 500 *sultani* (gold coins), of which each one was equal to 40 *qit'a misriyya nisf* (silver coins). He made over the money as *waqf* in perpetuity for certain philanthropic purposes, as discussed below. Islam Beg stipulated that the *waqf mutawalli* (trustee) should administer the money of the *waqf* in consultation with the *shaikh* of the reciters (who was listed below), for a lawful yearly profit (*murabaha*) of eleven and a half *sultani* against every ten, equal to 15 percent, and that he should avoid usury or illegal interest (*riba*). The total profit per year was to be 75 *sultani* or the equivalent in silver currency.

The *mutawalli* was to distribute the income of the *waqf* as follows:

<i>Position, etc.</i>	<i>Yearly allowance in sultani gold coins</i>
Administrator of the <i>waqf</i> (<i>mutawalli</i>)	9
Chief reciters (<i>shaikh al-qurra'</i>)	9
7 reciters (4.5 <i>sultani</i> each)	30.5
Attendance clerk (<i>katib ghaiba</i>)	4.5
Petitioner (<i>da'i</i>) and distributor (<i>mufarriq</i>) of the Qur'an volumes	4.5
Oil for lighting the two chambers (per year)	4.5
Fees (<i>rasm</i>) for notarising documents and signatures	3
Total	<u>65.0</u>

In the *waqfiyya* the total is wrongly calculated as 75 *sultani*, and although there is a mention of the post of *sha'al* (the one who lights the oil lamps), no stipend was allocated for him or

for the maintenance of his task in the *waqfiyya*. Islam Beg made it a condition that the reciters were to be perfect in performing their reading, and a *shaikh* was to be in charge of the reciters; his duty was to start and finish the Qur'an recitation. The reciters together with their *shaikh* were to meet daily in the chamber which the donor had just started to construct and which was located on the west side of the Aqsa mosque. Each reader was to recite the whole part of the venerated Qur'an; they were to finish with the traditional petitioning prayers, and the merit of all this was to be dedicated to the brother of the founder, Zairak Agha, to the founder himself, to the dead of the founder's family, and to all deceased Muslims.

In addition, Islam Beg stipulated that

1. the *darwish* 'Ali ibn Khadir was to be the administrator of his *waqf* during his life-time, and, after him, his descendants in order of maturity and competence (*al-arshad fa-'l-arshad*);
2. the Shaikh Abu'l-Su'ud, the descendant of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (the third caliph) was to be *shaikh al-qurra* during his life-time, and after him a member of his family in order of maturity and competence (*al-arshad fa-'l-arshad*);
3. the seven reciters were nominated (the names were provided), and after each reciter the post was to go to his son, provided the son was among the descendants of al-Shaikh Abu 'l-'Aun, but if he was not, then the aforementioned al-Shaikh Abu 'l-Su'ud, in consultation with the *qadi*, would appoint someone to replace him;
4. the founder had also appointed al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq as attendance clerk, al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Ghazi as distributor of the Qur'an volumes and as petitioner, and Salih the son of 'Ali to light the lamps in the two cells;
5. and finally the *mutawalli* must not hand out money to anyone who was an offender or an unjust (merchant).

Architecture

Exterior

The eastern façade is constructed at the level of the Dome of the Rock terrace. It consists of a solid white masonry wall and a portico made up of two domed bays. The portico is rectangular, measuring 2.2m wide by 4.6m long, and the north bay is 10cm longer than the south bay. Each bay is covered by a small saucer dome, carried on three pointed arches and a wall, the arches springing from the three columns mentioned above and from three imposts on the east wall. Four small pendentives in the corners of each domed area act as the transition from square to circle. The domes are covered with small flagstones on the exterior to prevent water damage. Two slightly pointed arches are carried on three cylindrical columns. The arches are identical in height, but the span of the arch to the north is, as already stated, 10cm more than that to the south. The shafts, although similar in appearance, differ with regard to diameter. This implies that they are in secondary use. That to the south measures 1.26m, the one in the centre 1.1m, and the one to the north 1.4m. The columns are stone. The column to the south is carved from a single block, while the one in the centre is constructed from three blocks, and the one to the north from seven. The capital and abacus of each column are a continuation of the fabric of the shafts; they are undecorated apart from a slight curving flare at the summit. The shafts rest directly without a base on the stone dais built in front of the *hujra*, although a fillet roll moulding is visible at the bottom of the central shaft, probably to mark the end of a crude base.

A stone cornice in the form of a moulding marks the summit of the portico and the springing of the two small saucer domes. The east wall is built of dressed stone; it is a solid wall with the exception of a door leading to the interior, and a rectangular window (now blocked) situated to the south of the door. The window is surmounted by a low blind arch. Only the apex of the main dome is visible from the east, since the elevation of the porch is higher than that of the upper chamber.

The western elevation is constructed in two sections. The lower part is featureless with the exception of a door opening, which measures 74cm wide by 1.7m high. The door is approached by way of two recent steps—probably replacing older ones—leading from the Haram esplanade to a dais 60cm high in front of the door. To the south of the dais there is a small raised flowerbed with an olive tree. The door is surmounted by a lintel, and directly above there is a relieving arch with the voussoirs set and cut differently to north and south. A recessed course with a sloping chamfer cut separates the two parts of the elevation.

The principal scheme of decoration of the upper part consists of an elaborate rectangular recessed panel made up of two windows and two tiers of *muqarnas*. The panel comprises white, black and occasionally red stones. Two identical rectangular windows measuring 70cm wide by 90cm high are placed in the lower part of the recessed panel. They are fitted with iron grilles and, recently, with wire mesh. The windows are surmounted by a lintel and above them are two 'eye-brow' relieving arches. Three courses above the windows, the panel is crowned by two tiers of elegant *muqarnas* moulding. The *muqarnas* has its upper tier divided into four horizontal panels made up of double niches, flanked to either side by a single niched panel. The lower tier contains a series of twenty pendant stalactites. A band of flat lancet-shaped niches is carved into the course of stonework immediately above the *muqarnas* moulding. The hemispherical dome sits directly on the roof of the building with no intervening drum. It is finished with a stone finial in three parts. The middle section is a baluster and the apex is broken and partly missing.

The southern and the northern elevations are built with mainly dark-coloured masonry, and are similar but not identical. Both are solid walls apart from a slit window measuring 55cm by 20cm in the lower section, and a rectangular window surmounted by a slab lintel with an 'eye-brow' arch above in the upper part. The slit window has a rounded top in each case, with a moulded frame in the upper section. Both elevations are finished with a frame moulding, and above there is a low stone parapet. In addition, the northern façade has a rectangular window placed immediately below the slit window. It measures 85cm by 1.14m and is fitted with a recent iron grille. The lintel above the window is made up of slabs, and above these there is a relieving arch with the voussoirs continuing beyond either end of the lintel below.

Interior

The interior of the lower part of the building is a simple square chamber raised by 60cm above the level of the Haram esplanade. It is reached by means of two steps. The floor has recently been paved and the walls are covered in wooden panels. The chamber is cross-vaulted. A simple stone *mihrab*, probably of the same date as the cell, measuring 73cm wide, 50cm deep and 1.65 in height, occurs in the south wall. The *mihrab* has a pointed arch and its scallop-shell tympanum is decorated by a geometric scheme made up of triangles.

The interior of the upper part is also a small chamber, square in plan. Its floor is paved with old flagstones, and the

chamber is roofed by a hemispherical dome resting on four pendentives. Both the walls and the dome are plastered. Each window to south and north, measuring 70cm by 90cm, is flanked by a blind recessed niche. There is a further blind recessed niche

measuring 45cm deep by 47cm wide and 90cm high between the two windows on the west side, and another measuring 79cm wide by 56cm deep and 63cm high in the east side to the south of the door.



Pl. 21.1 Hujrat Islam Beg, north and west façades, with Khalwat Bairam Pasha in the background.

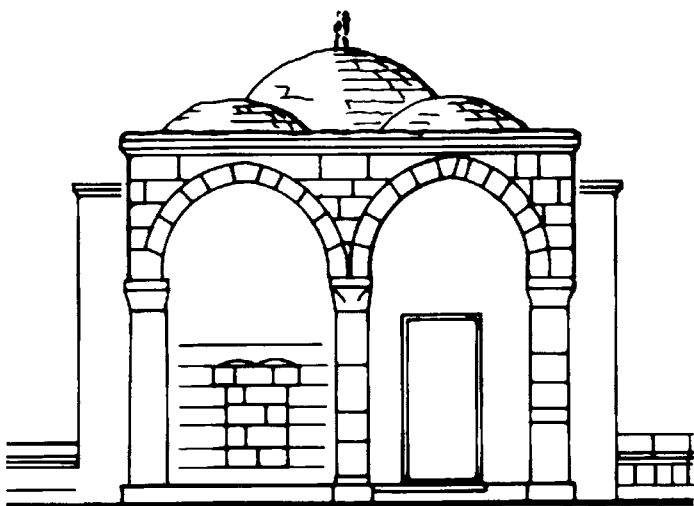


Fig. 21.1 Hujrat Islam Beg, east elevation.

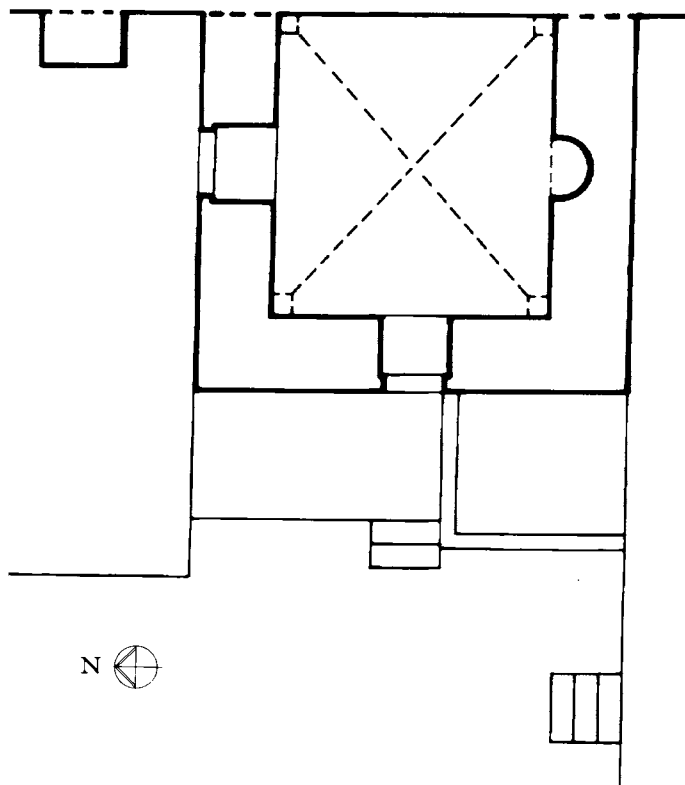
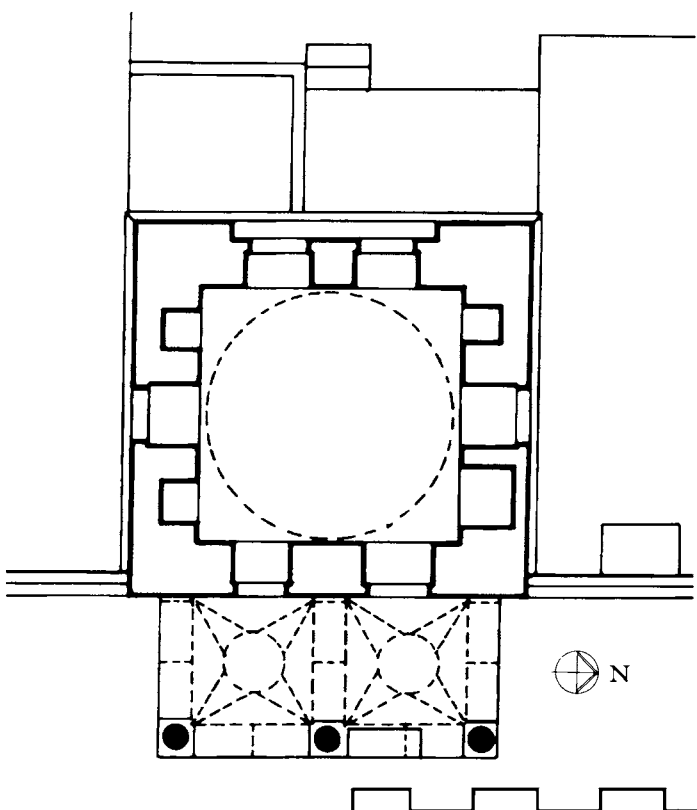


Fig. 21.3 Hujrat Islam Beg, basement plan.



Pl. 21.2 Hujrat Islam Beg, ground floor plan.

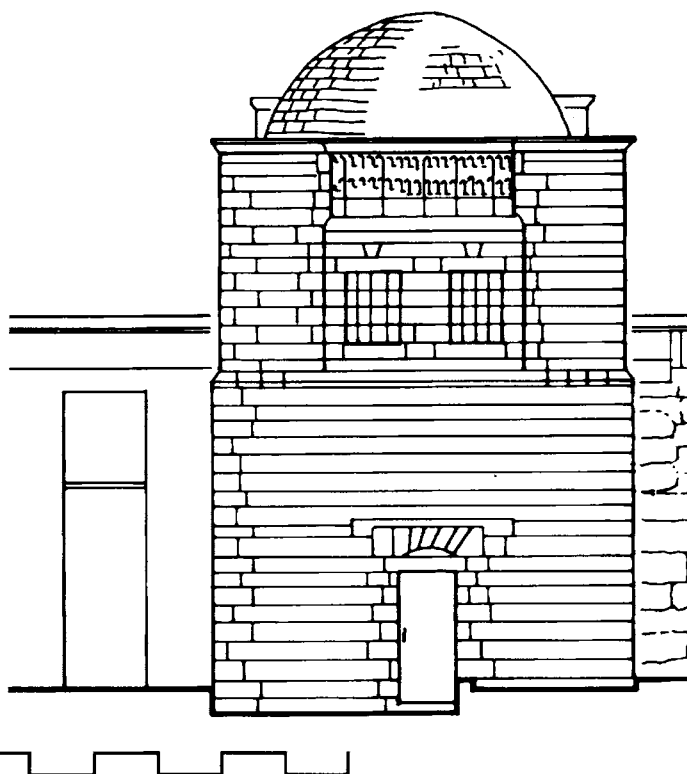


Fig. 21.4 Hujrat Islam Beg, west elevation.

22 THE NORTH-WESTERN KHALWA OF AHMAD PASHA

Name: The North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

Date: Awakhir Muharram 1007–Ramadan 1009/August–September 1598–March/April 1601

Endowment: Ramadan 1009/March–April 1601

Variant of name: The cell is sometimes known locally as al-Khalwa al-Mamlukiyya ('the Mamluk Cell'), for it is built in a Mamluk style. The name has no historical basis.

Modern name: The office of the director of al-Aqsa Mosque

Location

The *khalwa* is located at the northern extremity of the Dome of the Rock terrace, abutting the western pillar of the northern colonnade.

Site and brief description (fig. 22.1, pls. 22.1–22.9, col. pls. XLVI, XLVII, LIV, LX, LXIII)

The North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha is situated between the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23) to the east and the Hujrat Muhammad Liwa' al-Quds (cat. no. 14) to the west. It is free-standing except for its north-eastern corner which abuts the western pillar of the northern colonnade. Its lower eastern wall is constructed against the western side of the stairway at the southern end of the path leading from Bab Hitta to the upper terrace of the Haram al-Sharif. The lower western wall is close to a recent path used occasionally by motor vehicles. There is an open space in front of the northern elevation at the level of the esplanade, while its southern façade is at the level of the upper terrace, facing the Dome of the Rock.

The cell is an impressive structure. All four elevations are intact and are lavishly built to a high standard with *ablaq* masonry and with decorative accents of floral and geometric details. The *khalwa* consists of two floors, like all the cells on the upper terrace of the Haram. The lower storey has two sections. To the east there is a square chamber covered by a cross vault, and to the west there are two small rooms. The room to the south is rectangular in plan while that to the north is an approximate square. Both rooms are covered by cross vaults and they now house a large generator which produces electricity for use throughout the Haram. The upper part consists of an antechamber, a large main chamber, and a smaller ancillary chamber. Each unit is covered by a dome. The principal southern façade is preceded by a three-domed portico supported on three arches. The *khalwa* is constructed throughout with masonry of varying hues of yellow, red, black, and white that have now weathered to either black or grey.

History

Until recently no information, even in the form of an authentic name, was available about the history of this elegant and decorative building. It is only the architectural style of the cell and the fact that it was not described by either al-'Umari or by Mujir al-Din that pointed to an Ottoman date for it. It was therefore not included by Burgoyne in *Mamluk Jerusalem* (1987). Thus it was an exciting moment when a relevant document was discovered in the *sijills* (97: 312). That first discovery made it possible to trace many other facts relating to this cell and to the other cell of Ahmad Pasha to the north-east. These records, despite the fact

that the main *waqfiyya* still has to be found, have produced the primary facts such as the name of the founder, the date and the original purpose behind the cell's construction.

Identification

The relevant entry, dated to the last days (*awakhir*) of Muharram 1007/August–September 1598, is to be found in *Sijill* 79: 312. It consists of a single page of thirty-four lines. The record is a legal contract regarding a lease between Nasuh Jawish, the representative of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza district, and al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad, the deputy inspector of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir, backed by a supporting *fatwa* (legal religious opinion), is recorded as having leased from the religious council of Abu Bakr—the Hanafi *qadi* of Jerusalem—two plots of land belonging to al-Masjid al-Aqsa. The wording of the question which had led to the *fatwa* raises an interesting point—'What do the learned scholars of religion—may Allah grant mercy to them all—rule on al-Masjid al-Aqsa if it has a vast courtyard, all of which is not necessary for the prayers of the people, and the mosque itself is in need of repairs for which there is no (money)? If the inspector leases a plot of it for a fixed rent and a fixed period to allow the leaseholder to have a cell for the invocation of Allah and for the study of religious science, would this be a lawful transaction? Furthermore, if you say yes, would the leaseholder own any cell he might construct? Please inform us—may Allah reward you with Paradise.' The *fatwa* was addressed to Maulana (our master) Shaikh al-Islam Sharif al-Din, the son of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Hanafi al-Azhari, the *mufti* of the Hanafi school at Gaza. The answer was returned that 'yes—it is a lawful lease and if the leaseholder were to build a cell it would be numbered among his possessions.'

Although it is an interesting issue, the main concern here is not with the *fatwa* itself, but rather with the information on the site and the purpose of the construction. The document (*Sijill* 79: 312) is carefully specific as to the plots for lease. It describes them as 'the whole two plots (*jami' al-buq'atain*) of the lands of the Noble Aqsa Mosque that are situated next to the northern side of the platform of the Noble Rock. They are separated by the *mawazin* (the north-eastern colonnade) located opposite Bab Hitta, one of the gates of the Noble Mosque. The measurement of the western plot from south to north (*qibla bi-sham*) is nine *dhira'*, and from east to west seven *dhira'*. The eastern plot measures seven and two-thirds *dhira'* from south to north by seven and two-thirds *dhira'* from east to west.' The two sites were to be leased for sixty years to allow the aforementioned *muwakkail* (the mandator—Ahmad Pasha) to exploit his lease by building on each plot a cell (chamber) for the purpose of recitation of prayers, to conduct the invocation of Allah, and to study religious science. The complete Arabic version of the document is to be found in Appendix I, no. 22/1.

To judge by the *sijill* (167: 422) and the still-extant structures—that is, the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), and the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23)—it took Ahmad Pasha only two and a half years to build his two cells on the sites detailed above, rented through his agent Nasuh Jawish, who was governor of Jerusalem.

Founder

Ahmad Pasha is not only the patron of these *khalwas* but also of a *madrassa* named after him—al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25). In addition, Ahmad Pasha contributed to the architectural work of the Haram. He contracted 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar

al-mi'mar (the master builder) to build the Khalwat Junbalatiyya (for details, see cat. no. 24), and Mastabat al-Jauza (the almond tree) in al-Masjid al-Aqsa for ten *sultani* (gold coins). In the presence of Ahmad Pasha, 'Abd al-Baqi, the inspector of the Haram, contracted a company of master builders to rebuild the minaret of Bab al-Asbat (for details, see Chapter 36 under Minarets). It would appear from all this that Ahmad Pasha was one of the major patrons of architecture within the city in his day, his fame being equalled only by Bairam Jawish (see cat. no. 11) and Bairam Pasha the Vizier (see cat. no. 34) in the high Ottoman period. Their work was surpassed only by the projects executed by order of the sultan himself, Sulaiman, and of his wife, Khassaki Khurrem (Haseki Hürrem). In addition to the work in Jerusalem, at his own expense Ahmad Pasha restored the caravanserai at Khan Yunis (Heyd 1960: 41), and built an elegant house in Damascus at Bab al-Barid (Muhibbi 1869 1: 188).

The full name of Ahmad Pasha is recorded in one of his *waqfiyyas* (Sijill 85: 41) as 'Ahmad Pasha ibn Ridwan Pasha ibn Mustafa Pasha'. Normally his name appears in the *sijills* in a concise form, either as Ahmad Pasha (84: 1; 85: 1; 112: 469; 187: 127; 187: 223) or Ahmad Beg (78: 1; 80: 28; 80: 100), which suggests that there was no difference between these two titles, or that at least the scribes of the court did not differentiate between them. Although the abridged form of his name causes some confusion with other, similar names, it can be identified because it is always preceded with a long list of epithets, according to the protocol of the time, which point to his rank as a governor. He was in fact the governor of Gaza (see above citations and Muhibbi 1869 1: 187), as well as *amir al-hajj al-Shami* (the *amir* of the Syrian pilgrimage) as specified in Sijill 198: 109. Both positions were of considerable importance, the latter post in particular.

Heyd (1960: 185-6, Appendix I) translated a petition submitted to the Ottoman government about the establishment of a fortress at Khan Yunis. The document is kept in the Turkish State Archives in Istanbul (catalogue of Ibn al-Emin, *Dahiliye*, cat. no. 478). The petition is signed by 'The humble servant Ahmad retired (*al-mutaqa'id*) at Gaza'. In footnote no. 2 Heyd (1960: 186) comments on the name of the petitioner by adding 'he was ... probably a former Sanjak-Beg of Gaza.' The information discovered in the *sijills* in Jerusalem makes it clear that Ahmad Pasha was indeed governor of Gaza. Heyd (1960: 96-7; 98-9; 108-109; 148-49) also translated and summarised four *firman*s registered in the last quarter of the 16th century, all of which contain references to Ahmad Beg. From them it transpires that Ahmad Beg played an active role in maintaining security and the safety of travellers on the road to Egypt.

It seems that Ahmad Pasha was able to maintain a good relationship with the city of Jerusalem and its administrative élite, through it is not clear from the *sijills* whether Ahmad Pasha ruled Jerusalem. It is known that his son Hasan—the inspector of his father's *waqf*—was governor of the city in 1036/1626-7 (Sijill 112: 1; 112: 469). According to Muhibbi (1869 2: 16 and 88), Hasan and his son (the grandson of Ahmad Beg), Husain, both served as *begs* of Gaza. The family of Ahmad Beg as noted by Heyd (1960: 42, 50-51, 57, 58, 79, 88, 186 Appendix I, n. 2); Rafeq (1968: 164, 199-200, 208) and Ze'evi (1996: 39-41) was rooted in Palestine and ruled Gaza district for several generations. The grandfather of Ahmad Beg, Kara Shahin Mustafa, a slave of Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni, and his father Ridwan were also both *begs* of Sanjak Gaza. In any case, it seems that Ahmad Pasha managed to keep up sufficiently good relations with Jerusalem to allow him to set up his projects in the course of a succession of

short visits to the city. On the binding of each volume of the *sijills* there are notes written by the *qadis*, probably to recall important events or dates. As Cohen (1984: 239) noticed, these dates relate to the arrival at and departure from Jerusalem of various governors and judges. *Sijills* 78: 1A, 84: 1, and 85: 1 record the events of the years 1006/1597-8, 1010-11/1601-2, and 1013/1604. The opening pages of these *sijills* include records of Ahmad Pasha's visits to the city. It is curious that, in the last entry, it is noted that Ahmad Pasha had a son and named him Sulaiman.

Needless to say, Ahmad Pasha had to be extremely rich to be able to carry out his projects in Jerusalem. This is confirmed by one entry in Sijill 80: 28 dated 14 Sha'ban 1007/12 March 1599. It shows that when the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa and the Great Mosque of Hebron ran out of olive oil for illumination, causing the custodian and worshippers considerable anxiety, Ahmad Pasha was able to help. Through his legal agent, he lent the inspector of the *masjid* ten *qintars* of oil, against the promise of future repayment from the *waqf*. The price of the oil was specified as 600 *sultani* gold coins, which is equal to 24,000 *misriyya* silver pieces. The whole Arabic text is provided in Appendix I, no. 22/2.

It should be borne in mind that the *sanjak-beg* (the governor) of Gaza had an official income of over half a million *aspers* a year (Heyd 1960: 41). He was the highest-ranking governor in Palestine, and was the only Palestinian *sanjak-beg* who could rise to the position of a *beglerbeg*. A further example of the huge wealth of Ahmad is to be found in the petition (mentioned above) in which he volunteered at his own expense to restore the Khan Yunis *caravanserai* in the form of a fortress. Muhibbi (1869 1: 187-9) records that Ahmad Beg served as governor of Gaza for almost thirty consecutive years. Heyd (1960: 186, n. 2) presumed that Ahmad Beg died in 1015/1606-7, having in 1009/1600-1 resigned in favour of one of his sons. Sijill 80: 28 dated 14 Sha'ban 1007/12 March 1599 (see Appendix 1, no. 22/2) and Sijill 85: 1, which record the events of 1013/1604, refer to Ahmad Pasha as 'recent governor of Gaza'. Ze'evi (1996: 40), on the other hand, states that Ahmad Pasha had grown old before he was given a province to rule in 1009/1600-1. If Ze'evi is correct, this would raise doubts about Heyd's view and point to Ahmad Pasha being in office later than the date proposed by Heyd.

All in all, the records in the *sijills* and the structures themselves provide the most convincing evidence in support of al-Muhibbi's comment (1869 1: 188) that Ahmad Beg 'is an intellectual who has many friends who are scholars and poets, and he is generous to them.'

Endowments

It is certain from the proceedings of the *sijills* (see below) that Ahmad Pasha assigned endowments for the benefit of his North-West and North-East Khalwas (cat. nos. 22, and 23) as he did for his Madrasat al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25). The *waqfiyya* was dated Ramadan 1009/March-April 1601, but the attempt to locate it in and around that date in the *sijill* records has so far proved unproductive. It would appear that the *waqfiyya* was not registered in the Jerusalem *sijills*, for after Ahmad Pasha was dead, the *qadi* (Sijill 167: 422), at the beginning of Muharram 1077/July 1666, ordered the transcription of a copy of the information from the *waqfiyya* concerning the western *khalwa*. This order was executed when the *qadi* appointed al-Shaikh Nusrat al-Islam to the post, after it had fallen vacant, in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha. The information copied (Sijill 167: 422) is short and can be divided into two parts. The

first is a preface, recording that 'this is a legal summary taken from the *waqf* instrument of the deceased Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza, who constructed and endowed cells in the mosque of Jerusalem. He has appointed to each cell a group of scholars from Jerusalem and allocated expenditure as certified by his enduring *waqf* dated Ramadan 1009/March-April 1601.'

The second part is a quotation from the *waqfiyya* itself. It begins 'Our master the legal judge, who has affixed his signature (*al-wad' khattahu*), has ordered a copy of that which concerns the western *khalwa* from the aforementioned *waqfiyya*.' The copied text specifies that Ahmad Pasha 'assigned the western cell and the cell below it to our master, al-Shaikh Abu'l-Su'ud al-Gazzi, for the whole of his lifetime. From the yearly income of the *waqf* he assigned him 600 silver *misriyya*. Following Abu'l-Su'ud al-Gazzi the position should be given to whoever is the *shaikh* of the Qadiriyya order in Jerusalem, provided that he is from the family of al-Shaikh Muhammad Abu'l-'Aun. He (Ahmad Pasha) designated the position of *al-bawwab* (the door-keeper) and *al-farrash* (attendant) for the two said cells (that is, the lower and upper cells of the North-Western Khalwa) to al-Shaikh Nusrat al-Islam, the son of al-Shaikh Abu'l-Huda al-Gazzi, as long as he lives; and he was allocated 100 silver *misriyya* per year. And after him the position would be held by anyone chosen by the *shaikh* of the Qadiriyya order, provided that he is from the family of al-Shaikh Muhammad Abu'l-'Aun. And he was allocated 80 *misriyya* silver pieces for the oil to illuminate the oil-lamp (*qandil*) of the door of the upper cell between the setting of the sun (*maghrib*) and the evening (*'isha*). He (Ahmad Pasha) designated 40 *misriyya* silver pieces per year for the restoration of the doors of the two cells. End. These stipulations and this appointment are written in the *waqf* document dated as mentioned above—may Allah grant the aforementioned donor mercy. Amen.' For the full Arabic text of this document, see Appendix I, no. 22/3. For details of the endowment of the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, see cat. no. 23.

Architecture

Exterior

The principal façade of the *khalwa* is to the south, and faces the Dome of the Rock. It is raised above the level of the Haram terrace by means of a rectangular stone dais measuring 8m long, 1.77m wide and 64cm high. The dais is similar to the majority of the other examples on the Haram, for it is paved with high-quality traditional white flagstones. The façade is constructed in two parts; the first is the three-domed portico, and the second is the main entrance to the upper floor of the *khalwa*.

The portico is carried on three arches, which have a narrow horse-shoe return and terminate in a slight point. The arch to the west is 20cm taller than those in the centre and to the east. Both arches and spandrels are built with fine stone in red, black and white, and they spring from four columns. The shafts of the three to the west are white-grey marble while that to the east (cat. no. 4) is of stone. Shafts numbers 1 and 4 are cylindrical with a radius of 65cm and 75cm respectively, while the two inner shafts (nos. 2 and 3) are octagonal. Although similar in height, there is a small difference in height between the shafts which, from west to east, measure 2m, 1.9m, 1.9m, and 1.97m in height. An aluminium band reinforces the joints at top and bottom of the two central columns (nos. 2 and 3). The western shaft (no. 1) is also supported at the joints and has an additional metal band around its centre. The shaft to the east (no. 4) is supported at the apex only. These bands are the work of the Aqsa Restoration

Committee in 1980, and replaced older iron bands which had rusted. It is not known when these iron bands were first used, but it is possible that they were the work of the Supreme Muslim Council after the earthquake of 1927. There are two types of plinth. Those of shafts nos. 1 and 4 are stone and square in plan, each measuring 40 cm by 40cm. Where it meets the shaft, the plinth has a torus moulding and below is a square abacus with reversed lancet chamfers at the four corners. The second type of plinth, used on the central shafts 2 and 3, is octagonal.

[Editorial note: The columns are numbered from left to right; their capitals are among the most elaborate and best carved in Jerusalem of the period. Three of them—nos 1-3—are varieties of *muqarnas* and relate closely to similar work in Istanbul, as might be expected of a founder who was as rich and as well connected as Ahmad Pasha. They will be described one by one.

No. 1. This is the simplest and perhaps the most effective of the three *muqarnas* capitals and is cut from a lovely, pale creamy-grey, crystalline marble. The design is conceived as two stalactite elements of two tiers to each face, divided by deep recesses which coincide with the corners and centre of each side. The top level is framed by a chevron moulding, cut as a series of V-shaped grooves. From the bottom of each V, further grooves are cut vertically to act as frames for each *muqarnas* element. Each niche thus has a pointed profile, and, to allow for extra emphasis, is slant-cut towards the centre. A lozenge is reserved in the tympanum of each. This diamond-shaped boss is surrounded by a groove to give the impression of a fillet setting, and is itself diamond cut—that is, each boss is subdivided into four and the facets thus created are cut to a point at the centre, as if it were a real jewel set in a crown. After rain, the stone sparkles in the light to add extra credence to this conceit. Between each element, the deep recess adds both emphasis and drama to the design. Beneath this upper tier, the stone is cut away sharply into 'hanging' pinnacles which are sharply angled to take advantage of light and shade. A somewhat similar use of light is found in the portico of the Selimiye Cami, Konya (Goodwin 1971: 121, pl. 113), and on the portico of the Süleymaniyye Mosque, Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 228, pl. 220), although in both cases the buildings are far grander, and the much larger size and greater distance of the capitals from the viewer somewhat modifies the impact—for it is an overall impression of grandeur that is produced, rather than an intimate emphasis on each detail. The inner faces of these stalactites are decorated with three lancet-shaped niches. The upper half or tympanum of each niche is filled with a repeated chevron V, while the lower half is left blank but with both sides cut at an angle so that the top appears as a dark triangle. The lowest level, where the capital meets the column shaft, is a three-dimensional eight-pointed star-polygon. This part is roughly finished, and it seems highly likely that the capital was not executed on site, but imported and adapted to fit the shaft. This impression is underlined by the fact that two of the four shafts are octagonal rather than cylindrical, and that all the bases are clearly in re-use. Base no. 1 is unremarkable because it is comparatively plain except that it, like the others, is an inverted capital.

No. 2 has an octagonal shaft. It too resembles an earlier form of capital in that it is close to a design used in a prime position, in front of the *mihrab*, in the 14th-century Mahmut Beg Cami, Kasabaköy (Goodwin 1971: 25-6, pl. 17), although here the capitals are of wood. Capital no. 2 of Ahmad Pasha's *khalwa* is cut from the same fine marble as no. 1. It is much more complex. There are three tiers of *muqarnas*, all cut from a single piece of stone. The topmost tier is finished with a band of carved

decoration which is somewhat incongruous as it is derived from foliage, while the rest of the capital is strictly geometric. However, the foliage has been reduced to a series of crisply cut Turkish triangles, arranged as a kind of debased acanthus. The upper tier of *muqarnas* is a series of seven lancet-shaped niches per face, with a larger and more deeply cut splay-faced niche at each corner. The seven niches are of the usual type, that is the pointed tips of the tympana project forward and are shallower than the slant-cut lower parts. Below this level, there is a series of more deeply recessed stalactite niches, three to each face, and doubled at the corners to continue the chamfered effect. Once again, the 'hanging' pinnacles are created by sharply angled facets, and between them, facing each other, there are paired lancet-shaped niches. At this level, the tympana, which are again splay-faced, are filled with a series of Vs to add texture. The lowest level acts as a support, as it were, for the stalactites above. A series of simpler projections alternate with lancet niches, each of which is once again decorated with incised Vs in the upper sections.

The base of no. 2 continues the profile of the octagonal shaft. It is clearly a reversed capital, not least because the decoration points downwards instead of upwards. The faces alternate between a squat *muqarnas* element with a series of rays in the inverted tympanum, and paired triangles above (now below) two sets of three tear-drops or cypress shapes. The most curious detail of this base is a triangular protuberance between these, which splays out at the four corners where the capital-base now meets ground level.

Capital no. 3 is more effective than no. 2, if only in that it is deeper cut and less complex. It too has three tiers and is cut from the same marble as nos. 1 and 2. The topmost tier is almost flat-faced, with only the corners chamfered by means of a single lancet-shaped niche which has been left undecorated except for a deep groove running vertically down the centre. This corner niche is further emphasised by being framed by a deep groove running parallel to its profile. A series of five niches per face are incised between the corners, which are further emphasised by a repetition of the central groove in the middle niche, cut into a recess and again surrounded by a grooved frame. To either side of this central point there is a flat lancet. Here the tympanum of each is filled with an incised triangle with a triangular recess at the centre. Below there is a six-pointed star in reserve with a hexagonal recess at the centre. The emphasis on this *khatam Sulaiman* style of star may point to them having a significance beyond the merely ornamental, for the same stars are found inlaid in key positions on the east façade and over the door from the vestibule into the main chamber. This is discussed more fully in Auld, Chapter 24. Perhaps this capital no. 3 was especially cut for Ahmad Pasha, or perhaps—and this is more likely—an earlier capital was adapted for this building. Beneath this uppermost tier, the *muqarnas* capital is unremarkable; the middle tier has paired lancet-niches at the corners, allowing an effective chamfer cut. The middle section of each face is recessed with paired lancet-niches set facing each other. The tympana of these is decorated with the now familiar Vs. Plain lancets are the last element of decoration; they alternate with the niches already described, so arranged that they fall to either side of the corners. Their only ornamentation is a crisp cut across the base of the tympana. Finally, similar lancet-niches decorate the lowest tier, which converts to a circle above the octagonal shaft, which, in turn, is set above an inverted capital acting as a base, just as in no. 2.

The last capital, no. 4, breaks the pattern created by the other three. The stone is different, and the form is not *muqarnas*

but a sort of debased Classical form, half-way between Corinthian and Ionic. Four single splay-faced and plain 'leaves' create the basic shape. They are in reserve, and the space between them is recessed. Above each, at the corners, there is a shallow stem that curls round to enclose a small, projecting, circular boss. It is probably intended to be a form of lotus. The effect is more ancient Egyptian than Ottoman, although there is in the simplicity of the design something of the same strength that is found in the triangular-cut capitals of, for example, the *medrese* of the Mihrimah Complex of 1562-65 or the Court of the Black Eunuchs in the Topkapi Sarai, Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 252-4, pl. 243b and 323, pl. 323), which probably date to after 1665 when a fire caused major damage. The shaft of no. 4 is cylindrical, to balance no. 1, and the base too is square rather than octagonal. Once again it is an inverted capital, decorated with a running stem bearing trefoils. SA]

A billet moulding runs around the top of the portico and is broken by an elaborate stone water-spout located slightly to the east of the central arch. The three small domes are barely visible from ground level because of their shallow profile. They have been covered in flagstones to provide protection from the weather. The domes are expressed on the interior as small plastered vaults carried on four lateral arches, which spring from four *muqarnas* brackets projecting from the south wall, and from the four columns supporting the portico. The brackets are similar but not identical; each is made up of three tiers of *muqarnas*, some of which have been eroded. It is noteworthy that they include lancets of both the curvilinear 'Syrian' and the angular 'Egyptian' types (see Burgoyne 1987: 98, fig. 13). The zone of transition is made up of four pendentives. A metal tie-beam runs between the openings at the level of the springing of each arch of the outer and the lateral arches.

The south wall is divided into three identical horizontal sections. These are lavishly decorated, with the exception of the lower part of the western section. This is an unbroken and undecorated wall. There is a rectangular window in the two eastern bays; these are recessed and set within an elaborate double-roll moulding divided by a quirked ogree that surrounds both the window opening (each measuring 72cm wide by 1.17m high) and the decorative scheme connected with it. Each window is surmounted by a grey marble slab lintel. Directly above each lintel is a shallow retaining arch made up of seven joggled true (rather than veneered) *ablaq* voussoirs built in alternating red and white with a black cup-like keystone. The tympanum below the retaining arch, although also *ablaq* and carrying through the red and white of the upper joggling, does not have this central black accent. Iron grilles are preceded by modern iron shutters. Three identical rectangular panels are placed in the centre of each bay, exactly one course above the level of the frame of the two windows. Each panel measures 40cm by 60cm and is framed with a band of three engraved chevrons. The purpose of these panels was in all likelihood to carry a foundation inscription or decorative plaque, but as they are now blank it is hard to be sure if they were once filled and were subsequently defaced, or if for some reason they were never completed. Similar although larger panels are to be found in the upper part of the east, north, and west walls of the antechamber behind the southern entrance of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). Another panel also exists on the northern entrance of Khassaki Sultan. It is possible therefore that these panels represent a revival in deliberate imitation of early Ottoman features. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that there are also two similar plaques on the south facade of Khalwat

Junbalatiyya. This is particularly interesting, for both were probably built by the same architect, and therefore would appear to be something of a trademark for him.

The second part of the south façade contains the entrance doorway to the antechamber. It is raised above the level of the dais by 53cm, and two steps lead into its interior. The entrance is comparatively wide at 1.77m and is now fitted with a modern wooden door in two sections, which has probably replaced a previous one. The entrance was built at the same time as the rest of the *khalwa*, for the courses on both sides are homogeneous with the rest of the masonry of the façade, but not with the top of south-western corner of the west façade.

From the level above the buttress a problem manifests itself. Below this level the courses are keyed, but from this level upwards the courses do not seem to match, particularly at the top of the building. This mismatch may indicate a later restoration phase, perhaps carried out in 1203/1788-9, for this date is recorded in the antechamber described below. Another possibility is that the entrance level was lower than the building of the *khalwa* itself, as some of other *khalwas*, such as the Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24), and the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23). The outer limits of the entrance are marked by an elegant chamfered cut. The apex of the doorway is in the form of a slightly pointed arch which springs from two identical *muqarnas* brackets placed to either side of the entrance. Each bracket is made up of two tiers of lancet niches. The only one with any decoration is the scallop of the middle niche in the upper section, which has a ribbed motif. The stones of the arch are yellow and red while the keystone is white, and are surmounted by two string-courses, the first being of red stone and the second of grey marble. These emerge as it were from the voussoirs, for the grey marble keystone of the retaining arch cuts through to join the upper course, while the red flanking voussoirs merge with the red masonry. This conceit is continued in the yellow and red courses below, which also merge with the corresponding voussoirs. Three tiers of elaborate and prominent *muqarnas* crown the top of the entrance, but are now badly eroded. The central section of this *muqarnas* is the dominant one and it is surrounded by a ribbed scallop, now partly eroded. Two smaller single units flank it to either side. The upper row is made up of a series of single lancet niches with two similar elements forming the row below, and a single niche of the same dimensions as the pair forming the lowest row. All the niches are finely chamfered.

Directly above the *muqarnas* panel there is a thin projecting frame moulding which marks the top of the entrance chamber. Above it there is a course of stone which serves as a parapet; to judge by the quality of the stone, it would appear to be of recent date. A shallow saucer dome, barely visible from ground level, is set directly over the four walls of the antechamber. Two rectangular stone panels decorated with geometrical patterns are set into the section of wall that acts as a support for the entrance at the western corner of the cell. The lower panel is a little eroded and measures 20cm by 40cm. It is placed at the level of the two string courses of uniform grey. The second panel is set one course above the first. It measures 25cm by 50cm and is in a better condition.

[Editorial note: The design of both panels is based on an octagon. In each, the central point is marked by the negative shape of an eight-pointed star polygon. Around this narrow fillets form another star with irregular kite-shaped rhombs between its eight points. Between these and the beginnings of the repeat pattern, smaller five-pointed stars are created in the negative

spaces. In the larger, rectangular panel, half-motifs of the overall pattern occur at the two sides, while the smaller panel has only the first parts of the repeat design. The pattern was a favourite one in Islamic art and is ultimately derived from two interlocking squares (see El-Said and Parman 1976: 8-49, and especially figs. 36a-36d). Its appearance in relation to the door is probably significant, given the function of the *khalwa* defined in the *fatwa* as a cell 'for the invocation of Allah and for the study of religious science', and that the design was highly favoured in particular not only for the frontis- and finispieces of Qur'ans from the 14th century but also in relation to openings or the start of something. An example is the Qur'an produced by Ahmad ibn Kamal al-Mutatabbib ('the quack') in Cairo in 734/1334 (James 1988: 133 fig. 90, cat. 17). This point is discussed more fully in Auld, Chapter 24. Similar star-polygons decorate the roundels, described below, on the northern façade of the *khalwa*. SA]

The main dome of the *khalwa* is set directly on the four walls of the main chamber. Both dome and roof are covered with small flagstones. The dome culminates in a stone baluster finial carrying a crescent. This is made up of three parts; the lowest is the base, the middle contains a stone knop, and the uppermost part is made of a fully-closed crescent.

The western elevation is made up of two sections, and both are flanked by a buttress. The lower part of the façade has two huge pointed arches, once open but now completely blocked apart from two small rectangular openings in the tympanum of each. The upper part is also made up of two sections. That to the south is a plain wall, apart from a rectangular window measuring 80cm by 1.1m within the buttress. It is now fitted with an iron grille and covered on the outside by recent wire mesh. The buttress effect of this section of the building terminates five courses from the top with a chamfered course. The northern section of the upper part of the façade is highly decorated, with a tall recessed panel which terminates in a trefoil arch. This is constructed in *ablaq* of black and red while the tympanum, in striking contrast, is in dark yellow apart from two joggled stones in black that produce a negative cup-like or oil-lamp shape at their centre, and which are decorated with star-roundels. A rectangular window (75cm wide by 1.2m high) is set in the lower part of the recessed panel. It begins directly above the chamfered course of the recess and has a grey marble sill and slab lintel, with *ablaq* jambs. A joggled course surmounts the lintel in alternating red and yellow sandstone and grey marble; the central stone is red and repeats the cup-like shape above. Directly above this course, there is a decorative band of trilobate foliage alternating with trefoils, which acts as the base of the tympanum above. A string course of red cuts across the façade and continues across the northern elevation two courses below the roof of the building. At the top there is a narrow projected cornice of *cyma recta* moulding which also extends round the northern and eastern elevations of the *khalwa*. At the top of the south-western corner of this western elevation there is a stone waterspout, and the join where the frame of the antechamber meets the frame of the roof is cut and clumsily finished. A shallow dome covered with flagstones rests directly on the wall of the small ancillary room. It has no finial.

The northern elevation is both the largest and, after the southern, the most ornate. It also consists of two main sections. The lower part has two huge openings that give access to the lower storey. The first is to the east of the elevation and is a rectangular door measuring 1.62m wide and 2.1m high crowned by a lintel of white with a single black course. Above the lintel there is an arch composed of seven voussoirs of red and grey.

Some of the stonework of the jambs has been renovated recently, probably at the time when the two arches of the western elevation were blocked to house the generators. The second opening in the western section of the elevation measures 2.28m wide by 2.5m high. It also consists of a huge pointed arch. Both openings are fitted with a modern iron door.

The decorative scheme of the upper part of the elevation centres on three similar but not identical recessed panels. All three are rectangles set vertically. The first is situated in the western section and contains a rectangular window 77cm wide by 1.27m high. As usual, the window is fitted with an iron grille and is covered outside by modern iron shutters. The window opens directly above the chamfered slope of the frame; it has a grey marble sill, is surmounted by a lintel and has red stone jambs. The lintel is made up of a rose-pink section at the centre and from two sections of grey stone to either end, now weathered to black. Above the lintel is a skilfully constructed string course of seven joggled voussoirs of grey, yellow, black and red. Here the joggling seems to be a successful attempt to simulate the Mamluk stone carving tradition, but elsewhere in the *khalwa* the results are less impressive. Above this course there is a band of the same trilobate foliage and trefoils as on the western elevation; and one course over the decorative band, there is a plain cartouche. Three courses above the cartouche there are two bands of counterchange joggle of white and red, and, one course above the panel, the façade is closed by two decorative friezes which form a projecting cornice. The lower is a border of compressed counterchange floral motifs based on the trefoil. The upper frieze is made up of a series of lancet niches decorated with an incised palmette. An identical window appears in each of the other two panels in the eastern section of the elevation. Each window has a lintel of grey marble and a band of pale joggled voussoirs of grey and rose-pink above, centred on what appears to be an attempt to delineate a keystone in the shape of an oil-lamp or cup. Four courses above the joggling of the window, there is a panel of the same decorative floral frieze as to the north, but here it is framed by a band of incised hexagons that forms a type of twisted rope pattern. The hexagons are alternately filled with six-petalled floral rosettes and a smaller hexagon in an ABBABBA rhythm. Two courses above the panels a double row of simple *muqarnas* lancet niches marks the top of the elevation, below the narrow projection of the cornice that runs around three sides of the building, as noted above.

In its way, the eastern elevation is also impressive. It is a solid wall apart from a long vertical recessed panel which slices through the façade, and a rectangular window below the panel. The lower part of the elevation located below the recessed panel is plain, with the exception of the simple rectangular window mentioned above at the level of the sixth course. This measures 67cm by 75cm and is protected by modern iron shutters. Judging from the lintel and the jambs it is probable that it was opened recently, probably in the 1960s when the generator was installed. The lower part is made up of twelve stone courses which, owing to the slope of the steps connecting the two levels of the Haram esplanade, reach a height of 2.68m at the north-eastern corner and 1.25m at the south-eastern corner. The panel is set directly above the eleventh recessed chamfered course and stops below the projecting cornice frame which runs around the three elevations. A rectangular window is placed immediately above the chamfered course (81cm wide by 1.27m high), and is now fitted with an iron grille and recent iron shutters. The window has a grey marble slab lintel. One course above there is a rectangular marble

panel of light-red which is decorated by three six-pointed stars of dark-red marble set into the surface. Two small lozenge-shaped holes between the stars show that probably there were once inlaid turquoise-blue faience accents, now lost. The likelihood of turquoise-blue faience having been the inlaid substance is extrapolated from the detailing of the inside doorway to the main chamber described below and from a single surviving trace, also described below. One course higher there is another rectangular panel, now framed by a twisted rope border containing alternate small and large irregular hexagons. A lobed cartouche is placed in recess at the centre of the panel. In the middle of the cartouche there is an eight-pointed star, its points now a series of free-floating triangles. The inlay has clearly fallen out but a trace of one piece of turquoise faience still exists in the point top right of centre, adding credence to the assumption given above. Yet another panel appears one course above, reminiscent of the lowest example. But this time the three six-pointed stars are smaller, although also of red marble set into the surface; the central one has eroded now and the colour has darkened. And now two lozenges, instead of a single example, mark the space between the stars; but they too have now lost their inlay. Finally the panel is topped by a sophisticated stalactite *muqarnas* cornice of three tiers. It is adorned by concave lancets whose only decoration is a framing groove. Two large round-headed slit windows are opened to either side of the central panel, to give light and ventilation to the inner chamber. Their elegance is confirmed by splay-chamfered stone jambs. A stone waterspout is attached to the north of the northern window.

Interior

The interior of the lower storey of the *khalwa* consists of two sections. There is a single chamber to the east which is square in plan, each side measuring 4.25m. The floor of the chamber is on the same level as the Haram esplanade and is now of concrete. The chamber has a cross vault which rests on four huge identical pointed arches that spring from the four corners of the walls 45cm above ground level. There are two rectangular windows, the first in the eastern side, measuring 80cm wide by 75cm high, and the second in the western side, 80cm wide by 1m high, next to the eastern side of the western section of the lower storey. A rectangular recessed blind niche is placed at the centre of the southern wall; it is 78cm wide by 50cm deep and has a semicircular arch and hood.

The western part of the lower storey of the *khalwa* itself consists of two components. The first is a single bay to the north. The bay is nearly rectangular in plan (3.1m long by 2.58m wide) and is covered by a cross vault. Access to this bay was once from the north and the west through the two large arches. In this respect, the bay formerly resembled those of the northern and western porticoes of the Haram. However, as described above, the western arch has recently been blocked and now a doorway (1.16m wide) in the eastern corner of the south wall of the bay gives access to the second component of this section of the lower storey. This is a rectangular room once divided into two small cells. It measures 3.1m long by 1.8m wide. There is no fenestration in this section.

The upper floor of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha contains three rooms—the antechamber, the main chamber and the ancillary chamber. Two steps lead to the raised entrance of the door to the antechamber; the latter is small and rectangular in plan, measuring 1.5m wide by 2.6m long. It has been constructed to lead to the main chamber of the building.

The floor of the antechamber is separated from that of the main room by a low sill (12cm high), and it is paved with white traditional flagstones of medium size. At the centre of the floor there is an almost square (42cm by 40cm) white slab framed on all four sides by a band of red rectangular slabs 14cm in width. A similar panel, although it has a different design, is to be found set into the paving to the west of the *mihrab* of Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30). The aim was probably purely decorative, and is in keeping with the other elements of lavish ornamentation in the *khalwa*. If ever there is a case of conspicuous consumption in the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem, it is to be found here. A rectangular window is located in the western wall of the antechamber, and opposite the window in the eastern wall there is a door measuring 80cm wide by 1.68m high, leading into the main chamber. The door is surmounted by a grey stone slab lintel which has been inscribed with a quotation from the Qur'an (15: 45) and the date 1203/1788-9. The position and choice of inscription doubtless relate to the present use of the chamber. The text (the Arabic wording is cited on Cat. Appendix 2, no. 22/2) of this quotation is interesting; in translation it reads: 'Enter you into it, in peace and security, enter you into it in peace [in] the year 1203' (*udkhuluha bi-salam aminin, udkhuluha bi-salam sanat 1203* [1788-9]). The first part of the text is the greeting of the righteous who will be admitted to the gardens and fountains of paradise. It would thus seem that it was the intention of the choice of this quotation to relate the entrance of this *khalwa* to the entrance to Paradise. It should be recalled that the northern gate of the Dome of the Rock, which is located opposite this cell, is called the Bab al-Janna (Paradise Gate).

There is a small central pointed masonry dome, supported on three small pointed arches on the west, south and east sides, and by the wall to the north. The arches to west and east are deep enough to form a shallow *ivan*. The transitional zone is provided by four pendentives at the corners with an intermediary low circular drum. The walls of the antechamber have recently been plastered.

The main chamber is square, each side measuring 4.5m, and it has a modern paved floor. In all, as already mentioned, there are five windows in this room—two in each of the southern and northern walls, and one in the eastern wall. These windows are surmounted by a stone slab which has been elegantly decorated with a recessed ogival frame moulding; directly above each slab is a relieving arch built of rubble. The masonry of the courses above the arches of the windows is marked by being quite differently chiselled from that of the courses below. It is therefore proposed that the walls above the level of the arches were formerly plastered, and that they were uncovered only recently when the chamber was redecorated. There are also five blind recesses in this main chamber—two identical niches open in the southern wall, one to the west close to the door, and the other to the east. Each measures 39cm wide by 71cm high by 32cm deep. Another pair of niches flank the window in the eastern wall; these are identical, each measuring 62cm wide by 1.03m high by 48cm deep. The fifth niche is in the western wall to the north of the door, and measures 76cm wide by 1.66m high by 50cm deep. This recess is surmounted by a horse-shoe arch. The dome is expressed inside as a shallow saucer of thirty-two whorled ribs. The centre contains a roundel with incised relief lines which appear to radiate from a central inner point. The transfer from square to circle is achieved by way of four pendentives in the corners and eight folded triangles, each of which represent one of the eight sides. This irregular vault is unique in Jerusalem as far as I am aware. The

dome and the transition area have recently been plastered.

A door in the west wall of the main chamber measuring 76cm wide by 1.73m high gives access to the ancillary chamber, which can be seen as the *khalwa* itself. The front face of the eastward-looking door is surmounted by a slab lintel decorated by a frame ogival moulding. The plan of the ancillary cell is square with an internal measurement of 2.67m, and it is paved throughout with modern flagstones. As described above, there are two windows placed in the centre of the western and northern walls which are similar, both being surmounted by a nearly-semicircular arch and scallop, and in both the opening begins 20cm above the floor of the chamber. In the southern wall, there are two blind niches, the western one measuring 60cm wide by 1.5m high by 40cm deep. It is, like the windows, set 20cm above the floor level. The second recess is a *mihrab* niche. It measures 76cm wide by 1.82m high by 50cm deep. Here too the apex is in the form of a semicircular arch and scalloped hood. As already stated, it is in the eastern wall that the door from the main chamber is located. It is quite exceptional in Ottoman Jerusalem in that its westward-facing surround is lavishly adorned with coloured masonry. The doorway itself is constructed with jambs of seven red and grey stones, and it is surmounted by a grey marble slab lintel. Directly above, there is a large, single white stone bracketted between two red ones. Into it three eight-pointed stars in red have been inlaid, and between them there are two lozenges in black, perhaps black marble or the black stone from Nabi Musa. There follows a single course in red and then a frame of engraved fretwork in the form of horizontal 'S' shapes, reminiscent of a debased Greek key-pattern. Within this frame there is a panel which consists of four white stones at the corners with red ones in between. In the centre there is a cartouche with ogival terminals and an eight-pointed star. The outer points of the star, which are again of black, float freely around eight further red points. The central point is marked by a turquoise circular disc. The scheme thus echoes that of the recessed panel of the eastern façade, but the turquoise faience inlay is still intact, whereas it was lost outside. Equally the colours of the stone in the protected environment have remained vibrant, and thus the impact of the doorway is considerable. The chamber is covered by a shallow dome which rests directly on the four walls. Small pendentives in each corner and eight folded triangles serve as a transitional zone. The walls and the dome have been recently plastered and whitewashed.

The architectural features and the architect

The *khalwa* under discussion is undoubtedly a masterpiece. It can be considered the jewel of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem, or—to follow the analogy of Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 329) who considered the Ashrafiyya Madrasa the 'third jewel' after the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque—it is the fourth jewel of the Haram.

Before the work on the *siyills* began, the survey raised as many questions as it solved. These have already been described. The subsequent discovery of the relevant documents has now answered many more, but one central question remains—were the masons who built the two *khalwas* for Ahmad Pasha local Palestinians or they were imported from elsewhere, perhaps Syria or Egypt, or even Istanbul? The last hypothesis would have seemed the most likely by comparison with other monuments. For example, the masters and craftsmen involved in the construction of al-Ashrafiyya (Burgoyne 1987: 589-602), the projects relating to the city wall and other projects were brought

in from outside (see Chapter 36, Non-local Master Builders). Now, relying not only on the architecture itself but also on the invaluable *sijills*, it is possible to provide a different answer based more solidly on fact.

It is striking that Hujrat Islām Beg (cat. no. 21, dated 1002/1593-4), the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22, dated 1009/1600), the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 23, dated 1009/1600), Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24, dated 1010/1601-2), Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 25, dated 1013/1604), and Khalwat Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34, before 1038/1628) have many historical, architectural, and decorative aspects in common. These features have already been fully discussed in Chapter 36 under *Khalwas* and, more specifically there, under the fourth category of the *khalwas* and Table 36.7. From the information provided there it would seem that this group of *khalwas* must have been built under the influence of a single school of architecture or in a local style. It is quite possible that the man responsible for this was the Jerusalemite master builder, ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, a member of the family which contributed so richly to the architecture of

Ottoman Jerusalem over a period of three centuries.

Sijill 115: 721 states that ‘Abd al-Muhsin was contracted by Ahmad Pasha to build the Junbalatiyya *khalwa* (cat. no. 24). This *sijill* also contains an important piece of information about the *khalwa* of Bairam Pasha. It states that the building was erected by ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud, the chief of the master builders (*ra’is al-mi’ariyya*). Moreover, it includes the statement that the *khalwa* of Bairam Pasha was built according to the layout and the measurements of Khalwat Ahmad Pasha (Junbalatiyya).

It is also noticeable that four of the buildings in the group were constructed under the patronage of a single governor—Ahmad Pasha—and that they were built in a relatively short period of time, probably a single decade. This would support the suggestion that there was a single designer for them all. It is thus probably correct to infer that all the *khalwas* in this group, as well as the elegant North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), were designed and constructed by the same local master mason/architect. For more details on ‘Abd al-Muhsin and his family business, see Chapter 36 above under the Family of Ibn Nammar.

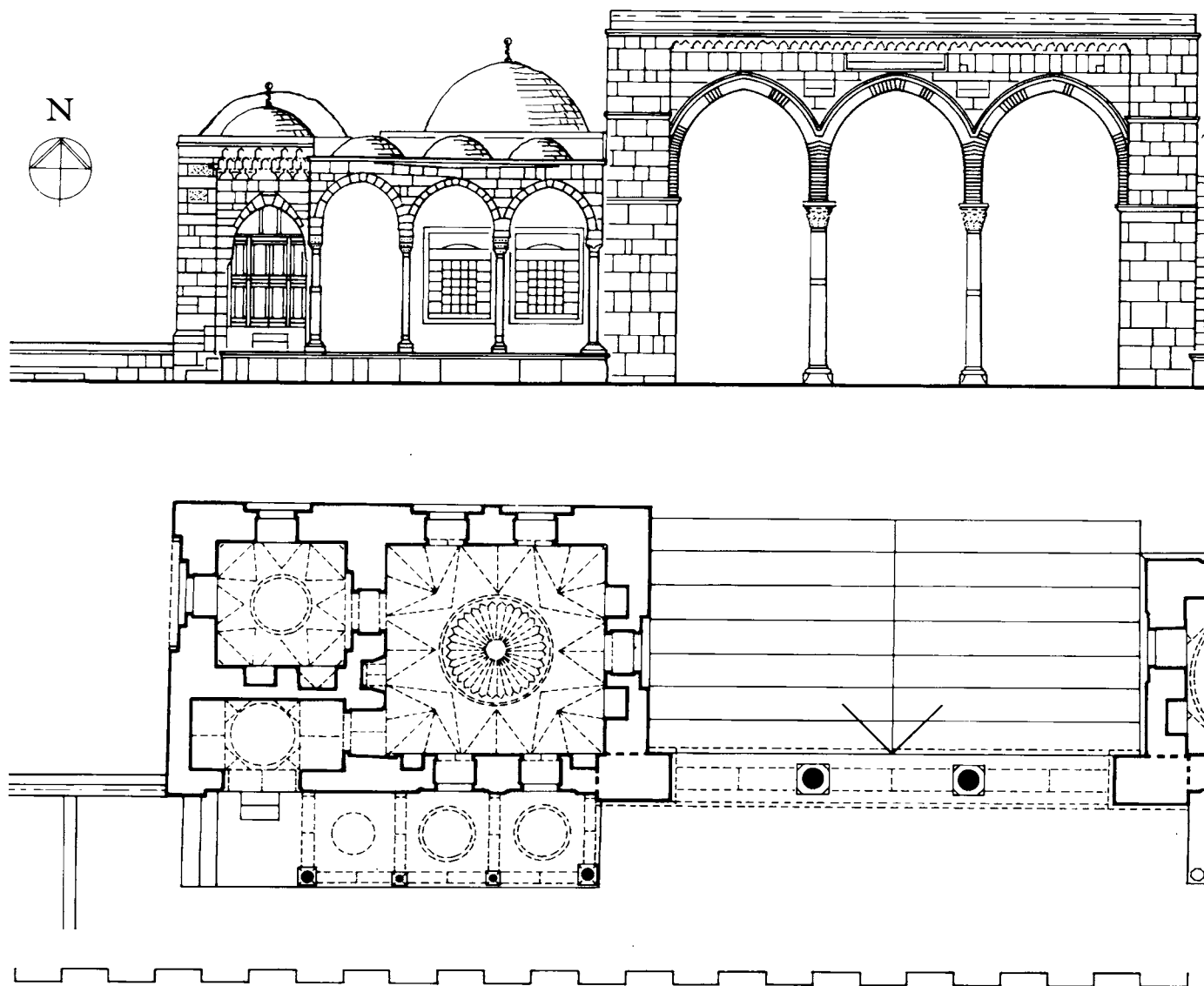


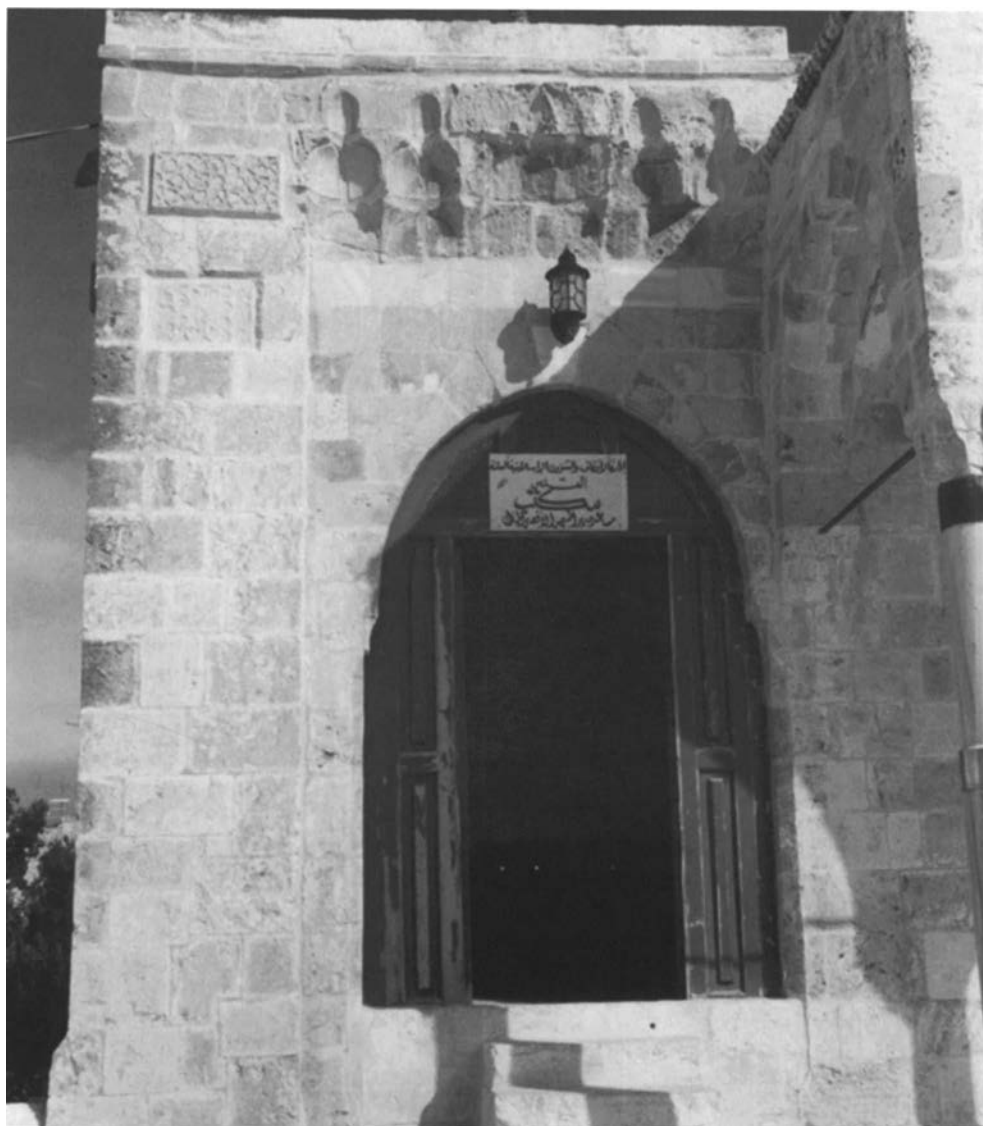
Fig. 22.1 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha.



Pl. 22.1 North-Western and North-Eastern Khalwas of Ahmad Pasha, general view.



Pl. 22.2 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, southern façade.



Pl. 22.3 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, south façade, main door.



Pl. 22.4 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, interior.



Pl. 22.5 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, south and west façades.



Pl. 22.6 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, *muqarnas* capital.



Pl. 22.8 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, column plinth



Pl. 22.7 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, *muqarnas* capital.



Pl. 22.9 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, north and west façades.

23 THE NORTH-EASTERN KHALWA OF AHMAD PASHA

Name: The North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

Date: Undated, probably Awakhir Muharram 1007/August-September 1598

Endowment: Ramadan 1009/March-April 1600-1

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Maktab al-Tarjama (The Translation Office)

Location

At the north end of the Dome of the Rock terrace, abutting the eastern pillar of the north-eastern colonnade.

Site and brief description (fig. 23.1, pls. 23.1-23.6)

The North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha is situated 34m from the north-eastern corner of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock. Its lower western wall abuts the eastern side of the stairway at the southern end of the path leading from Bab Hitta to the upper esplanade. Its position is directly opposite the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22), now known as the office of the director of al-Aqsa Mosque, lying to the west. The *khalwa*, like all those in the Haram, consists of an upper and a lower section. The lower part is a small cross-vaulted chamber, entered from the Haram esplanade. The building is constructed in principle, like several other cells, in order to bridge the gap in height between the two levels of the Haram, for the upper level—also a small single chamber covered by a hemispherical dome with a small antechamber in front—is built at, and entered from, the level of the upper terrace. The *khalwa* is thus a single-unit structure and it is built throughout with masonry of varying hues of yellow, red, and white that have weathered to either black or grey.

History

As far as was known when the research for this volume began, no information about this building had surfaced. However, as shown above (cat. no. 22) the North-Eastern Khalwa and the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha share a similar history. The details so far unearthed of the life of its founder, the *waqf* documents, the site and the purpose for its construction are given under cat. no. 22.

Endowment

Although both the North-Eastern and North-Western Khalwas share the same *waqfiyya*, they differ as to the financial arrangements of the endowment and the stipulations imposed by Ahmad Pasha. Here again it was a document regarding an appointment that revealed the basic information about the endowment. The document is registered in Sijill 187: 127 in relation to the council of Qadi Sulaiman Efendi in the proceedings of the year 1096/1684-5. The document states that 'the late (*al-marhum*) Ahmad Pasha, the former governor of Gaza, has made *waqf* the whole chamber situated on the platform of the Noble Rock on the northern row (*bi-l-saf al-shamali*). It was dedicated by the said donor (Ahmad Pasha) for Shaikh al-Islam Radi al-Din al-Lutfi, and after him for his sons and his descendants. A sum of 1,000 *misriyya* pieces has been allotted every year for its benefit, 100 pieces for oil to illuminate the chamber, and the rest (900) for the reader (*qari*', that is, for Radi

al-Din) in recompense for his recitation from the Qur'an every day in the said chamber constructed by Ahmad Pasha.' The document states that after al-Shaikh Radi al-Din died, the post was occupied by his son Yusuf Efendi. Al-Shaikh Radi al-Din al-Lutfi must have been a man of some prominence, for the date of his death is recorded on the binding of the volume of Sijill 102. The record states that '(there) has passed away (*indaraja*) to the mercy of Allah al-Shaikh al-Imam Radi al-Din the son of Abu'l-Lutf ... after the afternoon prayer (*al-ʿasr*) on 13 Jumada II of the year 1028/28 May 1619.' When al-Shaikh Yusuf, the son of Radi al-Din, died, he left no sons, so the position was given to the son of his daughter, al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir Zain al-'Arab. All this information, with the exception of the death of al-Shaikh Radi al-Din, is repeated in another entry in the *sijills* (187: 223). This second entry records the voluntary abdication (*tafarrugh*) from the position of reader by al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Zain al-'Arab in favour of his brother al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Razzaq Zain al-'Arab.

Architecture

Exterior

A rectangular dais is built in front of the main, southern façade of the *khalwa*. It measures 2.05m wide by 4.2m long by 67cm high, and is built of the high-quality white stone traditionally used for paving and that has now weathered to grey. The flagstones are remarkably big, some measuring as much as 1.9m long by 90cm wide. The dais in all probability originally supported a now non-existent two-bay porch, for it still bears traces of column bases at its outer edge. There are other reasons for this assumption. For example, the stones of this façade appear to be homogeneous, and are still a relatively bright yellow in comparison to those of the rest of the *khalwa*—that is, the walls to the west and north—which show a degree of black discolouration due to a chemical reaction from exposure to rain. It seems likely therefore that the portico was dismantled only at a relatively late period. This portico would have rendered the building much more impressive than it now is.

The principal scheme of the south façade is made up of three parts. The first is a rectangular recessed panel enclosed in a slightly chamfered frame. Two identical windows are placed within the panel; each measures 75cm wide by 1.15m high, and each is fitted with an iron grille clad outside with a recent wire mesh. Each window is surmounted by a marble slab lintel, and directly above each there is a truncated relieving arch constructed of odd curving voussoirs that take a segmental shape around the central keystone, which is in the shape of a *qandil* or *mishka* (a pendant oil-lamp). The second part is formed from two blocked-up semicircular arches, flanking a two-tiered simple *muqarnas* bracket with an astragal moulding, the purpose of which was to act as a support for the arches of the porch of the *khalwa*. All these elements are incorporated into the upper part of the façade which is set directly above the two windows. A projecting stone cornice runs around the upper limit of the three walls. This too supports the assumption of an original two-bay porch mentioned above. The hemispherical dome sits directly on the roof of the building; it is covered with small flagstones to protect it from the elements, and has no finial. A simple undecorated door is set to the east of the southern façade and forms its third part. The roof level of this part is 70cm lower than that of first section. It is not easy to understand why this should be, although the same arrangement is seen in the Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20), the Khalwat Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24) and the Odat Arslan Pasha (cat. no. 41). It seems likely that a cornice crowned this eastern extension and

this cornice therefore continued the line of the *cyma recta* moulding of the pier of the *mawazin* immediately to the west of this *khalwa*. The doorway (1.3m wide by 2.45m high) gives access to the interior of the upper chamber; it is approached by three steps, 69cm in height from the level of the terrace, and it is surmounted by a semicircular arch made of simple voussoirs.

The ground around the lower part of the North-Eastern Khalwa, especially in front of the northern elevation, is uneven. The masonry of most of the first course of this elevation is invisible. It is possible to see, however, that the first two courses of the northern elevation are built of large, coarse stones of varying dimensions, some measuring 1m long by 40cm wide, and that the joint lines become straight only at the level where a window is set into in the façade. The reason for this may be that the foundation of the building dates from an earlier period, or perhaps that larger stones were selected for greater stability. One must also reckon with plants growing at the base of the building, and this would disguise this lower-quality stone. The window is rectangular. It measures 70cm wide and 1.05m in height, and is surmounted by a stone lintel of three slabs, the middle one of which is both the biggest and the most clumsily cut. A relieving arch consisting of three voussoirs is set directly above the lintel; its keystone is red and is decorated by a double relief moulding consisting of lobed arcuated forms. The whole terminates at the centre with a trefoil. The window is fitted with an iron grille and with recent wire mesh similar to that of the south façade.

One course above the sloping chamfer that marks the end of the lower and the start of the upper part of the building there is a rectangular recessed panel. The panel is placed at the centre of the north elevation and is identical with the panel in the southern façade, though here it consists of two additional courses of masonry. The first of these is plain, but the second is decorated with three similar but not identical star roundels. The central example has a ten-pointed star, that to the east has twelve points and to the west there is a further example of one with ten points but with additional interlace. A beautiful effect is created by recessing the background and leaving the geometrical details of the roundels in reserve. Two courses above the recessed panel, the building finishes with a salient simple stone cornice which has a terracotta water spout at its centre.

The western elevation has the same layout and a similar decorative scheme as the north elevation, but owing to the slope of the path some of the stones are invisible. However they seem to be uniform in quality. Its recessed panel is smaller than that of the northern elevation, and it therefore has only one window, measuring 75cm wide by 1.15m high. The window has a red slab lintel, and directly above there is a relieving arch with another *qandil* or *mishka* (oil-lamp) motif, made up of five voussoirs. A star pattern flanks the arch to either side and a third example is placed above the keystone. The star motifs are identical to those of the western elevation, although somewhat smaller. The colour of the stones that now block the window appears to be consistent with the rest of the elevation, which means that the window must have been filled at an early period to allow two blind niches to be built for use as a cupboard.

The eastern elevation is the simplest. It too is constructed in two parts, the lower part of which houses a door that leads into the lower-level interior of the *khalwa*. The door measures 79cm wide by 1.57m high and it is raised 43cm above the level of the Haram esplanade. A red slab lintel surmounts the door and above it there is a flat arch made up of seven plain voussoirs set at an angle; the keystone is red. A simple

undecorated window is placed in the upper part of the eastern elevation, measuring 80cm wide by 1.27m high, and again with a red slab lintel. Above it, five masonry courses lead up to the cornice that runs around the three walls, although here a section to the south is damaged.

Interior

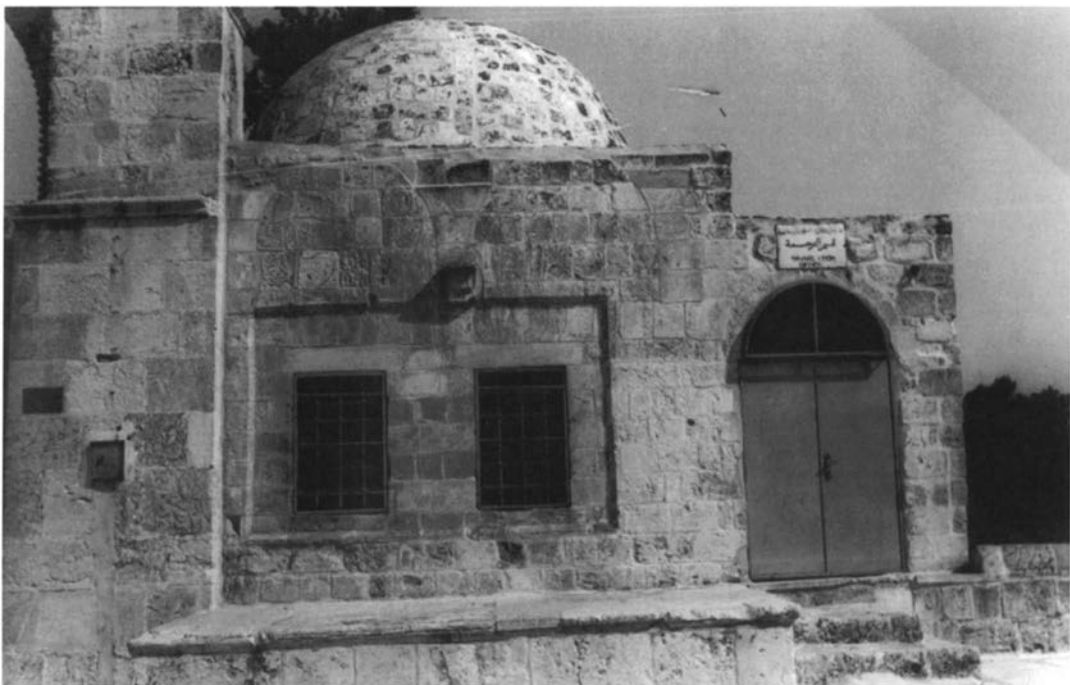
A small rectangular antechamber, measuring 1.3m wide by 1.75m long, leads into the main chamber of the *khalwa*. The floor of the antechamber is separated from that of the main chamber by a small sill 32cm high, and is paved with white traditional flagstones of medium size. Two blind recessed openings are placed on the north and east sides, the first measuring 30cm wide by 40cm deep by 70cm high and the second 40cm wide by 30cm deep by 70cm high. The roof consists of a cross vault and has been recently plastered.

A single step leads to the raised entrance door, measuring 75cm wide and 1.6m high. The main chamber is square in shape, and it has a modern pavement of black and grey 30cm squares set in a geometrical pattern of a type popular in Palestine during the Mandate period. This pavement is identical to the one existing in the Khalwa Parwiz (cat. no. 17), but is now concealed by a modern rug. The four walls of the room as well as the dome are plastered and were whitewashed in 1990. Two blind niches were opened in the west wall after the window was blocked; the one to the south measures 70cm wide by 90cm high by 35cm deep, and the one to the north measures 95cm wide by 1.4m long by 45cm deep. Another small niche is opened in the east wall next to the door, only 33cm wide by 54cm long and 36cm deep. As already described, there are five windows—two in the south wall, and one in each of the west, north, and east walls. These windows have similar outside dimensions and each has a lintel surmounted by a relieving arch, but on the inside each has a semicircular arch and scallop. The hemispherical dome is carried directly on the four walls of the room. The transition from square to circle is achieved by way of four squinches in the corners of the room. The north-western squinch has two lancet panels at the level of its springing, and traces of the same panel can still be seen in the south-western squinch.

The interior of the lower part of the *khalwa* is raised 43cm from the Haram level; it consists of a square room with a traditional pavement. A blind recess, 85cm wide by 50cm deep, forms a niche in the west wall. The room is covered by a simple cross vault with a very shallow saucer dome in the centre.



Pl. 23.1 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, detail of north façade.



Pl. 23.2 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, south façade.



Pl. 23.3 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, north façade.



Pl. 23.5 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, west façade.



Pl. 23.4 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, north façade, detail of stonework.



Pl. 23.6 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, detail of west façade.

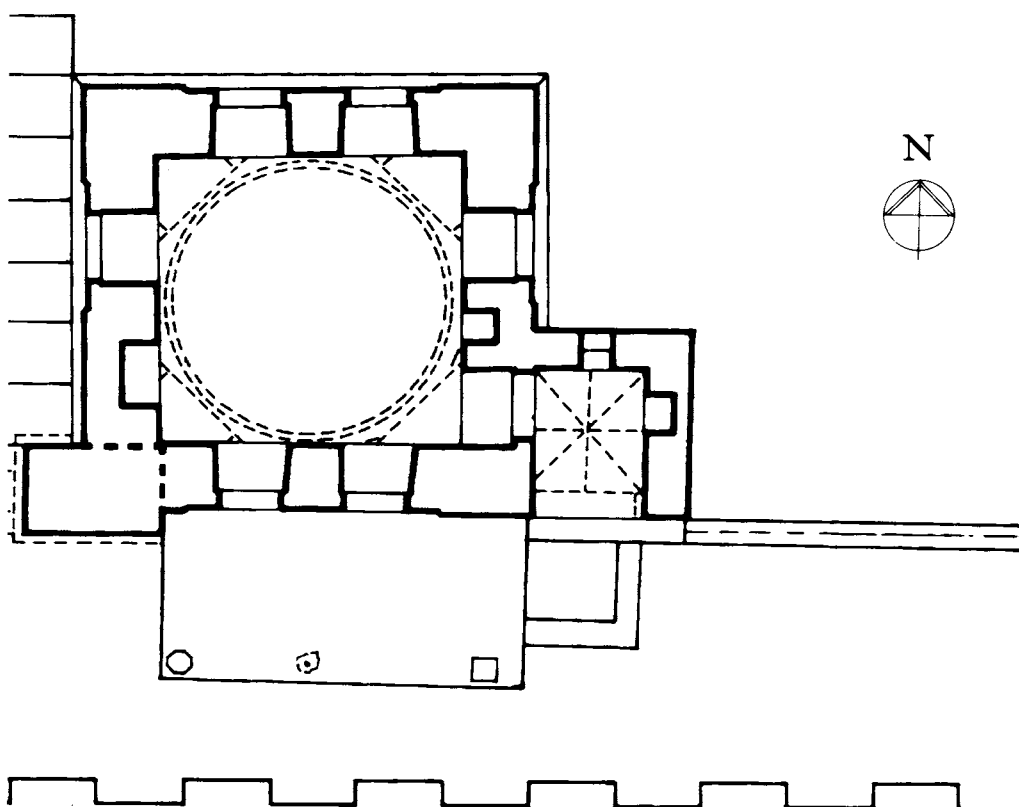
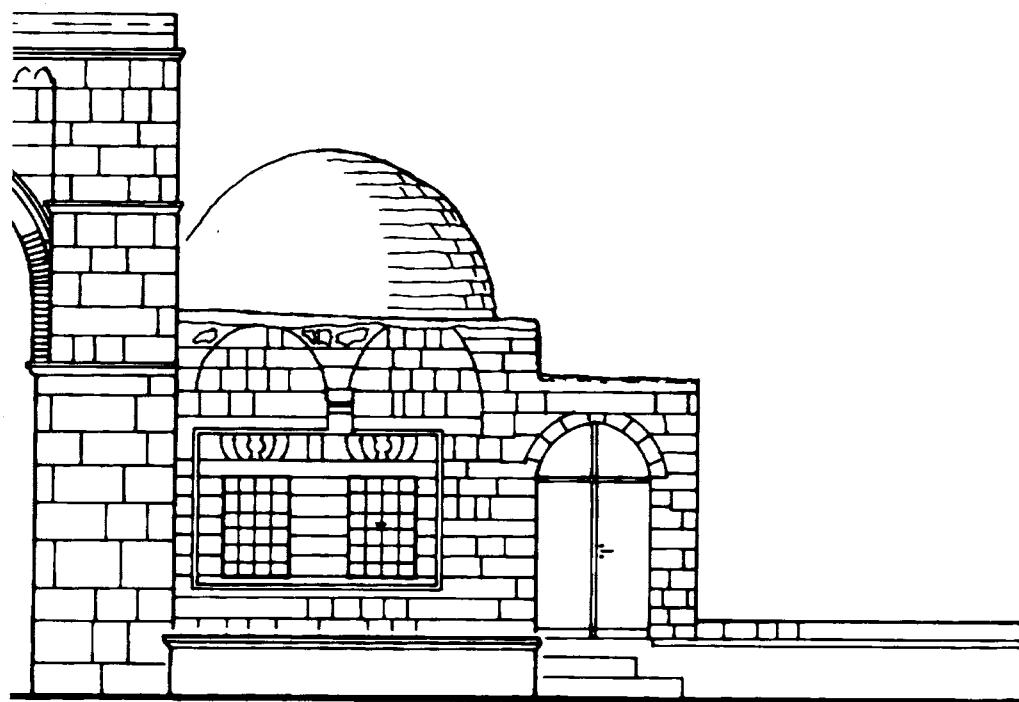


Fig. 23.1 North-Eastern Khalwas of Ahmad Pasha, elevation and plan (for full context, see pl. 22.1).

24 AL-KHALWA AL-JUNBALATIYYA

Name: Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya

Date: 1010/1601-2

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: Khalwat Ahmad Pasha

Modern name: Khalwat al-Shurta al-Gharbiyya (the western cell of the police)

Location

The *khalwa* is located at the northern edge of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, between Khalwat Qitas (cat. no. 16) and Odat (chamber) al-Hajj Arslan Pasha (cat. no. 41).

Site and brief description (figs. 24.1-24.4, pls. 24.1-24.4)

Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya is narrowly separated from Khalwat Qitas with only 2.26m between them. Its eastern façade adjoins the western façade of the chamber of al-Hajj Arslan Pasha. The *khalwa* is similar to most of those on the northern side of the terrace in that it is made up of two floors, the lower one consisting of two rooms. The first of these is rectangular and the second is square in plan, and both are covered by a cross vault. This storey is built as a bridge between the lower and upper levels of the Haram esplanade. The upper floor consists of two integrated components, the first being a square domed chamber, and the second a rectangular area divided equally between two small square *khalwas*, of which the first serves as an antechamber to the second, main chamber. The *khalwa* is built throughout of white masonry which has now weathered to grey.

History

Identification

Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya is one of the cells which are a truly Ottoman contribution to the platform of the Dome of the Rock. With the exception of the colonnades and the pulpit of Burhan al-Din, which are in the main Mamluk, and the Ayyubid Nahawiyya, no structure stood at the edge of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock before the Ottoman period.

There is no published information on the *khalwa*, but two relevant short documents were detected in the *sijills*. They give its name and location, as well as details of its founder, patronage and even the architect. The first document is dated 1010/1601-2 and is to be found in Sijill 83: 51. It is a declaration from the *mi'mar-bashi* (chief architect) of Jerusalem the Noble, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammār, that 'Ahmad Pasha had already contracted him to construct ('imara) the Junbalatiyya *khalwa* on the platform of the Noble Rock, in return for 50 *sultani* gold coins; a further 20 *sultani* gold coins were to be for its plaster, the doors and the doors of its cupboards and windows.' It is worth noting that the term 'imara is occasionally used to denote a restoration rather than a construction. However, it is safe to assume here that the word is used to imply 'construction', for the style of the *khalwa* bears all the hallmarks of the work of 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammār (see Chapter 36 under *Khalwas*).

There are two elements which are not entirely clear in the first document relating to the *khalwa*—the location and details of the founder. It is therefore lucky that the second document written into Sijill 113: 112, dated 8 Muharram 1037/19 September 1627, includes information on both points. The relevant document is a permit issued by the *qadi* allowing

Muhammad Agha, *za'im* (holder of a fief) in the Noble City of Jerusalem, to reside in a chamber. The chamber is described 'as situated on the upper (*a'la*, in this case northern) platform of the Noble Rock on the western side (*bi-'l-janib al-gharbi*) whose *waqf* was set up by the son of Junbalat.' Since only two *khalwas* in the western section of the northern side of the Dome of the Rock terrace remain to be identified—those of Junbalatiyya and Arslan—and because these two *khalwas* are reported in the *waqfiyya* of Arslan Pasha (Sijill 198: 108; see below cat. no. 41) as abutting each other, this *khalwa* must be the Junbalatiyya. And indeed further support for the identification, if any were needed, is to be found in the architectural design.

The plan of the Junbalatiyya is almost identical to that of Khalwat Bairam Pasha. Their similarity is reported in Sijill 115: 721 (see also cat. no. 34) which says both that the Khalwat Bairam is built to the same plan as Khalwat Ahmad Pasha, and that they were constructed by the same architect, 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammār. An inspection of the plans of the *khalwas* reveals that this is indeed the case.

Date

The date of the contract, as stated in Sijill 83: 51, was before 1010/1601-2. This in turn suggests that the *khalwa* was designed some time at the very end of the 16th century.

Founder

There is an interesting problem regarding the foundation of the *khalwa*. For while it is quite clear from the documents already described that the construction was carried out by Ahmad Pasha, the endowment in support of it was set up by Ibn Junbalat. This is a most unusual and contradictory situation, and is hard to unravel. If Ahmad Pasha built this *khalwa* for himself, why did he agree that it should be attributed to Ibn Junbalat and named 'the Junbalatiyya'? Even more fundamentally, why did he not arrange for the *waqf* himself, as he did for his three other prominent structures? Perhaps he was running out of money. Most probably Ahmad Pasha's role was as mediator on behalf of a relative or colleague, and he acted as supervisor of Ibn Junbalat's project. We are also faced with the problem of identifying Ibn Junbalat. Since his first name does not appear in the documents, it is impossible to pinpoint him, but the name is that of a prominent ruling family in Palestine in the Ottoman period. The donor of the *khalwa* was in all likelihood a member of the family. In any case, Ahmad Pasha's involvement meant that the *khalwa* became known by his name rather than that of Ibn Junbalat. The situation is entirely understandable, for Ahmad Pasha was closely associated with the Haram al-Sharif and was well known for the wealth of his *waqfs* and for his high-quality constructions.

Architecture

A rectangular stone dais is built in front of the main, southern façade of the *khalwa*. It measures 5.2m long by 2.3m wide and 80cm high. The fabric of the dais is similar to that of others on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, for it is built of good-quality white stone that has now weathered to grey. The dais once sported a now non-existent two-bayed portico, for traces survive of the three bases of the columns at its outermost side, and the columns are marked on Powell's plan (1862).¹ In addition, three brackets

¹ E J Powell 'reduced' the plan of the Haram al-Sharif from Catherwood's original plan of 1833 at a scale of 10 feet to one inch. It includes 'corrections and additions from more recent authorities' and is dated 1st February 1862.

which once supported the inner arches can still be seen on the southern wall (see below). The fact that this stone has weathered relatively little suggests that the disappearance of the porch was comparatively recent, and is likely that to have been related to the earthquake which caused severe damage in Jerusalem in 1927.

The main scheme of the southern façade of the *khalwa* is in two parts, as it is in the North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, although there is a significant difference between the decorative details of the two buildings. The main element of the decoration of the southern façade still extant is an oblong recessed panel surrounded by a gently chamfered frame. Two identical windows are set within the panel; each measures 85cm wide by 1.3m high, and each is fitted with an iron grille covered on the outside by wire mesh, and iron shutters for extra protection. Each window is surmounted by a white marble slab lintel, and directly above this there is a relieving arch made up of seven joggled voussoirs that appear to be an unsuccessful imitation of the Mamluk style. The joggled voussoirs have the appearance of a shallow veneer, but in fact the depth of pointing suggests that they are a true architectural feature rather than purely decorative. The voussoirs have recently been painted with whitewash, and it is thus difficult to determine the original colour of the stone; but a small break reveals it as grey.

A second element of the present façade is the traces of two pointed arches of different spans, the one to the west less pointed than the one to the east. The arches spring from three identical brackets made up of three tiers of elaborate *muqarnas* stalactites. Two rectangular recessed blind panels of different dimensions are placed in the centre of the tympana. The panel to the east measures 1.5m wide by 80cm high. It is surrounded by a solid stone frame decorated with an incised twisted triple-rope design. The panel to the west measures 85cm wide by 98cm high, and is also framed in solid stone, but here the incised design takes the form of a chevron border. The original purpose of these two panels was probably to house an inscription or a decorative plaque, for they are similar to the panels at the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (see cat. no. 22). The vestiges of a projecting cornice can be seen one course below the roof of the *khalwa* at both corners of the façade. This probably represents the remnants of a cornice that ran round the top of the three walls of the portico: it originally broke forward to enclose that projecting space. At the very top of all four façades, a narrow stone cornice now projects forward to run round the upper limit of the building. The main hemispherical dome sits directly on the roof of the building; it is a recent concrete construction and replaces the older dome. Neither dome nor roof are finished in stone, but the finial set on the apex of the dome is of stone.

A third element of the façade is a simple undecorated door, to the east of the main domed chamber. The level of the roof here reflects the lower height of the antechamber. The two levels appear to be original, for the joints of the courses run unbroken across the façades of both parts, and the eastern wall of the main chamber also shows no sign of any addition. This difference in height between the main chamber and the antechamber is a phenomenon that exists in other *khalwa* constructions in the Haram. Examples can be seen in the North-Eastern Khalwa (cat. no.23), and al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no.25) among others. The doorway gives access to the interior of the *khalwa*, and is approached by two steps, 77cm above the level of the terrace. Although it looks superficially as if it might once have been a window, there is no evidence that the door was ever anything else. It is surmounted by a pointed arch constructed with simple

voussoirs of red stone.

The decorative scheme of the northern elevation of the *khalwa* is divided horizontally into two parts. The lower section is a solid masonry wall of regular courses with two doors; the one to the west was converted to a window (80cm by 80cm) by blocking its lower part. The west door, measuring 80cm wide by 1.24m high, is surmounted by a slab lintel with an uneven upper edge. One and a half courses (40cm) above the slab there is part of a relieving arch in the form of four voussoirs. The east door measures 78cm wide by 1.74m high. It too is surmounted by a slab lintel, and directly above it there is a relieving arch. The upper part is decorated with three windows, the first on the east side of the elevation. This is rectangular, measuring 70cm wide by 1.2m high, and is fitted with an iron grille. It is surmounted by a slab lintel and immediately above is an 'eye-brow' arch. The other two windows are within a recessed panel. They are identical, also covered by iron grilles and modern iron shutters on the outside, and each (80cm wide by 1.2m high) is surmounted by a white marble slab lintel. Directly above each lintel is a relieving arch made up of three voussoirs, in each case with a red keystone. A single band of simple lancet *muqarnas* niches projects forward, acting as a cornice and marking the summit of the rectangular recess of the panel six courses above the window arches.

A rectangular door (78cm wide by 1.61m high and 84cm deep) dominates the lower section of the western elevation (pl. 24/7). It too is surmounted by a slab lintel and above it there is an arch consisting of three voussoirs. There is a slit window to the south of the door, topped by a gently-curving, chamfered arch. The upper part of the western elevation has a recessed rectangular panel smaller than that of the northern elevation. It is provided with a single window, measuring 80cm wide by 1.3m high. Its lintel is a white slab, and directly above there is a single decorated stone, adorned with an inlaid marble slab with interlocking trefoils. The top of this recessed panel, too, like that of the northern elevation, is marked by a band of *muqarnas* lancet niches acting as a cornice. There is no evidence that a similar *muqarnas* cornice ever surrounded the portico.

Interior

A small rectangular antechamber, measuring 1.6m wide by 2.7m long, leads into the main chamber of the *khalwa*. It appears to be part of the original building. The floor of this antechamber is distinguished from that of the main chamber by a low sill 15cm high, and is paved with the traditional white flagstones of medium size. The room features a deep arch and, to the north of the arch, has a small saucer dome with seventeen ribs. The walls and the roof of the antechamber have been plastered recently. Originally there was a blind recessed niche in the east wall of the antechamber (Powell 1862). The blind niche was opened to serve as a connecting door between the Junbalatiyya and Odat Arslan. The conversion is a recent one, to allow easy access for the policemen who today occupy both *khalwas*. A doorway, 1.7m by 70cm, at the north of the antechamber gives access to a small square room, some 2m wide by 2m deep. Once ideally suited as a solitary retreat, today it serves as a kitchen. It is paved with flagstones and is covered by a cross vault with a saucer dome at its centre. The transition zone of the dome is decorated by a double incised chevron band which forms seven units, so that the dome has a seven-pointed star at its centre. The dome is plastered and coated with whitewash. A window is located in the north wall of the *khalwa*, and in the west wall there is a rectangular blind recessed niche measuring 90cm wide by 40cm deep by 1.5m high.

A doorway leads to the main chamber. This is square (4.1m by 4.1m) and has old paving stones on the floor. The walls of the room and the dome are plastered and have been frequently whitewashed over the last decade. As already described, there are five windows—two in each of the south and north walls, and one in the west wall. These windows have semicircular arches and scallops, apart from the windows of the south wall which have an ogival frame moulding resembling a small ogee arch. The hemispherical dome is carried directly on the four walls of the room. The transition from square to circle is achieved by way of four pendentives placed at the four corners of the room.

The interior of the lower part of the *khalwa* is on the

same level as the Haram esplanade. It consists of two rooms; the first to the west is square in plan and has a modern pavement. A door in the west wall leads to its interior. Two windows are located in the chamber; the first (originally a door) in the north wall, the second in the west wall, which appears on the outside as a slit window. A blind recess, 70cm wide by 70cm high by 70cm deep, forms a niche in the south wall. The room is covered by a simple cross vault and is used today by the Haram attendants. The second room to the east is rectangular in plan, measuring 2.1m by 4.2m, with no opening apart from the door. It is used today as storage space by the police and, like its neighbour, is covered by a folded cross vault.

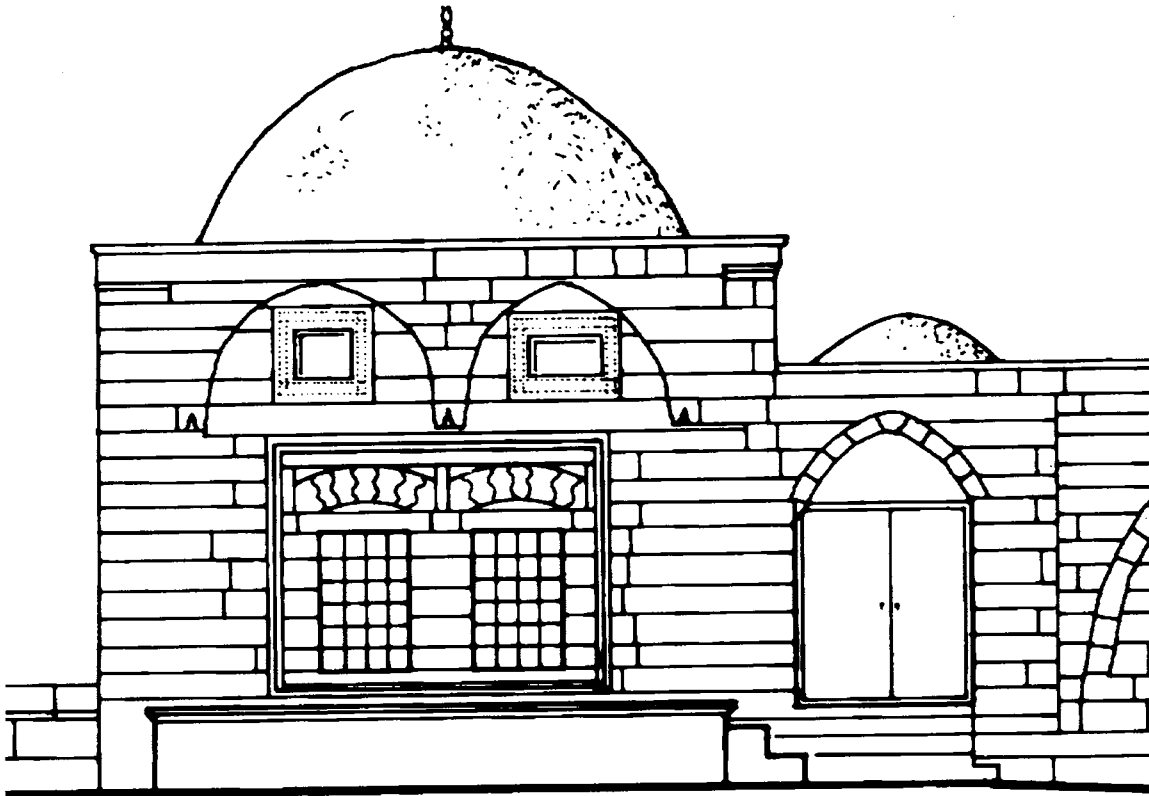


Fig. 24.1 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, south façade (courtesy of DIA).

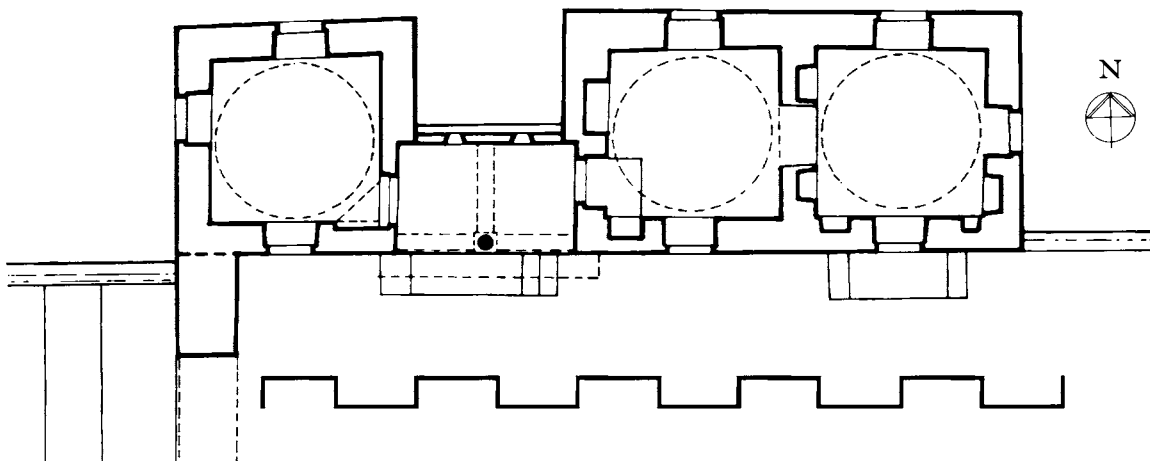


Fig. 24.2 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, north façade, with Odat Arslan Pasha (cat. no. 41) on the right (courtesy of DIA).

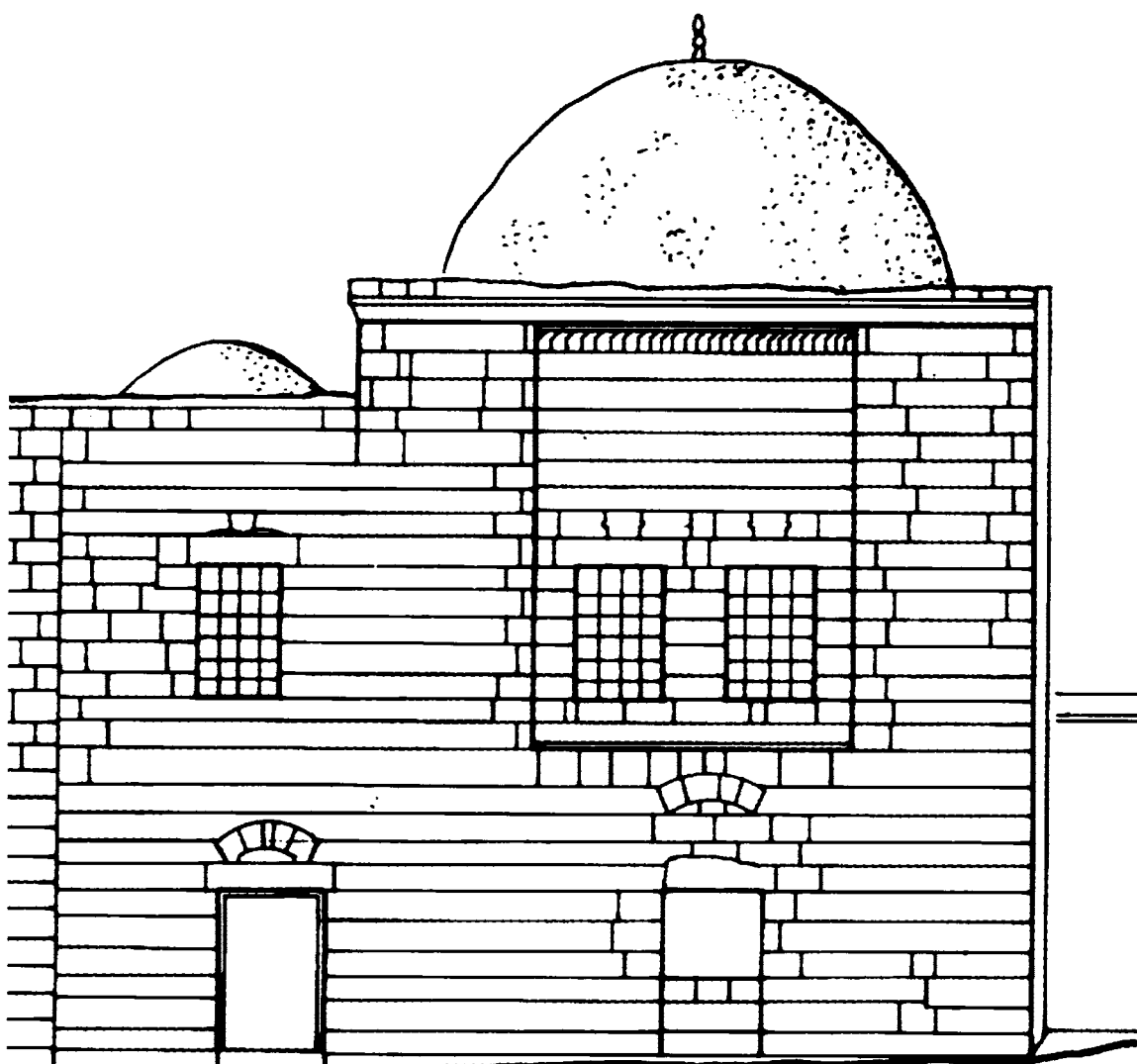


Fig. 24.3 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, plan of ground floor (courtesy of DIA).

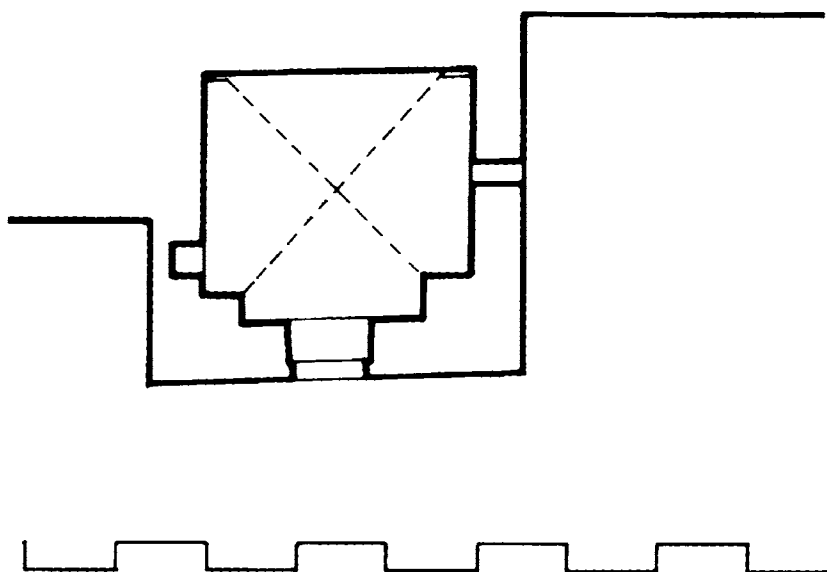


Fig. 24.4 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, plan of basement (courtesy of DIA).



Pl. 24.1 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, south façade.



Pl. 24.2 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, north façade.



Pl. 24.3 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, south façade detail of decorative band to east inset panel.



Pl. 24.4 Al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, south façade, decorative band surrounding west inset panel.

25 MADRASAT AHMAD PASHA

Name: Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, or al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya

Date: Undated

Endowment: 15 Ramadan 1013/4 February 1604

Variant of name: Khalwat al-Ghazali

Modern name: It is now mistakenly known as the 'Khalwat al-Ghazali' by the Haram Guards. This name seems to be a corruption of the established tradition referred to by Mujir al-Din (1973 1: 299) that al-Ghazali (450-505/1058-1112) resided in al-Zawiya al-Nasiriyya above the Golden Gate (the Gate of Mercy) whilst in Jerusalem. Later the *zawiya* was renamed after al-Ghazali and became known as 'al-Zawiyya al-Ghazaliyya' but it has since disappeared.

Location

The *madrassa* is located to the east of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, north of the eastern colonnade.

Function

Two buildings called *madrasas* were found in the course of research on the Ottoman buildings. The first is al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya (cat. no. 25). Its date, function and identification were all established by *sijill* evidence, but since it has a similar layout to the other *khalwas* in the Haram, it is here classified as one of them (see Chapter 36 under *Khalwas*). In support of this decision, to my knowledge there is no comparable building in Hebron, Nablus or Jerusalem which is not considered to be a *khalwa*. There are 15 *khalwas* on the Haram for non-residential students, and this small building fits into this category. Unlike the students, the *shaikh* was permitted to live in certain of the cells, for example in Hujrat Muhammad Agha (cat. no. 20), but there is no evidence that he did so in al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya. There is, at least, no mention in the *waqfiyya* of the *shaikh's* residence, although the lower chamber corresponds to similar rooms inhabited by the *shaikh* in Hujrat Muhammad Agha. It is possible that the use of the cells as a residence may explain why some *khalwas* came to be known by the name of the *shaikh*.

Site and brief description (figs. 25.1-25.6, pls. 25.1-25.7)

Al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya is the only building constructed to the east of the Dome of the Rock between the eastern colonnade and the north-eastern corner of the terrace. It is a free-standing structure on two levels, each consisting of two units. It is built in a variety of coloured stone—yellow, red, and white—that has unfortunately weathered to black or grey. It faces across the terrace to the north-eastern façade of the Dome of the Rock. The lower floor has a rectangular room with a high tunnel vault, and next to it there is another small chamber of similar shape. The upper storey also contains a larger room, but this is square in plan and covered by a hemispherical dome, and is preceded by a smaller antechamber. This upper storey is constructed on the level of the upper terrace.

History

Al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya is not dated by foundation inscription nor, as far as it has been possible to establish, does it appear in any contemporary travel account. It is ignored by modern scholars apart from al-'Asali (1981: 292), who thought that the structure had been obliterated. Here again the *waqfiyya*, recently discovered

in the *sijills*, plays a major role in providing the data hitherto lacking on the monument. The unpublished *waqf* instrument of al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya is to be found in Sijill 85 which includes the proceedings for the year 1013/1606. The *waqfiyya* is dated 15 Ramadan of that year, and is made up of two long pages with a total of 66 lines with an average of 25 words to each line. It is written in a beautiful, lucid Ottoman *naskhi* hand. As was the custom, the *waqfiyya* is divided into three main sections. The first is a foreword that takes up almost half of the *waqfiyya* (thirty-one lines out of sixty-six). It is floridly written, with rhetoric extolling religious teaching, encouraging in nature and concentrating on the rewards which await the patrons of charities in the afterlife. The second section provides vital information about the donor's identity, the endowments which he made together with details of their features and their physical borders, the financial arrangements and the stipulations of the *waqf*. The third section contains the donor's formal refutation of his *waqf* in the court before its final validation, and then a declaration that the endowment was charitable and valid. It ends with a long list of witnesses and certification as to the legality of the *waqf*. It is the second section that is most relevant to us here, and it is in consequence cited fully; the complete Arabic text of the *waqfiyya* is transcribed in Cat. Appendix 2, no. 25.

Identification

The *waqfiyya* is quite explicit with regard to the site and internal arrangement of the *madrassa*. The entry in Sijill 85: 41 states that 'Ahmad Pasha has declared in the council of the religious court that he has constructed the impressive and high-quality *madrassa* in the city of Jerusalem. It is located between the Mastabat al-Karak and the outer stairway to the east of the Sanctuary of the Noble Rock. The *madrassa* includes a small chamber; next to it there is a water cistern, and in front of the chamber there is a small garden. Above the said chamber, there is a big chamber (*bait kabir*) called *darskhana* (school-room); it is fronted by a portico (*suffa*) made up of three domes together with a vestibule covered by a dome. The *madrassa* is so famous that its borders do not need to be specified or (further) described.'

Date

The *madrassa* itself is undated, but the date of the *waqfiyya*, as stated above, is 15 Ramadan 1013/4 February 1604.

The founder

The founder of the *madrassa* was Ahmad Pasha ibn Ridwan Pasha ibn Mustafa Pasha. For his biography and details of his works in Jerusalem see cat. no. 22 above.

Endowment

According to the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 85: 42) Ahmad Pasha, the donor, made as *waqf* for the benefit of al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya the whole house which he had purchased from the ladies 'A'isha and Fatima, daughters of al-Hajj Hasan. The house was situated in the Bab Hitta district, and comprised three levels. The lower level included stables and three chambers with a courtyard, whereas the middle level consisted of five chambers, a courtyard, a water cistern near the staircase, and a latrine. The final, upper level was made up of three connected chambers with a courtyard and two latrines. In the corner of the courtyard there was another chamber. The house was bordered to the south by the Noble Haram, to the east by Madrasa Jauliyya, and to the north and west by the passable road (*al-tariq al-salk*).

Personnel and maintenance

The donor stipulated that the house should be leased according to the correct legal rent, which amounted to 1,000 silver *misriyya* per year. From the income mentioned, 'Ala' al-Din al-Niyazi — the caretaker — had to allocate the money needed for the following:

<i>Position-expenditure</i>	<i>Silver misriyya per year</i>
Salary for the teacher (<i>mudarris</i>)	500
Stipend for 4 students (50 per person)	200
Salary for someone to provide the illumination (<i>sha'al</i>)	20
Oil and mat	80
Any surplus to be kept for restoration and maintenance	200
Total	1000

The donor made it a condition that the teacher and the four students were to meet and study 'religious science' and the 'important arts' (*al-'ulum al-mu'tabara al-shar'iyya wa 'l-funun al-muhimma al-mar'iyya*) in the specified *madrasa* on certain days. They were to pray for him and for his ancestors. Ahmad Pasha stipulated that the position of teacher and inspector of the *waqf* should be given to the best and most pious scholar of the age. The donor assigned *maulana* (our master) *al-shaikh* Ishaq ibn Abu 'l-Lutf, the *mufti* of the Shafi'i sect in Jerusalem, for as long as he lived, to take the position, and after him the *qadi* of Jerusalem.

Architecture

Exterior

There are slight differences in the fenestration of the four external walls of the *madrasa* but otherwise they are similar. The jambs and arches of the windows are built with *ablaq* stone of red, black and white, and both lintels and sills are of white marble. The quality of the stone is high and it has been finely cut and dressed. The courses are carefully arranged with the larger stones set in the lower sections of the walls; some of these measure as much as 40cm in height and 1.92m in width. The joints are also very thin which is a sure indication of skilful craftsmanship. A chamfered string course marks the separation of the two storeys of the *madrasa* to north, south and east. The western façade is the exception, for it consists of a single storey only, being built at the level of the upper terrace.

This western façade, which is the main one, is marked by a vertical division between the wall of the main upper chamber, and the entrance to the antechamber. The building at this level was once preceded by a portico (as specified in the *waqfiyya*) with three domed bays, but this has since disappeared. Doubtless it was designed as the main decorative scheme of the façade. Now the façade consists of three pointed arches visible within the masonry, the spaces between them blocked by stones of a different colour. The central arch contains a large rectangular window (96cm wide by 1.63m high), fitted with an iron grille and a wire mesh grille. It is set within a 'frame' made up of a slightly recessed rectangular panel that reaches from the level of the dais to the beginning of the springing of the arch. Surrounding this panel on all sides there runs a narrow roll moulding. The window itself has a white marble sill and lintel cut from single blocks of stone, while its jambs are built in *ablaq* masonry of red and white. Above the lintel there is a shallow relieving arch of joggled voussoirs, the keystone being in the form of a debased 'cup', which is called elsewhere in this study (cat. no. 22) a *qandil* or *mishka*. This design was universally used in the Mamluk period to

denote the status of the founder and its use here seems to be another example of the fashion for a Mamluk revival. Three identical impostes are still *in situ* to mark where the arches once began; the bottom of each is decorated by two tiers of five lancet niches to form a minimal *muqarnas*. As already stated, the colour of the stones of the spandrels between the three arches is different from the rest of the façade, and here the building ends without the cornice that encircles it everywhere else. These details in addition to the still existing stone dais in front of the building at this point are the material witness to the portico described in the document. The dais measures 2.15m wide by 5.8m long. A hemispherical dome sits directly above the main chamber; it is covered in small flagstones and terminates in a very short stone finial which probably was once longer.

To the north, the entrance to the vestibule cuts into the final arch. It comprises a high arch with a horse-shoe profile. Directly above the apex of the arch is the projecting cornice.

The decorative scheme of the upper parts of the three other elevations of al-Madrasa al-Ahmadiyya to south, east and north are similar in that each has a rectangular window with identical dimensions, sills, jambs, and iron grilles. The only variation is that the window in the southern elevation is set into a recessed rectangular panel and it has a shallow relieving arch of joggled voussoirs over the lintel. The lower parts of the three elevations are similarly unbroken masonry, again with the exception of those to south and north which contain doors. The entrance to the south takes the form of a pointed arch. This is surmounted by a double tier of voussoirs and it gives access to the interior of the lower storey. To the north and east the lower walls of the vestibule are built with the same high-quality masonry as the upper level.

The northern elevation is partly obscured by the walls of the vestibule. Its doorway is rectangular, measuring 68cm wide by 1.5m high. It too is surmounted by a slab lintel and above there is an arch made up of three blocks. A stone staircase of 16 steps (each 1.13m wide by 21cm high) with a landing in the middle and at the end connects the two levels of the Haram esplanade. The staircase, which is protected by a stone parapet, is adjacent to the vestibule and is supported by a huge semicircular arch.

Interior

The entrance to the vestibule is raised 28cm above the level of the upper terrace. The antechamber itself is rectangular in plan, measuring 1.76m wide by 2.56m long, and the floor is paved in white stone slabs of different sizes, the largest one measuring 45cm wide by 90cm long. The walls of the vestibule display several types of chisel marks which would suggest different phases of repair or construction. Some of the stones in the eastern wall are crudely cut, probably indicating that it was once plastered. An off-centre blind niche (60cm wide by 1.07m high by 30cm deep) is situated in the centre of this wall, but its purpose is uncertain. A door in the north side of the vestibule, measuring 73cm wide by 1.46m high, and facing the door of the main chamber, acts as a connection between the two levels of the Haram esplanade. It is surmounted by a lintel, and directly above it there is a string course of joggled voussoirs. The vestibule is roofed by a cross vault with a small eight-ribbed saucer dome set in the centre. It is plastered, probably because it is constructed from rubble stone and it was the normal finish, both to give added strength and for the sake of appearance. A rectangular door (91cm by 1.6m high) giving onto the main chamber is set within a slightly recessed panel. The door itself is surmounted by a slab lintel, and directly

above this there is a shallow relieving arch of joggled *ablaq* voussoirs which echo the *ablaq* masonry of the jambs. Both this detail and the recessed panel recall the detailing of the windows in the eastern and southern façades and demonstrate the skill of the builder.

The interior of the main chamber is very simple, as in the majority of the *khalwas* on the Haram. It is square in plan, and retains the old flagstones of red and black. It is covered by a dome expressed on the exterior as a hemisphere. There is no intervening drum, the necessary circle being achieved by a transitional zone of pendentives in the four corners. There are four identical windows, one in each side of the chamber, each 96cm wide by 1.63m high by 64cm deep, and surmounted by a pointed arch. They begin just above floor level at a height of 13cm. Each window is flanked by two blind recessed niches except that to the north, which has a single niche to the west. The niches all share

the dimensions of 76cm wide by 1.15m high by 40cm deep, again with the exception of that to the north which is only 70cm wide, and the northern niche of the western wall which measures 45cm wide by 75cm high. The walls are very thick (approximately 85cm) and are plastered, as is the interior of the dome.

The interior of the lower part of the *madrasa* is on a level with the Haram esplanade. It is a rectangular chamber, recently paved and covered by a tunnel vault. Both the walls and the vault have been recently plastered. At the end of the chamber on the west there is a blind niche surmounted by a pointed arch which is 2m wide by 1.9m high by 1.23m deep, set 30cm above floor level. It houses the well-head of one of the Haram cisterns. In addition to the main room, the lower storey also has a small rectangular chamber below the vestibule. This too has a tunnel vault, and two small niches, one in the south-western corner and the second in the centre of the north wall.

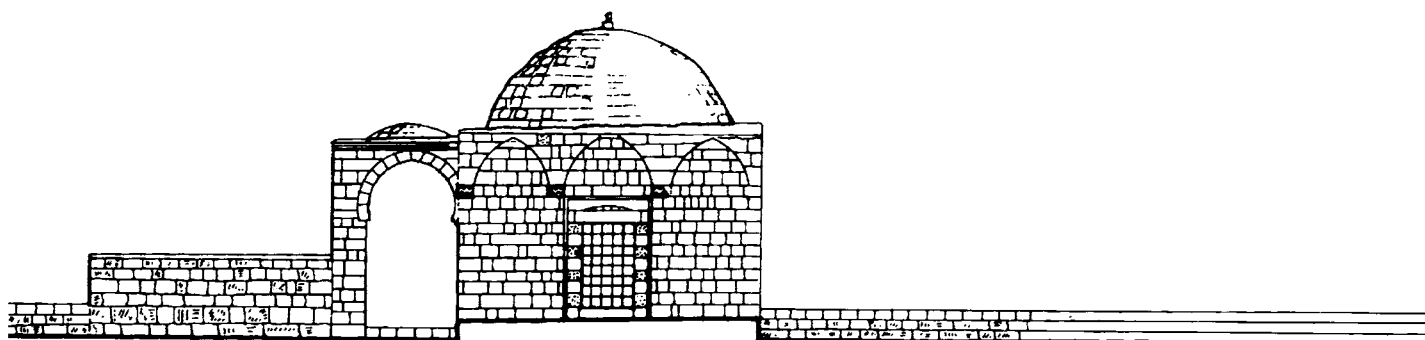


Fig. 25.1 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, west elevation.

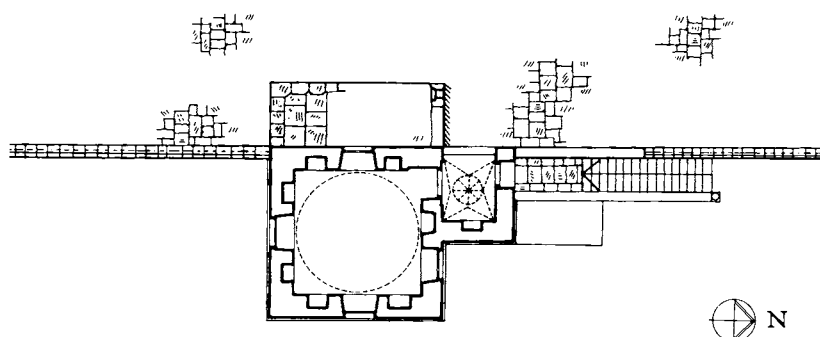


Fig. 25.2 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, ground-floor plan.

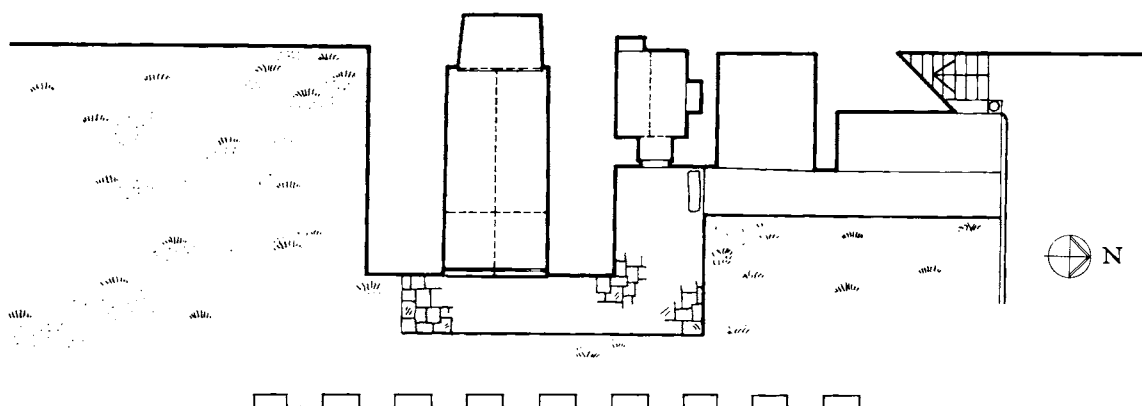


Fig. 25.3 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, basement plan.

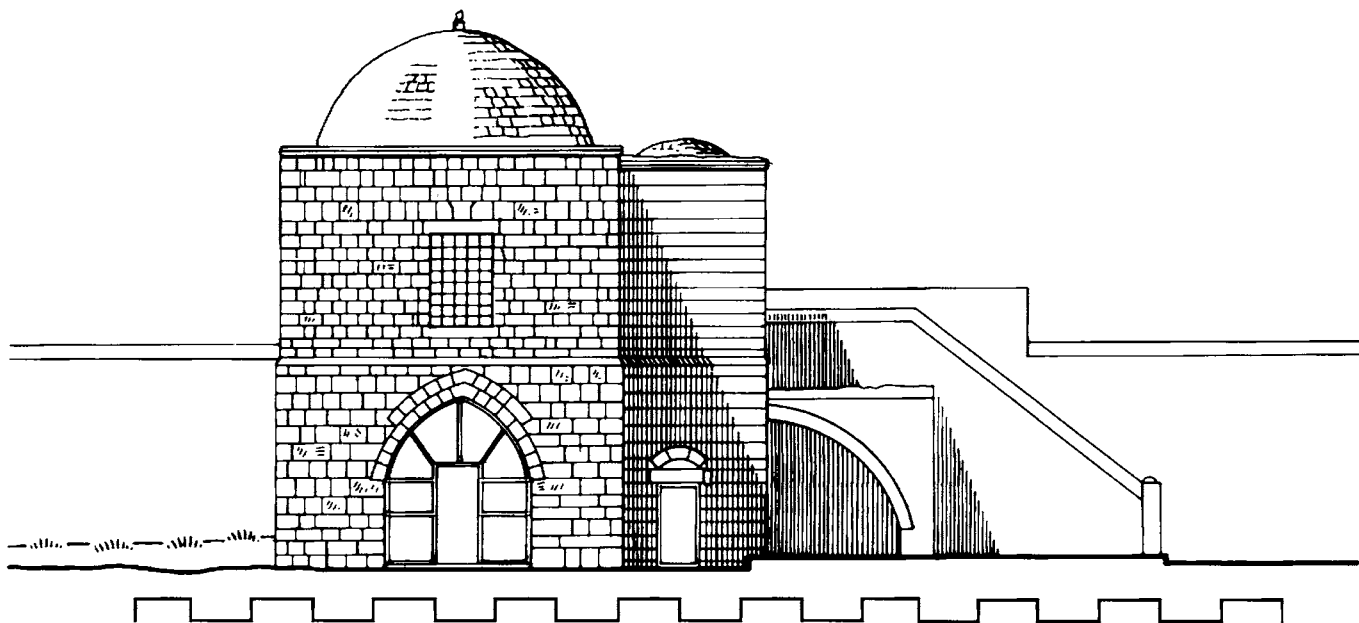


Fig. 25.4 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, east elevation.

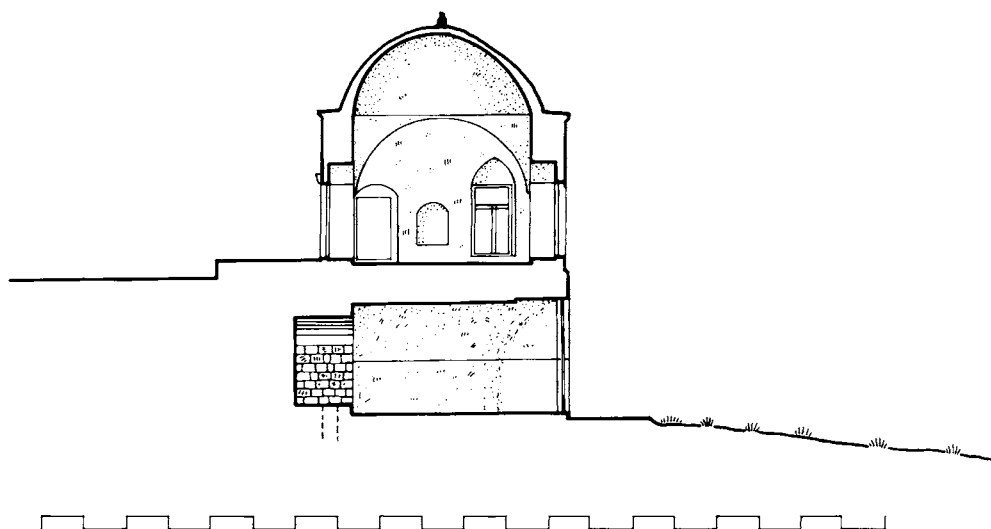


Fig. 25.5 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, west-east section.

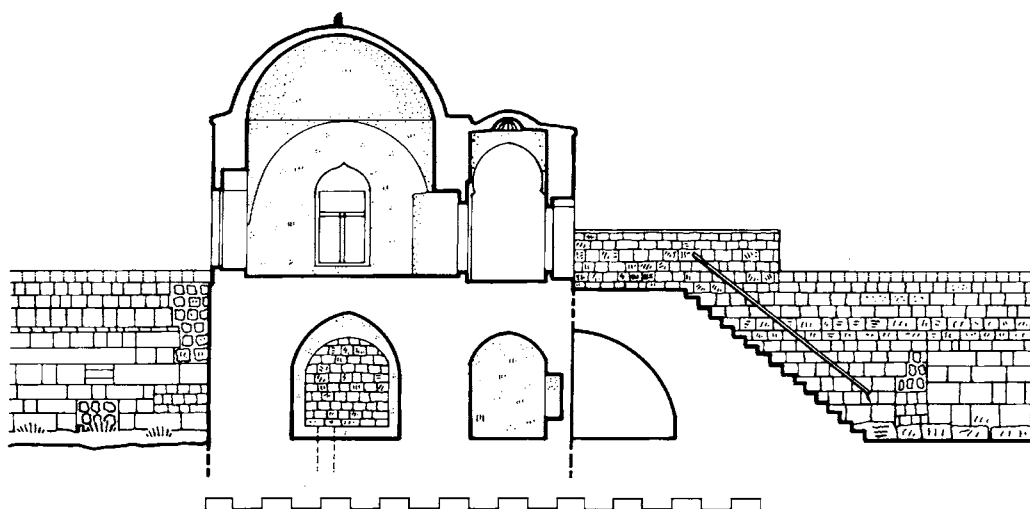
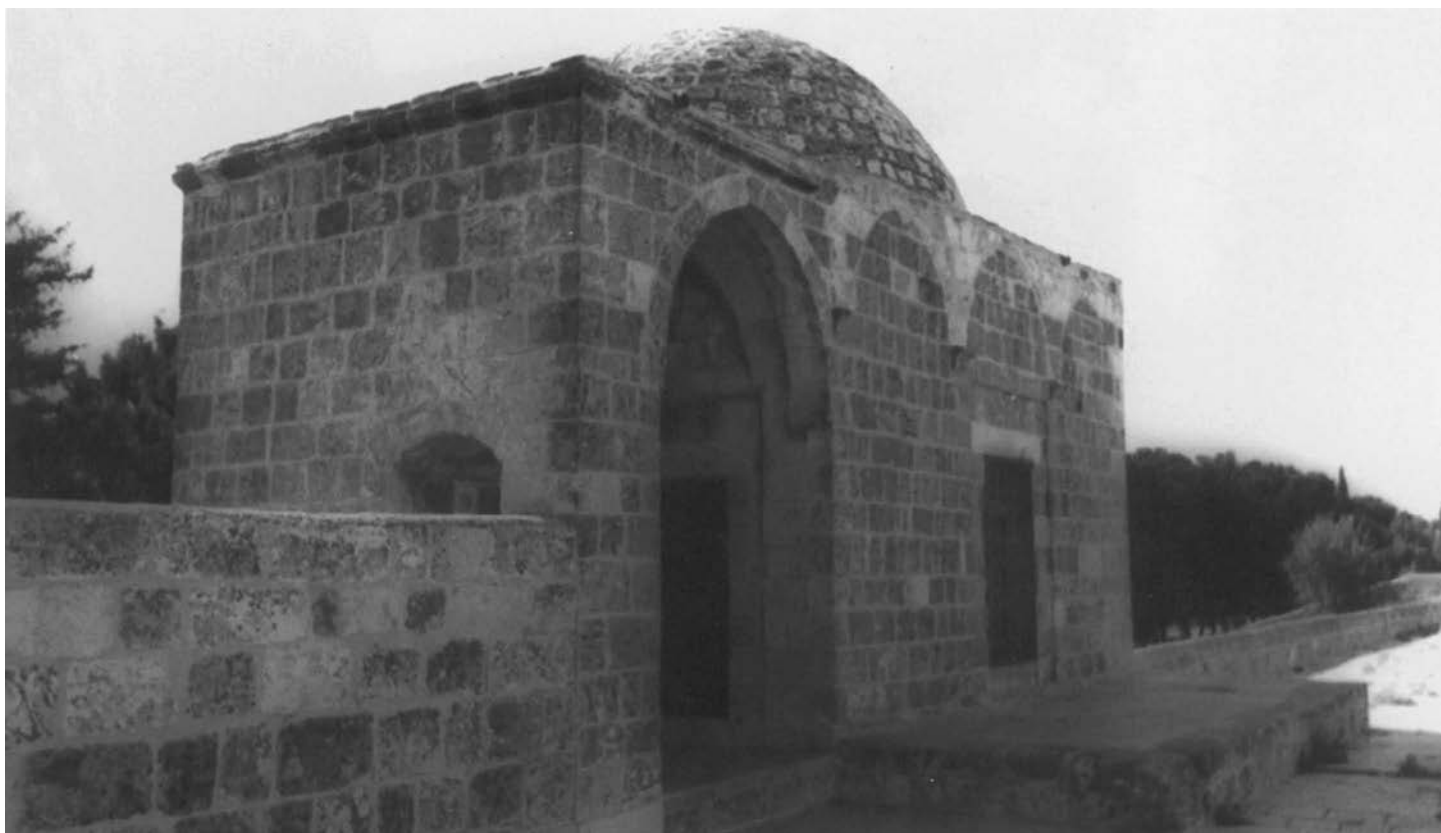


Fig. 25.6 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, north-south section.



Pl. 25.1 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, north and west façades.



Pl. 25.2 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, west façade, vestibule.



Pl. 25.3 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, west façade, window.



Pl. 25.4 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, stairs to lower level.



Pl. 25.5 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, south façade.



Pl. 25.7 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, north and east façades.



Pl. 25.6 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha, buttressing under stairs with cell beneath.

26 MI'DHANAT AL-QAL'A

Name: Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a (The Minaret of the Citadel)

Date: The date of construction is unknown; it was restored in 1065/1655.

Endowment: None known

Variants of name: It is known as either 'Mi'dhanat' or 'Manarat al-Qal'a'. In the Auqaf file no. 3/17/30 the *mi'dhanat* was attributed to the mosque of the Citadel rather than to the Citadel itself.

Location:

The minaret is located inside the Citadel; it rises above the north-western corner of the south-western tower, near the south wall of the Citadel mosque.

Site and brief description (figs. 26.1-26.3, pls. 26.1-26.6)

The Citadel is situated in the south-western quarter of the Old City, next to the Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil). A moat surrounds it on three sides, the fourth being defended by the city wall. The structure incorporates remnants from numerous periods of the occupation of the city, from the Roman period to modern times. One of the elements of the Citadel that dates to the Ottoman period is the minaret that rises close to the Citadel mosque. It has a cylindrical shaft, and consists of three distinct parts—the plinth, the shaft, and the lantern. Today the Citadel is known as the 'Tower of David' and houses the Museum of the History of Jerusalem; it is open to the public.

History

Identification

Although the minaret was already in existence (see below under Date) when Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 66, 68) visited Jerusalem in 1083/1672, he made no mention of it, despite other valuable information on the Citadel and its mosque contained in his account. However, the fact that he included a *mu'adhdhin* among those then living in the Citadel would seem to suggest the possibility of the existence of a minaret from which the call to prayer would be made. An inscription plaque which records its restoration in the 17th century, as well as the architectural design (see below) secures the identification of the minaret as belonging to the Ottoman period.

Date

The minaret has no construction date, but since Sultan Sulaiman I (927-74/1520-66) made remarkable contributions in the way of building projects in Jerusalem in general, and in the Citadel in particular, it is possible that the minaret was first constructed during his reign. So far this assumption lacks firm evidence, but there is a panel commemorating the restoration of the minaret and inscribed with the date 1065/1655. It is not easy to be specific as to the nature of the restoration work owing to the lack of written records; and it is not enough either to rely on purely architectural speculation, for many of the features that occur in the minaret are used throughout the Ottoman period. The restoration panel is on the north wall of the plinth, three courses below the transition zone from the square to the cylinder. It is of white marble measuring 50cm by 40cm, and it consists of four lines of Ottoman Turkish written in *ta'liq*. The script is slender

and is set in four cartouches; it is almost invisible from ground level. The inscription, in bastardised Turkish, is transcribed by van Berchem (1922-7: 165-66), who notes that it gives the information that 'the *silahdar* Muhammad ordered built (or restored) in 1065/1655 a minaret of fine construction in the oratory (*maqam*) of Lord (*hadra*) David (Da'ud).'

The inscription reads as follows:

'The possessor of wealth, piety and generosity,
The recipient of God's gifts and of His approval—
A man of noble qualities and doer of good works,
That is, Silahdar Muhammad Pasha,
on the site of the Prophet David
Has built an elegant gallery
[He wrote down the date of the minaret].
Silahdar Muhammad Pasha built [it]
[In the] year 1065.'

Founder

The founder of the Minaret of al-Qal'a is unknown, but taking into consideration circumstantial evidence it seems probable that the founder was Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni, for the Citadel was a main focus for Ottoman repairs and construction. These repairs started before the reign of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni; they continued throughout it and intermittently thereafter, but the majority of the work—and certainly the most important part of it—was carried out under the patronage of Sulaiman himself in 938/1531-2. These parts include the repair of the wall and the moat, the construction of a summer mosque (cat. no. 27) and the rebuilding of the outer eastern entrance of the Citadel (for further details, see Ch. 36 under 'The Citadel'). If one recalls the overall works which have earned Sulaiman the reputation of a great restorer of the city (Meinecke 1988: 268-69), the prominent location of the Citadel, and the fact that it houses the only Friday mosque in the city other than the Aqsa Mosque, the most reasonable conclusion that presents itself is that the Minaret of al-Qal'a was constructed in the time of Sultan Sulaiman. Further support for this conclusion is to be found in its many architectural and decorative features which recur in the architecture of the 16th century. In particular, Turkish triangles are not found in any minaret in Jerusalem which dates to the Mamluk period, and can therefore be used as a dating control. This feature, along with cylindrical shafts and friezes of counterchange joggling, was evolved, it seems, in the Ottoman period—at least in Jerusalem. For more details, see Ch. 36 under 'Minarets' and especially Table 36.13 which details the architectural features of Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem.

Later period

As is clear from their location inside the Citadel, the mosque and minaret were intended for use by the soldiers stationed there rather than by the general public. Evliya Çelebi described the situation at the time of his visit to Jerusalem in 1083/1672 thus: '... In the citadel lives the commandant (*dizdar*), the governor's agent (*kekhyā*), an *imam*, a preacher, a *muezzin* and soldiers' (Stephan 1980: 66). Little is known about the later history of the minaret. It seems, however, that precautionary measures were taken, probably at some time during the 19th century, to strengthen the shaft by surrounding it with three iron bands. During the 20th century, its maintenance came under different

authorities, repair work being undertaken in 1940 and 1956.¹

Architecture

The minaret is entirely built of cut white stone of both square and rectangular blocks. These differ in size and chiselling technique from those used for the construction of the Citadel and for the tower on which the minaret stands, the masonry of the minaret being both smaller and finer than that of the rest of the Citadel. The Minaret of al-Qal'a has three main parts—a plinth that is square in plan, a cylindrical shaft subdivided into three by different ring mouldings, and a domed cylindrical *sham'a* (pinnacle) which is thinner and shorter than the shaft.

The four sides of the plinth measure some 3m by 3m and are 5m high. It is tucked into the north-western corner of the tower, and the south and west sides of the plinth merge into the corresponding walls of the tower. Access to the entrance is from the roof of the mosque by way of a staircase with sixteen steps. The only entrance to the minaret is on the south side of the plinth. The opening is rectangular and measures 64cm wide by 1.52m high, and it is surmounted by a slab lintel measuring 89cm wide by 45cm high. It gives immediately onto a spiral staircase of forty steps which rotates round a cylindrical stone core. The staircase finishes at the gallery for the *mu'adhdhin*, access to which is through a flat-topped doorway measuring 56cm wide by 1.45m high. A buttress spans the area between the east side of the plinth and the east side of the tower to give added support and to withstand the outward thrust of the minaret. The buttress is not integrated into the body of the plinth, which suggests that it is a later addition, as is the wall which abuts the entrance to the east. The tops of the four corners of the plinth are rounded to form four 'convex pendentive triangles', the architectural function of these triangles being to transform the cube of the base by way of an implied octagon into a circle from which the cylindrical shaft can rise. This transition zone closely resembles the one in the Minaret of Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), and differs slightly from that of the minarets of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3) and of al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19). The plinth is undecorated apart from the panel with the inscription which has already been discussed above.

A roll moulding with a double *cyma recta* profile separates the plinth from the main cylindrical shaft of the minaret. The shaft is divided into three storeys by two further mouldings—the first a billet and the second a roll moulding. A fourth moulding, of roll type, frames the top of the third story where the transition to the gallery and lantern occurs. The lowest division is the tallest. It has eleven courses measuring some 3m in height in total. At the level of the third course there is an iron band, which encircles the shaft to strengthen it, placed there during the 19th century (see above). Directly above this level on the north side, there is an circular stone window.

[Editorial note: Around this oculus, there is carved decoration in the form of six interlocking circles set within a

circular frame. Each strand of the design is marked by two grooves. The use of six interlocking circles is also found in two roundels of al-'Imara al-Amira, nos. 1 and 5, see cat. no. 15. At top and bottom the strands of the pattern surrounding the window twist to form a small circle which links the design to the outer frame. This use of small connecting circles is well known in Islamic art, and was particularly popular in the Mamluk period (see, for example, Atil 1982: 46-7, no. 9; 98, no. 31; 102-3, no. 35). In Jerusalem it is found on al-Almalikiyya (Burgoyne 1987: pl. 26.2) a site where, interestingly enough, the device of six interlocking circles is also found (Burgoyne 1987: fig. 26.7). SA]

A stone billet moulding runs around the shaft eight courses above the lower moulding, marking the visual centre of the shaft. The area is further distinguished by a course of relief-carved alternating knots and trefoils with extended stems (fig. 26/6; pl. 26/6).

[Editorial note: The minaret, which is otherwise plain, is distinguished by the three successive areas of paired mouldings and by this elegant band of decoration, which lifts the construction above the norm for Ottoman Jerusalem. The position of the ornamental band is emphasised by the protruding denticulation above it. The design consists of knots—which are reminiscent of the single example found above the door to the mosque of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35)—which are here topped by a trefoil. The bifurcated strands that make up each knot are carved with a central groove to heighten the visual impact. This is also true of the trefoil 'finials', which are gently concave. Between each knot there is a single trefoil on a long stem, which acts as a framing device for the knots. Each stem is carved with two deep vertical striations and, in addition to being concave, the central leaf of the trefoil has an inner 'pearl'. This detailing is very close indeed to that of the trefoil finials which decorate the inscription panels on the walls of the city. These inscriptions both name the patron as Sultan Sulaiman and date the restoration of the sections of wall (van Berchem 1923: 431-44) and the fact that the details of the ornamental band on the minaret of the Citadel and the inscription plaques on the walls are so close adds credence to the suggestion that the minaret was founded in the time of Sultain Sulaiman. SA].

Immediately below the carved decoration there is one of a number of slit window openings to allow light and ventilation into the interior. This one has an ogival apex with a slight return at the springing of the arch; the profile of this elegant top is marked by a groove running parallel to it. The middle and upper storeys of the minaret are featureless apart from a further roll moulding, this time faceted and decorated with incised triangles arranged as hexagons.

[Editorial note: Once again this detail points not only to a 16th-century date, but to a royal patron. Precisely the same treatment of an ornamental band is found used as a frame on the southern façade of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15). One way to read the design of the moulding is to see the surface as being carved with a succession of contiguous hexagons. These are subdivided by lines in relief which connect the points of the geometric figure. Each triangle thus created is cut away, leaving the bones of the design in relief. Interpreted in this way, the design links to the *khatam sulaiman* (Chapter 24). Another way of reading the design is to analyse it as a succession of diapers or lozenges, cut across the centre by a continuous line. On the hexagon and its use in Islamic design, see El-Said and Parman 1976: 50-81. SA]

This band acts as a break between the two upper levels,

¹ During the British Mandate, the Citadel was under the authority of the District Commission of Jerusalem (File DHA 80/1.61/40/13: 2). In 1359/1940 the Supreme Muslim Council (File DHA 90/1.61/40/13, 1, 2) approved 'necessary repairs' (which were not further specified) at a maximum cost of P£12. These repairs must therefore have been very minor. From 1948-67, the Citadel served as a military position for the Royal Jordanian Army (File 3/17/30/1). In 1375/1956 the walls were repointed, the stone parapet of the circular gallery renewed and six stones of the jamb of the door of the minaret leading to the gallery were replaced at a cost of DJ51 (File 3/17/30.5-7).

each of which is supported by an iron band. Each level also has a further slit opening. The shaft is topped with a simple roll moulding. There is no corbel *muqarnas* to support the gallery, as in the minarets of al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3) and al-Nabi Da'ud (cat. no. 1), or even a simple corbel as in the minaret of al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19). The gallery for the call to prayer is set immediately over the apex of the shaft; it has a new stone parapet (74cm high) and a simple iron fence added in 1375/1956 by the Supreme Muslim Council (Auqaf File 3/17/30, 5-7). The gallery is not sheltered in any way. The newness of the parapet and the absence of corbel or *muqarnas* might indicate a rebuilding, although there is no information as to this in the relevant Auqaf file.

The final part of the minaret is the *sham'a* (pinnacle), which is also cylindrical but shorter and thinner than the main part of the shaft. It rises directly from the gallery and is built of small blocks of masonry of the same quality as the main fabric of the minaret. The *sham'a* consists of two parts separated by a stone roll-moulding. The lower level (2.05m high) acts as a support for the upper level which is crowned by a small pointed turret. The unusual form of the pinnacle might also point to a rebuilding and there are blocks of black concrete scattered throughout the inside of the turret. The culminating accent is a metal finial with an open crescent which faces east-west.



Pl. 26.1 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, south façade.

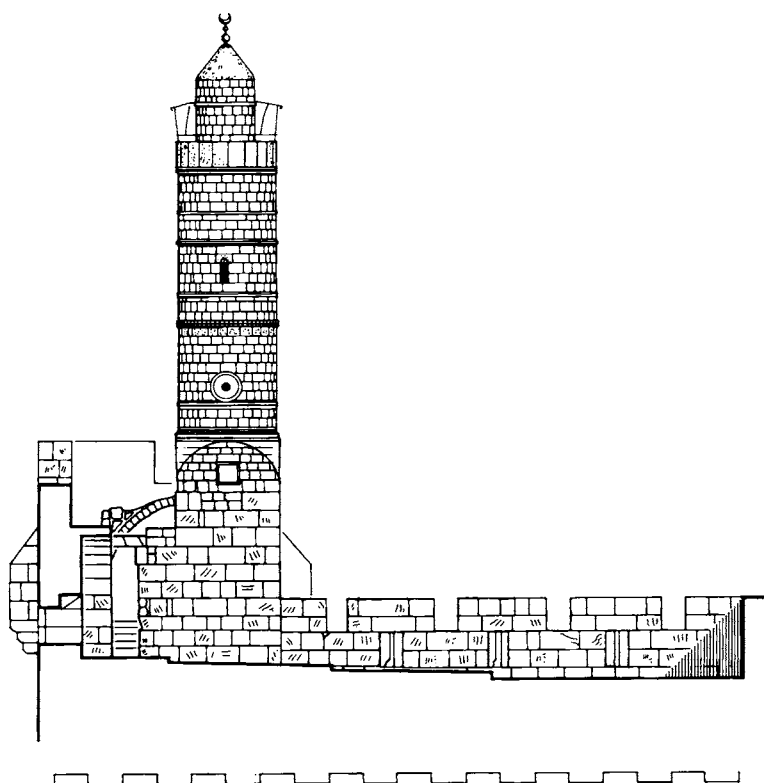


Fig. 26.1 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, north façade.

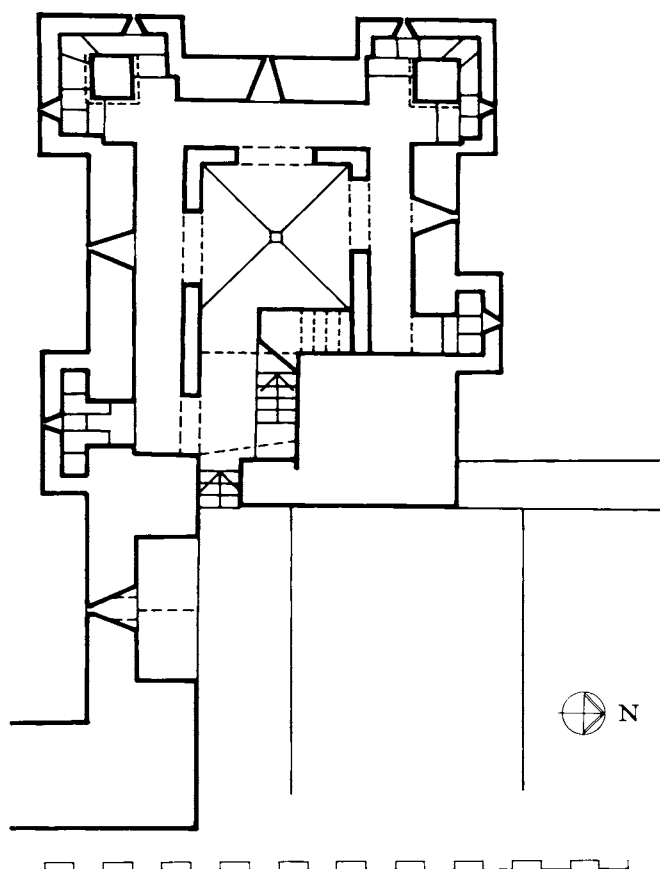


Fig. 26.2 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, plan of lower level.

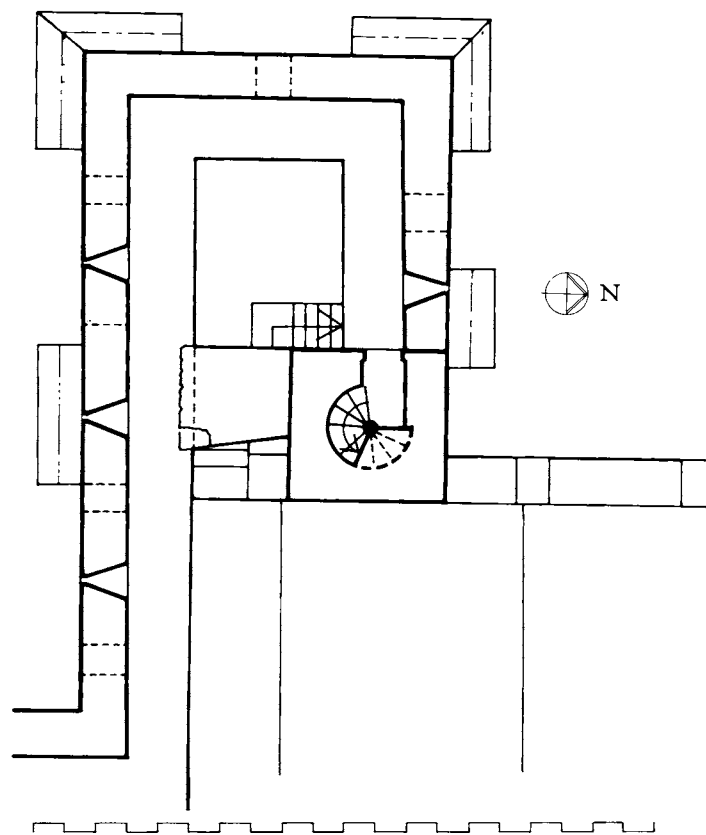


Fig. 26.3 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, plan of upper level.



Pl. 26.2 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, exterior view showing inscription panel.



Pl. 26.3 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, base of minaret, showing attached buttress.



Pl. 26.4 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, upper part of shaft, showing decorative band.



Pl. 26.5 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, detail of decorative band and window.



Pl. 26.6 Mi'dhanat al-Qal'a, decorative roundel with central oculus.

27 MASJID AL-SAIF

Name: Masjid al-Saif (The Summer Mosque)

Date: (A) The construction is undated, but the *mihrab* bears the name of Sulaiman. It was probably built in 938/1531-2 when Sultan Sulaiman ordered a major restoration of the Citadel.

(B) Restored in 1151/1738-9.

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: Van Berchem (1922: 149, n. 2) identified the site as a possible *musalla*

Modern name: Masjid al-Saif

Location:

The mosque is situated to the south of the complex, between the moat and the main eastern entrance of the Citadel.

Site and brief description (fig. 27.1, pls. 27.1-27.5)

The *masjid* is an open-air praying area (*musalla*), situated between the outer and the inner wall of the Citadel. It is bordered to the north by the bridge which connects the two walls; to the west, to the south and to the east it is flanked by the moat that surrounds the Citadel on the east and the north. A simple rectangular door gives access to a narrow passage that leads to an almost rectangular open site now divided into two sections. A *mihrab* niche facing south is built in the centre of the southern wall, and is flanked on either side by a stone battlement.

History

Identification

The Masjid al-Saif is identified as dating to the Ottoman period by two inscription plaques. The first is a roundel bearing a blazon that records the name of Sultan Sulaiman I (926-74/1519-66/7). Although the roundel does not carry a date, it is most probably to be associated with the construction of the site. The second plaque is a restoration text dated 1151/1738-9.

Date

(A) The first inscription, which is in Arabic, is engraved on the keystone of the arch of the *mihrab* niche. It appears on a roundel measuring 20cm in diameter and it is made up of three lines of a fine, Ottoman *naskh* with some diacritical points. The roundel is divided into three horizontal sections in a style reminiscent of the typical Mamluk blazon.¹ Between each line, and surrounding the area of the inscription, a plain fillet border adds emphasis and dignity to the plaque. The word *'izza* (glory), which occurs in the first line, is written without an *alif*, as van Berchem (1922: 149) noted when he published the inscription. The translation runs thus:

The Sultan Sulaiman—may God render him a glorious victory.

Although the inscription is undated, it is probable that the summer mosque was built by Sulaiman in the year 938/1531-2, when the citadel underwent a large-scale restoration programme.

Part of the work included the construction of the outer gate and the bridge across the moat (see van Berchem 1922: 147, 149, 150-1).

The second inscription is a restoration text dated to 1151/1738-9, as stated above. The slab is of *malaki* stone, measuring 39cm wide and 58cm high, situated above the door of the entrance to the mosque. It is made up of six verses written in Ottoman Turkish. The verses are divided in half, each hemistich being set in a rectangular cartouche. From the fourth line onwards a fillet separates each hemistich. The script is a fine, compressed Ottoman *naskh* with diacritical and auxiliary points. A verse of the Qur'an (XI: 116) is at the head of the inscription, equivalent in depth to two of the lines of the verse below, for it is written in a much larger script and it stretches across the whole width of the slab. The date, which corresponds to the chronogram in the second hemistich of the sixth verse, is inscribed in numbers at the bottom of the sixth line. This inscription was not published by van Berchem, although Stephan (1933: 132-3) both translated and published it. The translation as given by Stephan is as follows:

1. Qur'an XI: 116. Good works drive away evils (Sale).²
2. Thank God this construction has been finished. Its ornamental 'title' is due to the kindness of the exalted personage (*hazret*) of the Agha of the Janissaries.
3. No more are the ornaments and embellishments threatened by ruin. For they have found again the previous balance in his time.
4. How many a prostration and earnest supplication the hearts perform here! He who repairs it from time to time is worthy to be the object of (benedictory) prayers.
5. He who prostrates himself in worship will praise him with a thousand blessings. How excellent a summer mosque! Its star shines bright.
6. The Agha of the Janissaries, the Khasseki 'Ali Agha, repaired (this beautiful mosque for the brethren?)
7. The heart's desire fixed its date with pleasant words: "This mosque has given beauty and splendour at (!) the Gate of the Citadel." Year 1151.'

Founder

As noted above, Sulaiman I (926-74/1519-66/7) is probably the founder of the summer mosque. The Khassaki 'Ali Agha is recorded as the person who undertook the restoration work in 1151/1738-9.

Architecture

A simple door measuring 90cm wide by 1.88m high provides access to the summer mosque. It is placed within a rectangular masonry wall measuring 7.2m long, 2.8m high and 45cm deep. The door is surmounted by a white slab lintel, 20cm by 1.16m, and the restoration plaque described above is placed directly above the lintel. The wall which houses the entrance to the mosque is built of clumsily-dressed small white stones and faces north. This wall is both built and finished in a rough way, and was

¹ The roundel is in principle similar in its design to those bearing Mamluk ranks; there is another roundel on the bridge of the Citadel with the name of Sulaiman that is also close to the blazon with the name of Sultan Qa'itbai (see van Berchem 1922: 149, no. 47).

² Stephan refers here to the George Sale translation of the Qur'an published in London in 1734.

probably rebuilt after 1893 when van Berchem copied the inscription on the *mihrab*. This would explain why van Berchem did not include the inscription over the entrance. The plaster that once covered the stonework has gone.

The entrance leads through a narrow passageway to a rectangular open space now divided into two sections. The first part lies to the east of the passageway. It has recently (1414/1993) undergone fundamental alterations with the aim of converting it into a small garden named after the sponsor of this work, Nessim S Dwek, and has a modern fountain in the centre.

The second part of the open space is the summer mosque itself (the *musalla*) which is located beyond the modern park to the south. The summer mosque has an almost rectangular floor which measures 8.9m wide and 7m long. It is paved with old flagstones and to the west it gives onto a stairway leading down to the lower level of the moat. A circular cistern mouth measuring 50cm in diameter is to be found at ground level to the west, and it is now adjoined by a modern rectangular construction to support a water tap. A masonry parapet topped by irregular battlements of various measurements (see below) runs around the southern and eastern sides of the mosque. The quality of the masonry, the different dressing technique of the stones and the size of the external walls of the southern and eastern walls of the mosque confirm that they were built at a different time from that of the walls of the moat, and in all probability later.

A *mihrab* niche, similar both in its layout and in the stone fabric to the *mihrab* to the rear of Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8) is located in the centre of the south wall. The *mihrab* itself takes the form of an undecorated concave niche measuring 90cm in width, 62cm in depth and 2.1m in height; it is set into a rectangular stone block. This is constructed of ten dressed courses of white *malaki* stone of different sizes. The apex of the *mihrab* is in the form of a semi-dome and is surmounted by a pointed arch, the keystone of which carries the roundel described above with the name of the Sultan Sulaiman I. One course above the roundel, the masonry block is finished by a cornice which projects slightly. The upper sides of the block are flat and without a cornice, and thus give the whole upper level the impression of a rebuilding. One side only now terminates in a joggled merlon, although traces of the base of a similar merlon can still be identified on the opposite side. The west, south and the east sides of the *mihrab* block are simple solid walls with the exception of the masonry merlons decorating those to south and east. It is clear that these two are in secondary use and resemble in shape the merlons that crown the tomb chamber of Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq (built before 800/1398) in the Old City of Jerusalem (see Burgoyne 1978 : 508, pl. 49.4). A rounded concrete summit has been added (probably in the 1950s) to the top of the *mihrab* block and above the battlements, serving not only to support the cresting of the *mihrab* but also as a form of protection.

The *mihrab* block is flanked on either side by masonry battlements, the eastern one measuring 1.8m wide by 90cm deep by 1.58m high, while the western battlements measure 1.36m wide by 1m deep by 1.58 high. The reason for the different measurements is not clear but may indicate a rebuilding.

Features

In the Haram several *mastabas* and *mihrabs* (cat. no. 55) serve as open prayer sites (*musallas*), but none of them is called a *masjid*, the identification given by the restoration inscription (see above) to the *musalla* at the Citadel under discussion here.³ The location of the many sites for prayer within the Haram al-Sharif would

seem to be the reason for not identifying them individually as a *masjid*, for the whole area of the sanctuary is considered by Muslims to be a Holy Mosque blessed by God (Qur'an, Sura XVII: 1). The 'Summer Mosque' in the Citadel is thus unique not only because of its designation—*masjid saifiyya*—but also because of its layout.

The site of the mosque has to be seen as a guardpost for the Citadel because of the presence of the parapet walls with their stone battlements, built above the walls of the moat that surrounds this part of the Citadel. The mosque was probably built on this site in order to allow the soldiers on guard to conduct their prayers while on duty. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the mosque was later restored by 'the Agha of the Janissaries, the Khassaki 'Ali Agha' (see the inscription above). If this is indeed the case, the Summer Mosque was initially intended as a small private place of prayer (that is, not for the public at large) and this, as well as the fact that the mosque was repaired by 'Ali Agha only some forty years after Evliya Çelebi's visit to Jerusalem, may explain why it was not mentioned by him when otherwise he gave so full a description of the Citadel (Stephan 1980: 66-8).

³ Van Berchem (1922-3: 149, n.2) mentions that open prayer sites or *musallas* played an important role in Islam. He states that he hoped to publish the archaeological remains of the *musalla* at Konya together with the rest of the material he had collected on the subject; unfortunately he died before he was able to do so.

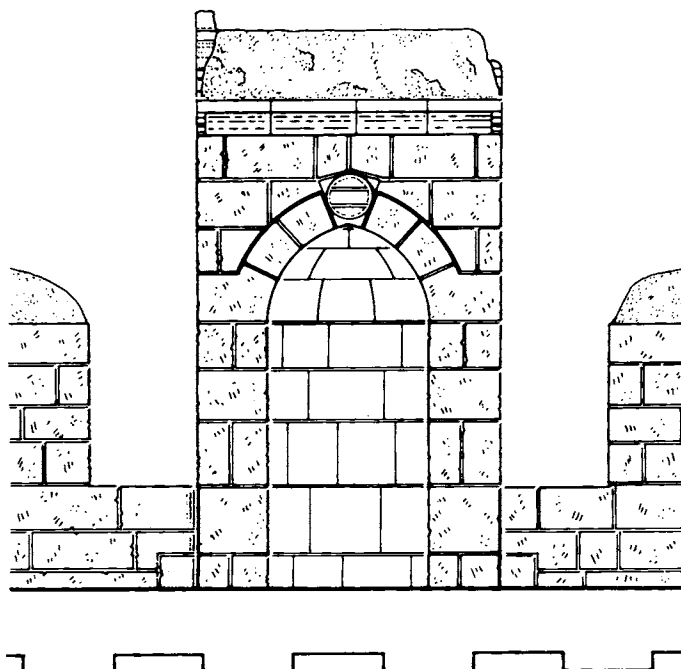


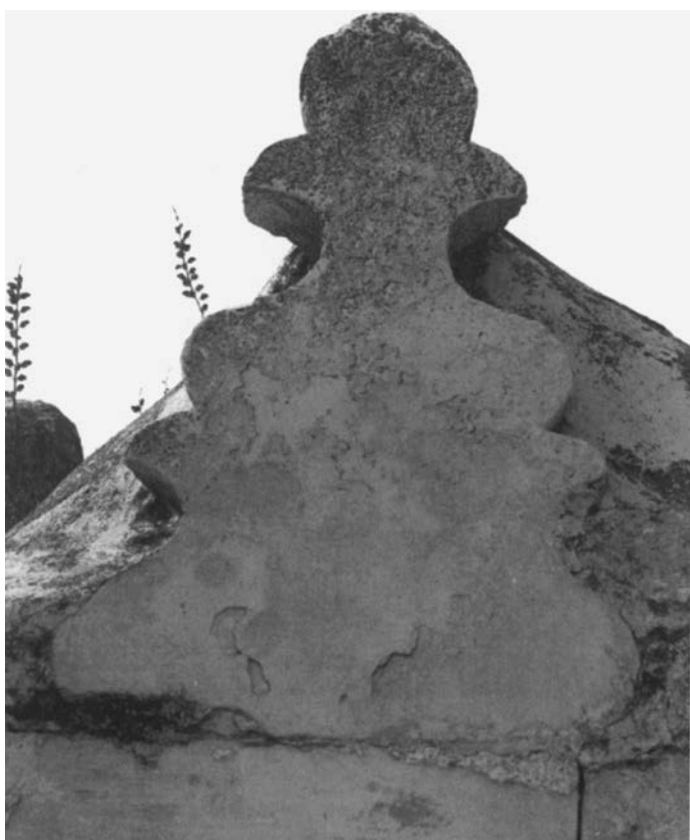
Fig. 27.1 Masjid al-Saif, north elevation.



Pl. 27.1 Masjid al-Saif, *mihrab* sideview.



Pl. 27.3 Masjid al-Saif, *mihrab* façade showing inscription of Sulaiman al-Qanuni.



Pl. 27.2 Masjid al-Saif, detail of side elevation.



Pl. 27.4 Masjid al-Saif, roundel with inscription of Sulaiman al-Qanuni.



Pl. 27.5 Masjid al-Saif, restoration inscription.

28 AL-MADRASA AL-MAWARDIYYA (RASASIYYA)

Name: al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya

Date: Undated, believed to belong to the late Mamluk period

Endowment: See below

Variant of name: Al-‘Arif (1961: 307), Burgoyne (1971: 23), al-‘Asali (1981: 327), Najm *et al* (1983: 360), Bahat (1990: 26) and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 359) all assumed first that the name of the building is al-Madrasa al-Rasasiyya, and second that it forms part of the Ribat Bairam Jawish. In the light of the *sijill* discovery (see cat. no. 11 and below), it has now emerged that both assumptions are incorrect. The name al-Rasasiyya came about because of the lead (*rasas*) plates which were used instead of the more normal mortar to join the courses of masonry. Burgoyne (1971: 24) thought the technique was ‘possibly the result of a scarcity of sand and lime for mortar’. ‘Ribat Bairam Jawish’ and ‘the *masjid* of the *ribat*’ are two other previous names used in the sources quoted above.

Modern names: Madrasa of Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya al-Sina‘iyya.

Location

The building is located on the south side of ‘Aqabat al-Takiyya (formerly al-Sitt), between the Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11) to the east and an anonymous building to the west.

Site and brief description (figs. 28.1–28.9, pls. 28.1–28.10)

The Madrasa al-Mawardiyya contains a very beautiful northern façade which combines two floors, the ground and first floor. The ground level is very simple, comprising an antechamber, two small inaccessible rooms, and a vestibule that leads to the first floor. The upper level is made up of the mosque hall of the *madrasa*, two open courtyards, two large halls, two chambers and two small rooms. There is a further level with two rooms built in the late Ottoman period; these are above the big chamber and the large *iwān* of the first floor and, with many other concrete buildings of a shanty-like character, they form the second floor of the Mawardiyya. The chambers of both levels constitute at present the principal area of the school of Dar al-Itam al-Islamiyya. The Mawardiyya architectural units are sandwiched between Ribat Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 11) and the east part of the complex of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira (Takiyya Khassaki Sultan, cat. no. 15).

History

Identification

According to the published references to it,¹ the Rasasiyya (al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya) is identified as belonging to the Ottoman period. Although some records in the *sijills* (see below) provide important information about the building, its precise identification to the Ottoman period is still not certain. In our opinion, it is probably a late Mamluk structure. The only thing that would argue against its Mamluk provenance would be its location. It is in the heart of the 16th-century Ottoman section of the city, the only Mamluk examples in the area being the Dar and

Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq—a lady, incidentally, who was probably of Turkish origin, according to Burgoyne (1987: 485); moreover the Dar is incorporated into al-‘Imara al-‘Amira complex. A detailed discussion on the date of the building concludes this catalogue entry.

Date

Unfortunately, al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (al-Rasasiyya) is dated neither by epigraphic inscription nor by literary evidence (see below).

The waqf documents

Though the references are very concise, the *sijills* locate the site of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya with precision. In *Sijill* 17: 127 (quoted by al-‘Asali 1989: 122) and *Sijill* 56: 649 it is stated that the Mawardiyya is adjacent to the Ribat Bairam (cat. no. 11). In another record (*Sijill* 7: 348), it mentions that the Mawardiyya is situated in the street of ‘Aqabat al-Sitt in Jerusalem.

Endowments

The few brief entries in the *sijills* make it obvious that a *waqf* had been made for the benefit of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya. Unfortunately, there are no details whatsoever about these endowments, but it is quite clear that they were insubstantial and insufficient for the purpose, because the funding for many necessary repairs had to be borrowed against future income from them. The *sijills* (7: 348, 435; 14: 151) show that al-Hajj Sinan al-Sughanji, who was in charge (*mutakallim*) of al-Mawardiyya, paid 2,000 ‘*uthmani* on 13 Jumada I 942/9 November 1535 for repairs. He paid the sum from his own money provided that he could recoup all of it from the future income of the *madrasa*. It seems, however, that even that money was not enough for all the necessary repairs because Bairam Jawish (see his biography, cat. no. 11), who became the *mutakallim* of the Mawardiyya in Shawwal 944/March 1538, asked the *qadi* for permission to renovate the dome and the vault of the Mawardiyya. Bairam paid 1,600 ‘*uthmani* in accordance with the estimate made by Muslih al-Din al-Mi‘mar (master builder), in addition to the 2,000 ‘*uthmani* already spent by al-Sughanji. The expenditure paid out by Bairam reached a total of 3,600 ‘*uthmani*, and the *qadi* allowed Bairam to recover part of the money from the future income of the endowments, and part by living in the Mawardiyya rent-free. Al-‘Asali (1989: 254) has published a long document (*Sijill* 68: 42) dating from between 995-7/1587-9 containing a schedule of the stipends of the officials and beneficiaries of the religious institutions in Jerusalem. The Mawardiyya is mentioned separately, and the names of Mahmud and his brother Ahmad appear, described as ‘*shaikh*, inspector and door keeper’ for 12 (coins—but no further definition of their value is specified) per day.

A new *waqf* instrument is to be found in *Sijill* 77: 537. It shows that the *madrasa* was already in a ruined state by the year 1005/1596-7. Mahmud Zain al-Wafa‘i (probably the same ‘Mahmud’ mentioned above), the *mutakallim* of the Mawardiyya, reported to the *qadi* that there were no funds to restore the Mawardiyya, and that the situation was so serious that if no urgent action was taken, the *madrasa* might collapse. He asked the *qadi* to grant a permit for a court inspection of the building in order to estimate the cost before repair work began, and to be allowed to pay the expenses from his own money against future income. This is of great interest because that visit of inspection and the subsequent estimated cost reveal not just the costs of the

¹ Al-‘Arif (1961: 307); Burgoyne (1971: 23-5); Burgoyne (1976: no. 139); Walls and Abu‘l-Hajj (1980: 13); al-‘Asali (1981: 327); Najm *et al.* (1983: 360); Meinecke (1988: 267); Bahat (1990: 26); Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 359).

<i>Element</i>	<i>Works Needed</i>	<i>Cost in Sultani gold pieces</i>
(1) The inner sanctum or place of isolation (<i>ma'zil juwani</i>)	Repairing the roofs with <i>qusurmil</i>	40
	Paving the floor	2
(2) The small chamber (<i>al-bait al-saghir</i>)	Flooring and putting in a door	12
	Paving the court in front of the door	3
(3) The middle chamber (<i>al-bait al-wastani</i>)	Paving the floor	2
(4) The big chamber (<i>al-bait al-kabir</i>)	Paving the floor	4
	Plastering the walls	14
	Providing a big new wooden door	2
	Flooring the big courtyard in front	12.50
(5) The big <i>iwān</i> , opposite the big chamber	Paving the floor	3.50
	Plastering the wall of the <i>iwān</i>	13
	Paving the floor of the chamber	4
(6) Paving <i>al-majma'</i> (the assembly hall) including the <i>mihrab</i>	Flooring	7.50
	Plastering the walls	25
	To design roundels for its 5 windows	5
	To open a blind niche/cupboard (<i>khizana</i>)	1.30
	Repairs to the outer and inner walls	21
	Doors and windows	8.30
	Total	186.60

repairs but also vital information about the architectural elements of the building. These correspond to a large extent with what is still standing today. As a result of this information, it is possible to locate the boundary between the complex of the Takiyyat Khassaki Sultan and Ribat Bairam and to place al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya between the two. Above is the list of the architectural elements and expected cost of the repairs as registered in Sijill 77: 537.

From this it appears that the most urgent work involved water-proofing the roof and repairing the inner and outer walls. All this, however, accounts for less than a third of the total. Plastering and flooring accounts for the rest, but much of this would naturally follow from the water damage caused by a leaking roof.

Architecture

The north façade of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya provides a sharp contrast to the plain elevations of the neighbouring buildings, for it is lavishly decorated with multicoloured masonry. The façade, 5.75m long, is enclosed within a relief moulding and is flanked to the east by the archway house (*qantara*) of Ribat Bairam Jawish, and to the west by that of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 29). The façade is dominated by a recess enclosing the imposing portal entrance. It is built of red, black, and cream-coloured *ablaq*, and culminates in a scallop shell enclosed within a semicircular arch of chevron moulding. A door recessed by 60cm gives access to the interior; it is flanked by two stone benches (65cm by 60cm by 45cm) and is surmounted by a red slab lintel. Above the lintel there is an *ablaq* string course of black and white joggling, now weathered to grey. There are two identical shallow *muqarnas* impost panels arranged on either side of the string course. The scheme of the decoration is made up of three vertical *muqarnas* niches, each consisting of three tiers of small lancet panels. This feature is seen in the early Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem, such as the *sabils* of Sultan Sulaiman (cat. nos. 4-9). There are four rectangular windows; three are original and provide light for the interior of the mosque, and the fourth, of some unknown later date, serves to illuminate the staircase leading to the mosque. The fourth window (45cm by 55cm) is not

original, for it has no jambs or lintel. It was recently blocked at the same time as the entrance to al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya was barred when access to the interior was transferred to the entrance of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no. 15). The original windows are fitted with an elaborate iron grille, and surmounted by a slab lintel. Directly above the slab lintel there is another, constructed of joggled voussoirs of red, white and black stone. The first of these windows (75cm wide by 1m high) is one course above the entrance door. A ribbed semicircular hood, of what Meinecke (1988: 267) calls 'dove-tailed stones', which is framed by a chevron arch, is set five courses above the joggling. The other two original windows are built on either side of the recessed portal, and set into a tall, slightly depressed panel. They have similar measurements—90cm by 1.7m—but the joggled voussoirs are of different designs. A band of trefoil moulding occurs three courses above each window, surmounted by four rows of shallow carved *muqarnas*.

Interior

Access to the ground floor of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya is through the doorway which has been opened in the north façade. It measures 1.1m wide by 2m high, and it is fitted with a modern iron door with two leaves. The door leads to a square antechamber, 2.2m by 2.2m, which has been paved with antique stone slabs and which is covered by a cross vault of fine stone blocks. To the south and east of the antechamber, there are two small rectangular chambers which are locked at present. A stairway situated to the west of the antechamber gives access to the mosque and to the rooms of the *madrassa*. The stairway has four stone steps running west, followed by seven steps running south; it leads to a narrow passage. This, some 1m wide by 4m long, is open apart from its northern end which is covered by a cross vault. It is apparent that the passage used to extend a further 2m south to allow access to the remains of the *madrassa* buildings. A series of steps were built some time later to curtail the passage at its southern end, presumably when parts of the second floor of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya were added. These steps lead today to the second floor, and then down another stairway to the first floor of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya.

At the beginning of the passage, there is a trefoil-arched entrance door of *ablaq* masonry. It is the original entrance of the mosque chamber of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya but it is now blocked. Built of three colours of masonry—red, white and black—the door is both elaborate and beautiful. It measures 3.35m wide by 3.8m high and is surmounted by a slab lintel. Directly above the lintel is a relieving arch made up of seven joggled voussoirs of black and white *ablaq*. On either side of the entrance there is a single engaged cylindrical column. The shafts of these columns are supported on a square base, and they are crowned by a *muqarnas* capital. The trefoil arch is framed by a quirked ogee moulding, ending on either side with a volute, sometimes known in Arabic as a *mim* decoration. The location of this doorway is reminiscent of the entrance door of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyah, for both are in the west wall. It is probable that when they were constructed there were no structures there.

The interior of the mosque chamber is rectangular in plan, its ground paved with old stone slabs. The *waqf* document (Sijill 77: 537) refers to it as *al-majma' alladhi fihi al-mihrab*—‘the assembly room in which there is the *mihrab*’. It used to be approached from the entrance described above, but, now that this is blocked, access is through the door recently cut in the archway (*qantara*) of Ribat Bairam (see above cat. no. 11). Six windows illuminate the interior of the mosque. Three are in the north wall, two in the east wall and one in the south wall above the *mihrab* niche. The windows of the north wall are surmounted by a horseshoe arch and the others have a semicircular arch. All are fitted with different types of iron grille. The interior is divided into three principal parts. The main area is in the centre; it is square in plan with internal measurements of 3.2m by 3.2m, and is covered by a shallow dome. The dome is supported on four pointed arches. The arches are built of *ablaq* masonry of white and black and spring from the corners of the walls. Four *muqarnas* pendentives consisting of four rows of small lancets form the transition zone. The *muqarnas* is constructed of red and black stones and some are decorated with small ribbed shells. The dome is set on a twelve-sided drum, and its upper part is decorated with a quirked moulding.

The second part of the chamber is to the south. It is dominated by the *mihrab* niche built in the south wall. Both the *mihrab* and the *qibla* wall are beautifully constructed in *ablaq* masonry of red, black and white. The *mihrab* is flanked by two re-used marble columns which support a pointed arch. The bases of the shafts are largely hidden under the ground level, leaving only their torus moulding visible; the capitals are of a type of Corinthian with leaf-volutes. The *mihrab* niche is concave, inlaid with five marble lancet panels of red and black separated by white. It measures 80cm wide by 45cm deep by 2.4m high. The semi-dome of the *mihrab* niche is in the form of a pointed arch; it too is constructed of *ablaq* masonry but is otherwise undecorated. There is a big blind niche to the west of this area. Measuring 1.8m wide by 50cm deep by 2.1m high, it ends in a semicircular arch. It is this recess which is referred to as the *khizana* (‘cupboard’) in the *waqf* document (see above). The southern section of the mosque chamber is covered by a folded cross vault with a small saucer dome at the centre.

The northern part of the mosque is divided by an arch into two sections. That to the west is covered with a cross vault, and the eastern section has what Burgoyne (1971: 25) called ‘bowl-shaped and lozenge-shaped depressions in the plaster vault’. The north wall, which is the internal elevation of the north façade, is dominated by the three windows described above.

These windows are surmounted on the interior by white slab lintels. The windows located to the east and west of the central window have additional joggled lintels made up of *ablaq* masonry. The voussoirs of the lintels are not identical. Each of the three windows culminates with a horseshoe arch which is also built in *ablaq*. Three steps on the east of the north-east section lead to the door giving access from the *qantara* of Ribat Bairam. The mosque chamber is used today as a classroom, like most other parts of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya.

Access to what remains of the first floor of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya is by way of a staircase (A). Traces of earlier alterations, as already mentioned, suggest that staircase A used to continue southwards at the same ground-floor level as the mosque, to end in the courtyard (K) (see above cat. no. 11). Today the remnants of the first floor are reached from the main entrance of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira through a complicated network of passages at various levels. The description here will follow the original approach. On reaching courtyard K, there is an elaborate entrance to the south. It is dominated by a gadrooned and pointed arch enclosed within a rectangular masonry block, which is in turn framed by a stone billet moulding. Its uppermost stone course is chamfered. The diversity of colour and quality in the masonry shows that many alterations and additions have taken place at some time. There is a recessed (40cm) door in this entrance (1m wide by 1.9m high) with *ablaq* masonry to each side. The door has a slab lintel, and directly above there are two further masonry courses. A rectangular stone recess is in the centre of the tympanum of the gadrooned arch. It measures 70cm by 35cm, and it may once have held either a foundation inscription or a decorative plaque. The rear elevation of this entrance is expressed as a horseshoe arch constructed of undecorated voussoirs and framed with a slightly-projecting moulding. Two courses above the top of the arch, a further moulding marks the break between the buildings on the first floor and those on the second floor of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya. There is also a sophisticated joggled lintel above the slab instead of the two plain stone courses on the north façade of the entrance leading to the first courtyard (O) from courtyard K. The mouth of a well (40cm in diameter) is to be found to the west of this entrance. It is placed within a small niche (55cm wide by 55cm deep by 1.3m high), which has a small pointed arch. There is another blocked horseshoe arch adjacent to the entrance arch, leading to a rectangular chamber with no window. Perhaps it was used as a storehouse or was originally lit with lanterns.

Courtyard O is reached through the main entrance described above. It is mentioned in the *sijill* (77: 537) as one of the component parts of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (see above). The reference says ‘... and for the pavements of the *saha* in front of the aforementioned (large) chamber—twelve gold pieces ...’ It is almost rectangular in plan, and is paved with large antique stone slabs of good quality, some of them probably dating back to the restoration detailed in the estimate mentioned in the *sijill*. Courtyard O is bordered to the west by what the *sijill* document called ‘the large chamber’ (*al-bait al-kabir*), to the east by the large *iwan*, to the south by *al-ma'zil al-juwani* (the inner sanctum or ‘place of isolation’), and to the north by the main entrance of the inner part of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya.

A huge pointed arch opposite the big *iwan* to the east gives access to a large chamber (P). The arch was blocked at some point apart from a doorway flanked by two windows to either side. This door measures 90cm wide by 1.7m high and is surmounted by a white slab lintel 1.1m wide by 40cm high. The

doorway has a modern iron door rather than the wooden one described in the estimate (see above). The windows are fitted with a simple iron grille, and surmounted by a semicircular arch of simple masonry blocks. The one to the south of the door measures 70cm wide by 1.4m high, the one to the north 90cm wide by 1.7m high. The interior of the 'big house' is a rectangle, paved with small coloured stone slabs, and the ground level is higher than that of the open courtyard O by 27cm. The interior is illuminated by a double window in the west wall. The window overlooks the northern courtyard of the Takiyyat Khassaki Sultan, where the water cistern of the *takiyya* is situated. Each window measures some 1m wide by 1.5m high, and they are placed within a recessed niche surmounted by a semicircular arch. The walls have been recently plastered and the roof is a tunnel vault.

The big *iwān* was located opposite the 'large chamber' according to the *sijill* document (77: 537) and thus must be the room marked Q on the plan. A large open pointed arch to the west, built with *ablaq* masonry of white and black, used to give onto to the chamber. It is now blocked with rough stones, and access therefore is by way of a doorway (90cm wide by 2m high) in the north wall. This is surmounted by a semicircle of undecorated voussoirs and is fitted with a modern iron door. Two identical windows once flanked the door to either side, but only the one to the east is now visible and continues to serve as window, for the second, to the west, has been transformed into a blind niche. It is hidden from the outside by a concealing wall adjoining the east end of the main entrance of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya. It was probably built to add strength and to consolidate the walls when a second chamber was added above the *iwān*. The east window measures 65cm wide by 1.1m high; it is fitted with an iron grille and surmounted by a semicircular arch. It looks over the staircase leading from courtyard F in Ribat Bairam Jawish to courtyard K, which gives access to the al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, and to the archway (*qantara*) of the *ribat*. The interior chamber of the *iwān* is square; it is paved with old coloured stone slabs (of red, yellow and grey, some of which measure between 27cm by 32cm and 21cm by 24cm) and is covered by a folded cross vault with a small undecorated saucer dome in the centre. A large blind niche, which measures 1.9m wide by 65cm deep and 1.7m high, is in the south wall, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. There is another large niche in the east wall (1.75m wide by 65cm deep by 1.8m high) flanked on either side by an identical rectangular niche (50cm wide by 40cm deep by 75cm high); and it has a rectangular window 50cm by 90cm in its upper part. Despite the fact that the walls and the roof have been plastered recently, they are in a ruinous state.

Two pointed arches, each with a different span, separate the large courtyard O from courtyard R. The western arch forms a short tunnel-like passageway measuring 3m by 2.4m. The east arch is blocked apart from a doorway. The remnants of coloured jambs and joggled lintels, in addition to a chamfered frame, indicate that when the doorway was constructed it was of good quality and was of some significance within the original layout—perhaps it marked a boundary between spaces which discharged separate functions, or was the entrance to an area of special importance—but it too is now blocked.

It is difficult to know exactly what is meant by the term *ma'zīl juwani*. Literally it can be translated as the 'inner' or the 'internally isolated place' (from *ain za lam*—'*azala* to remove, to set aside, isolate, segregate; *ma'zīl*—'place of retirement, house of retreat; seclusion, segregation, isolation; isolation ward [in a hospital] ...' Wehr 1976: 610-11). To judge from the present plan

of al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya and what was identified by the *sijill* as requiring restoration in this area (see above), it is possible that the term *ma'zīl* was applied to the western arch with its tunnel-like structure, and that its function was to act as a passage to separate the courtyard (O), the large chamber (P), and the big *iwān* (Q)—which formed a separate unit probably used for teaching—on the one hand, and the courtyard (R), the middle chamber (S), the small room (U), and the room (V)—probably the residential unit for the *shaikh* and his retinue—on the other. This suggestion means that al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya was divided into three main parts. The first comprised the mosque (*al-majma'*); the second part consisted of courtyard O, the large chamber P, and the big *iwān* Q; and the third part, as described above, the courtyard R, the chamber S and the rooms U and V. While the *madrassa* still functioned, the teaching took place in the second unit O, P and Q as well as in the mosque. When the change to a residential house was made under Hajj Sinan al-Sughanji and Bairam Jawish (see under Endowments above), the teaching area was doubtless converted into a dwelling for the two people named as lessees and sponsors for the restoration work.

The ground level of courtyard R is higher than courtyard O by 40cm; its plan is nearly rectangular and it is paved with large stone slabs. Four chambers of various sizes surround courtyard R, and there is a staircase on the east side that leads from the first to the second floor of the *madrassa*. Two out of the four chambers can be identified by reference to the *sijills* as the 'middle chamber' (*al-bait al-wastani*) and the 'small chamber' (*al-bait al-saghir*). The 'middle chamber' (S) is located to the west of courtyard R. Its eastern elevation is the only visible façade. It is constructed of simple masonry, originally pierced by three windows and a simple doorway. These provided the only light and air for the chamber. Two identical windows, fitted with a plain iron grille and surmounted by a semicircular arch, are placed south of the door, each one measuring 75cm wide by 1.1m deep by 1.75m high. The door is 95cm wide by 2.1m high, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. The third window—a rectangle 70cm wide by 1.05m high—is placed above the door. It has a slab lintel and is without a grille, presumably because one was not needed for security. The room is rectangular in plan, paved with coloured stone slabs of red and yellow, and has a tunnel vault divided by two cross vaults. There are two blind niches, the first a small one, situated to the south of the east wall, measuring 70cm wide by 50cm deep by 130 cm high; the other one is in the east corner of the north wall, and is 90cm wide by 40cm deep by 1.55m high. Both niches are surmounted by a semicircular arch.

The 'small chamber' T is situated at the south-east corner of courtyard R. It is approached through a simple doorway in its northern elevation. The door measures 80cm wide by 1.65m high; it has been fitted with a modern iron door and is surmounted by a white slab lintel. An arch of three simple voussoirs is built above the lintel. A window (55cm wide by 70cm high) is placed above the door; judging from its appearance, it was originally a slit window that was enlarged at some later date. To the west of the door, a window gives light to the interior; it measures 90cm wide by 1.5m high, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch composed of three simple stone blocks. The window is fitted with an iron grille with slender bars. The interior of the rectangular room is plain; it has old coloured stone slabs (also of red and yellow) of medium size on the floor and the roof is a cross vault. A blind niche (2.3m wide by 55cm deep) intended to serve as a cupboard is set in the west wall. Although the walls

have been recently plastered, they are in a dilapidated condition.

A small room (U) is located between the middle chamber S and the small chamber T. It is roughly square and is reached from courtyard R through a door (80cm wide by 1.65m high) in the north elevation; it is surmounted by a slab lintel and above the lintel there is an arch. A rectangular window (75cm wide by 1.5m high) is placed to the west of the door, surmounted by a slab lintel, and above the lintel there is a semicircular arch. The interior of the room is very plain; the floor is paved with coloured stone slabs of red and yellow, and it is covered by a tunnel vault. The walls and vault have recently been plastered. The small size of the room suggests that it might have been used as a kitchen or latrine. Room V is located to the east of courtyard R. It is somewhat similar but not identical to room U—it has the same windows, floor-paving and vault, and was probably used for a similar purpose. It is rectangular in shape and measures 2.6m by 3.2m. It is entered from the courtyard through a door in the east wall which has been fitted with a modern iron gate of a single leaf. The door measures 80cm wide by 1.65m high and it is surmounted by a simple slab lintel; the window is 50cm wide by 1m high. Room V is now used to store books. Its original function is not known, but it was conceivably used as a cell for a single student.

Apart from the chambers W and Y, the second floor of al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya consists of numerous newly-constructed rooms built of concrete and blocks which are no concern of this study. Chamber W is built directly above the big *iwān* Q, and is reached—as is chamber Y—either from the staircase which leads from the main façade of the Mawardiyya to the mosque chamber or by way of the staircase in courtyard R which led to Ribat Bairam through courtyard K (see above). The exterior of chamber W is made up of four solid walls built with masonry courses with a rectangular shape. The west elevation has a double window (each opening is 85cm wide by 1.1m high) surmounted by a single slab lintel; above the lintel there is carved decoration.

[Editorial note: Two horn- or tusk-like projections flank a circular medallion that is suspended in the centre of a cusped frame. The motif is crisply cut and for emphasis is outlined by a narrow groove. The ‘medallion’ has a six-petalled floral motif. A similar motif is found at Nabi Da’ud and on the Sabil al-Khalidi, although in this second example the central medallion is missing. SA]

Five courses above the arch of the double window, the four exterior corners are set back to form a zone of transition to support a shallow dome, covered with small slabs. A buttress built at the southern end of the west elevation consolidates the chamber. There are two windows in the north wall of the chamber W, the first a single one to the west, measuring 70cm by 1.15m, and the second double (each part measuring 75cm by 1.15m); they are both surmounted by slab lintels and relieving arches above. A door to the south (85cm by 1.9 m high) gives onto the interior of chamber W; it is surmounted by a semicircular arch of re-used voussoirs. The floor is 7cm below the level of the passage that leads into the interior; it is covered with red and yellow paving slabs. As mentioned above, the interior is illuminated by two double windows and a single window. The double windows are set in a recessed niche. Two blind niches flank the western window. The southern niche measures 65cm by 45cm by 1.3m, and the northern one measures 70cm by 45cm by 1.2m. There is a further niche in the east wall, 1.05m by 50cm by 1.4m. It is surmounted by a recent window, 70cm by 45cm by 75cm. A big

cupboard recess (2.65m by 90cm by 2.2m and 30cm above the level of the floor) is set in the south wall. All the niches are surmounted by plastered semicircular arches, and are clumsily finished. The chamber is covered by a dome with a shallow profile which is carried by the walls of the chamber, and four triangular pendentives at the corners serve as a transition zone. The walls have been recently plastered. The original function was almost certainly residential; since 1968 it has been used as a classroom.

Chamber Y is opposite chamber W and is constructed above the *bait al-kabir* P. The three visible elevations to east, north and west of chamber Y have been constructed with small masonry blocks, both square and rectangular. Each is dominated by a double window surmounted by a slab lintel with the customary ‘eye-brow’ relieving arches above. Access to the interior of chamber Y is through a door in the south wall. In front of the door there is a small cell to the west which acts as an antechamber; there is a small blind niche to the east. The door measures 90cm by 1.95m and it gives onto the rectangular room. The floor, paved with red, black and white stone slabs, is 10cm lower than the level of the antechamber. As said above, three double windows light the interior while another, now blocked so that it forms a blind niche, was once in the north wall. The window openings are identical—each measures 80cm wide by 1.15m high, and each is surmounted on the interior by arches with a moulded frame. There is another large blind niche in the south wall 30cm above floor level, 2.1m wide by 50cm deep by 1.9m high. The chamber is covered with a cross vault, and both it and the walls have been recently plastered. A staircase in the west corner leads to the second level of chamber Y, built some time after the first level had been constructed, for their size, quality and colour of masonry are dissimilar. Again originally doubtless a residential unit, it has been used as a classroom since 1968—indeed, it is where this author completed his secondary education in late 1972.

Dating the building

Burgoyne (1971: 25) says that ‘this building [the Rasasiyya] ... really belongs to the Ottoman dynasty,’ but he had reservations, and suspected that it could have been designed either during the final years of, or immediately following, the Mamluk period. The building is not dated either by epigraphy or by literary evidence, as explained already, and there are those who have dated it to 947/1540 (see note no. 1 above), believing it to be part of Ribat Bairam Jawish.

To date, nothing has been found in the *sijills* that could provide a precise date of construction, but from *Sijill* 7: 348 it can be deduced that the building was standing in 942/1535, and is thus earlier than the earliest dated Ottoman structure in ‘Aqabat al-Sitt (cat. no. 7). Because of the absence of documentary evidence, it is possible to look for a dating control in the style and layout of the building, but this method has its problems since the building has both Mamluk and early Ottoman architectural features. Burgoyne (1971: 26) pointed to the chevron moulding as a typically Turkish influence. Meinecke (1988: 267) mentioned that the ornamental dove-tailed stones were current in Cairo on the Sabil Kuttāb of Khusrāu Pasha of 942/1535, and in Damascus on the Mausoleum of Ahmad Pasha, who died in 942/1535. He adds that the *muqarnas* dome and the pleated (chevron) arch were both part of the Mamluk architectural tradition in Cairo and Damascus. The interior too is rich with Mamluk architectural features such as the gadrooned arch, the horseshoe arch, the sophisticated *ablaq* joggled voussoirs and lintels, and *ablaq* jambs. Apart from the *ablaq* voussoirs, all these are features familiar in

Jerusalem before its conquest by the Ottomans. This raises the question of whether the *ablaq* voussoirs were not also part of the early Ottoman architectural repertoire in the city. Yet a survey of early and later 16th-century Ottoman projects in Jerusalem, such as the restoration of the citadel, the *sabils* project, Ribat Bairam Jawish, and the Khassaki Sultan complex—which, if rich ornamentation were to be found anywhere at this period, would surely be the prime site—reveals no sign of *ablaq* voussoirs in any of these buildings. This statement holds true for the minor Ottoman projects of the 16th century, although there is a single exception of a monument with coloured masonry—the Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10). But here it is not true *ablaq* that it used because, although the masonry is of different coloured stone, they are not placed alternately to give striped voussoirs. The *ablaq* was rather a feature of the restoration of the *qubba* by Muhammad Shakir in 1261/1845 (see cat. no. 10). Having said that, there is an apparent re-emergence in the prominent use of *ablaq* lintels and voussoirs at the end of the 16th century in Jerusalem. The use would seem to be part of a deliberate revival of architectural elements from the Mamluk period in the projects of Ahmad Pasha (cat. nos. 23; 24; and 25) and the Hujra of Islam Beg (cat. no. 21). It is worth pointing that these elements—that is, *ablaq* voussoirs and string course lintels—although they look like Mamluk design and seem to be constructed in a similar way, are not, however, identical, but have their own character. The foregoing argument makes it likely that al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya should be dated to the late Mamluk period.

There is a gap of almost five decades between the last Mamluk building (al-Ashrafiyya, dated 885/1482) and the first Ottoman building (Sabil Qasim Pasha, cat. no. 2). Imperial projects, like the restoration of the Citadel (938/1531-2) and the construction of the *sabils* (see cat. nos. 4-9), had to wait another few years after that. Perhaps, then, it was some time between the year 900/1494-5 (when Mujir al-Din compiled his famous book, 1973 2) and the early years of the Ottoman reign that al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (see cat. no. 29), al-Zawiya al-Yunusiyya (now lost—see cat. no. 11) and al-Madrassa al-Qastumriyya (probably the anonymous building that appears in Burgoyne's list, 1976: cat. no. 46), and the tomb chamber located today within al-Imara al-Amira (see cat. no. 15) and others were built. This date would explain why these buildings are not mentioned in the work of Mujir al-Din (1973 2) while they appear frequently in the Jerusalem *sijills* for the first half of the 16th century, albeit without any detailed *waqfiyya* or a patron's name.

Although al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya was lavishly decorated, especially on the northern façade and in the mosque chamber, it appears that its endowments were insufficient and that it suffered badly from want of repair. This situation meant that the *madrasa* was controlled by one inspector after another and finally transformed into a residence (see above). This would also explain various features; first, the blocking up of many parts of the *madrasa* to make it suitable for use as a residence; and second, the uniformity of the iron grilles, the sills, the lintels and the arches over the windows and doors of the *madrasa*. In particular, as has been shown, changes were made to the big chamber and the big *iwan*.

It is hard to know when the construction of the chambers W and Y on the second floor occurred. The architectural features—relieving arches set within the wall, double windows with 'eye-brow' arches, the size and dressing of masonry blocks and so on—are very similar to those of Ottoman private

buildings in Jerusalem, and they were in continual use until the introduction of the iron beam followed by the use of concrete—that is, just prior to modern architectural practice. These features have already been mentioned briefly in an attempt to date the second level of Dar Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 13).

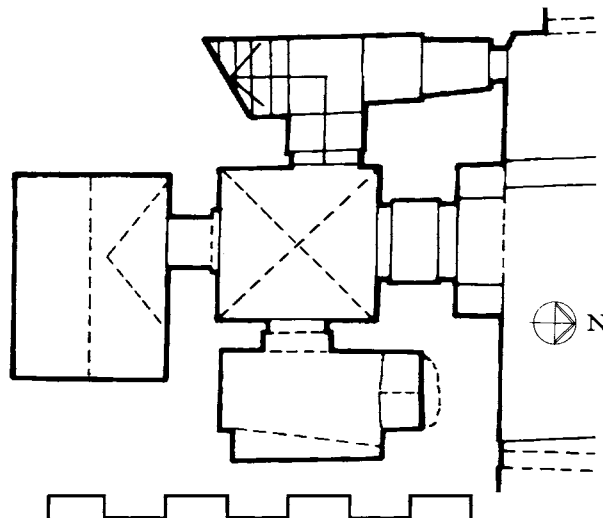


Fig. 28.1 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, ground-floor plan.

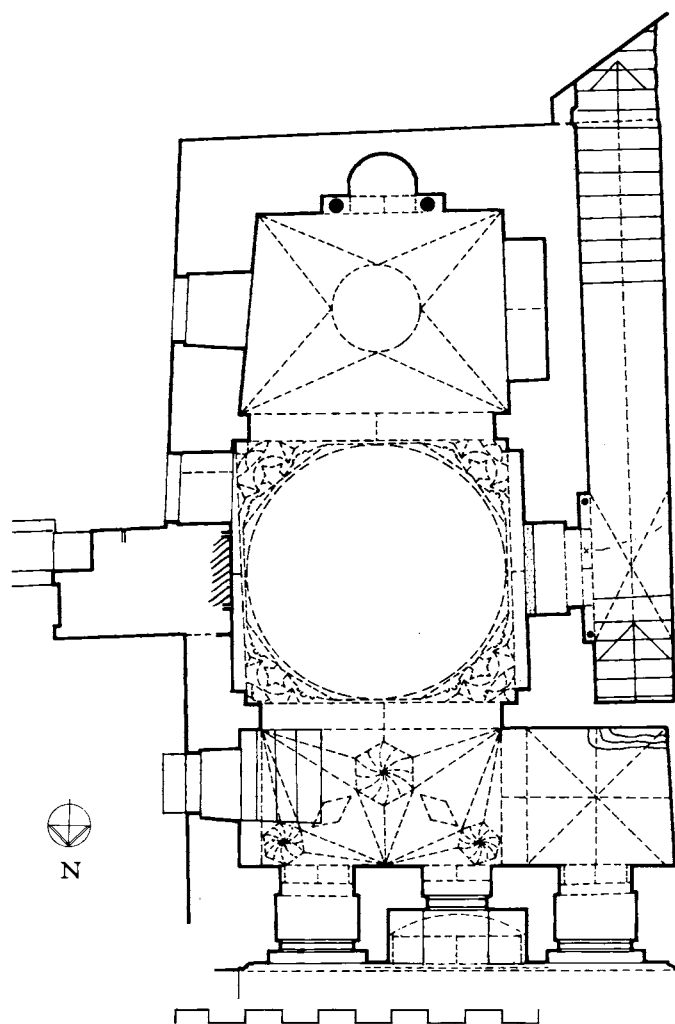


Fig. 28.2 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, plan of the mosque.

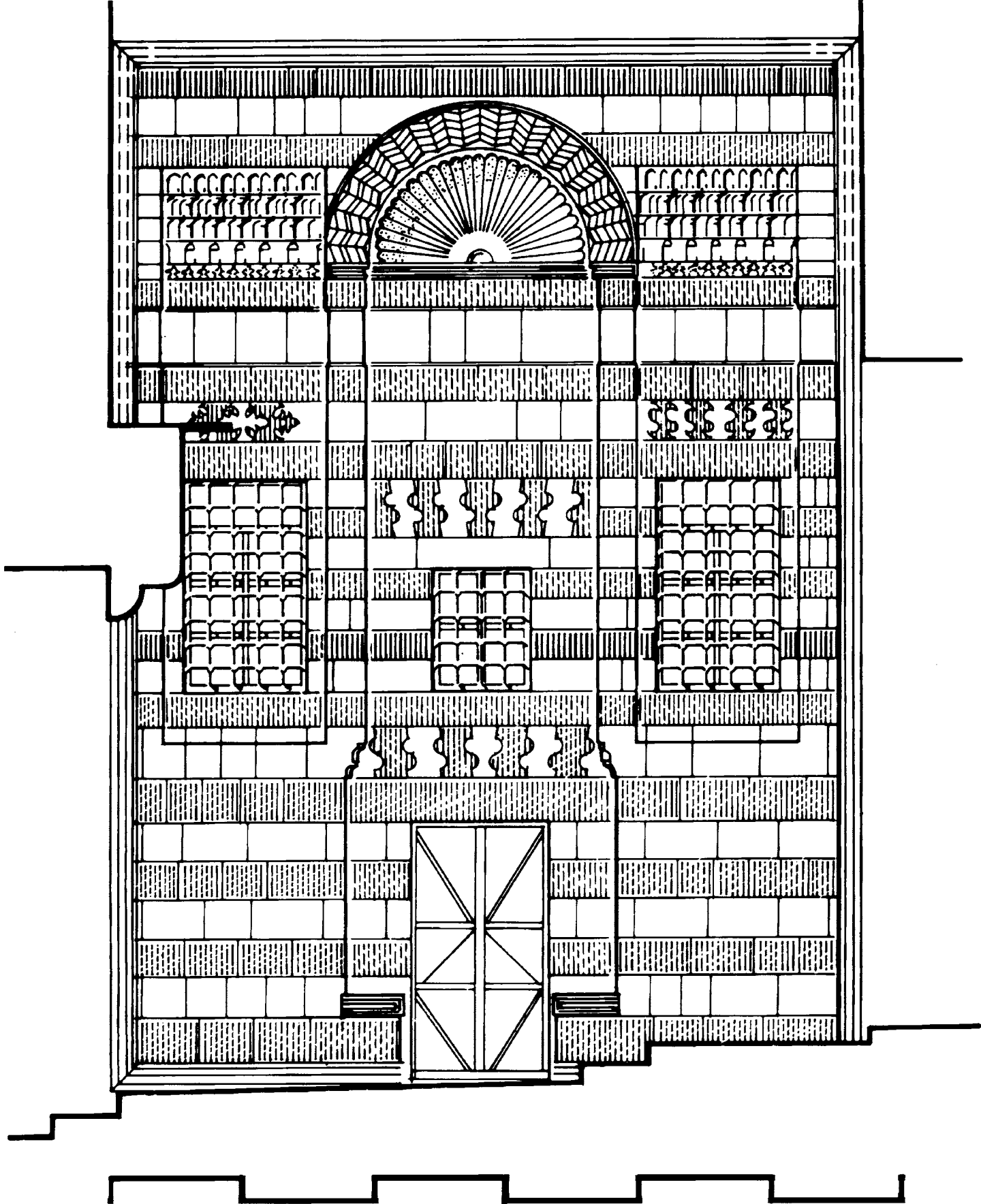


Fig. 28.3 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, elevation of main portal on 'Aqabat al-Takiyya.

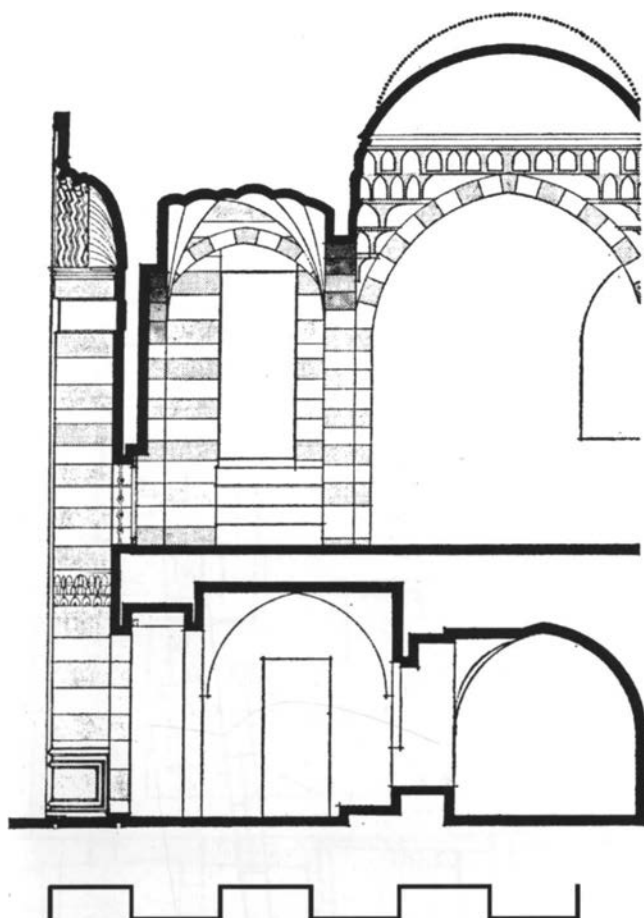


Fig. 28.4 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, section, after Burgoyne 1971.

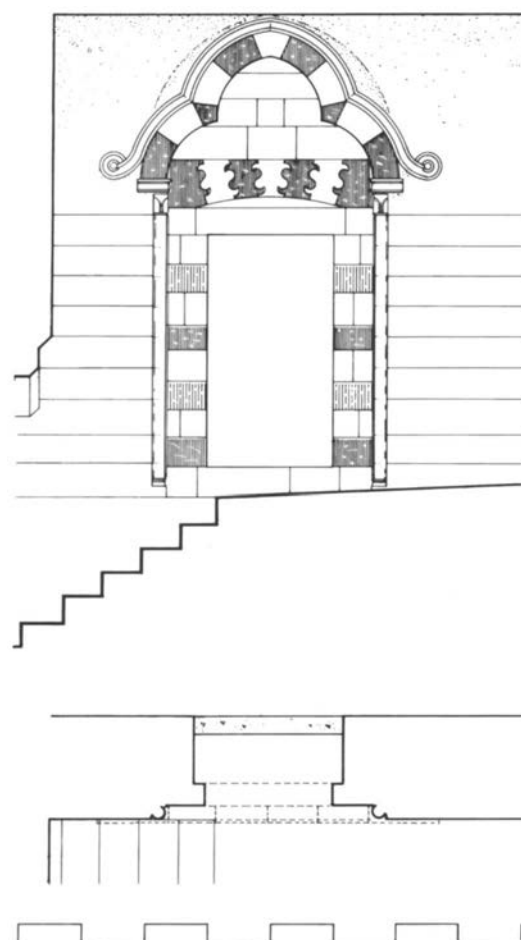


Fig. 28.6 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, west door elevation and plan.

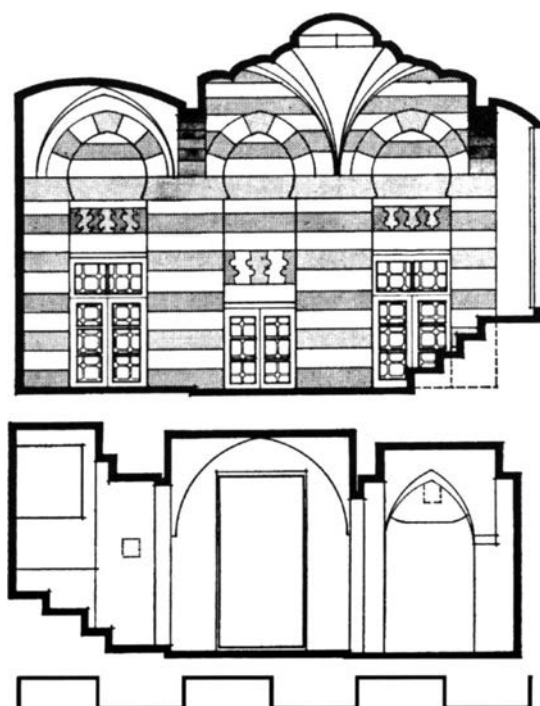


Fig. 28.5 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, elevation, after Burgoyne 1971.

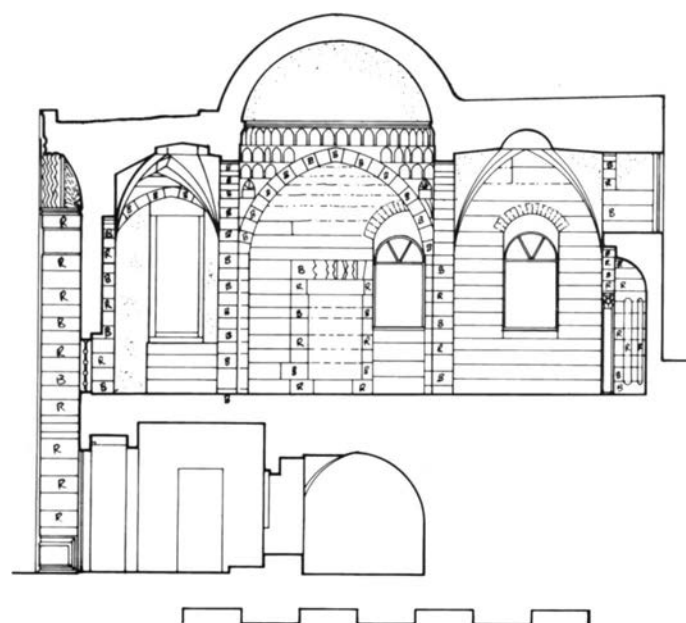


Fig. 28.7 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, section of mosque and plan of mezzanine level.

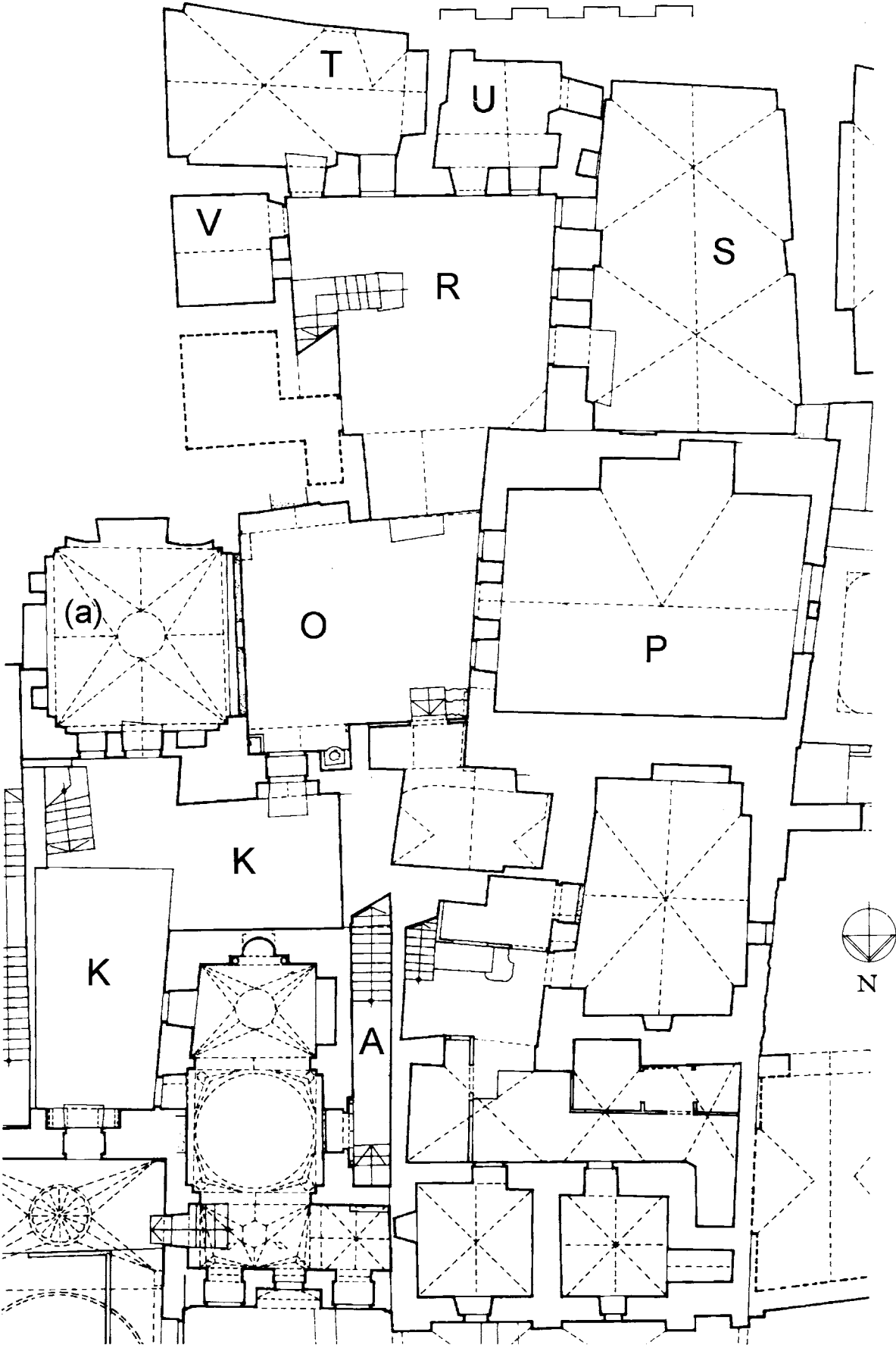


Fig. 28.8 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, first floor plan with the mosque.

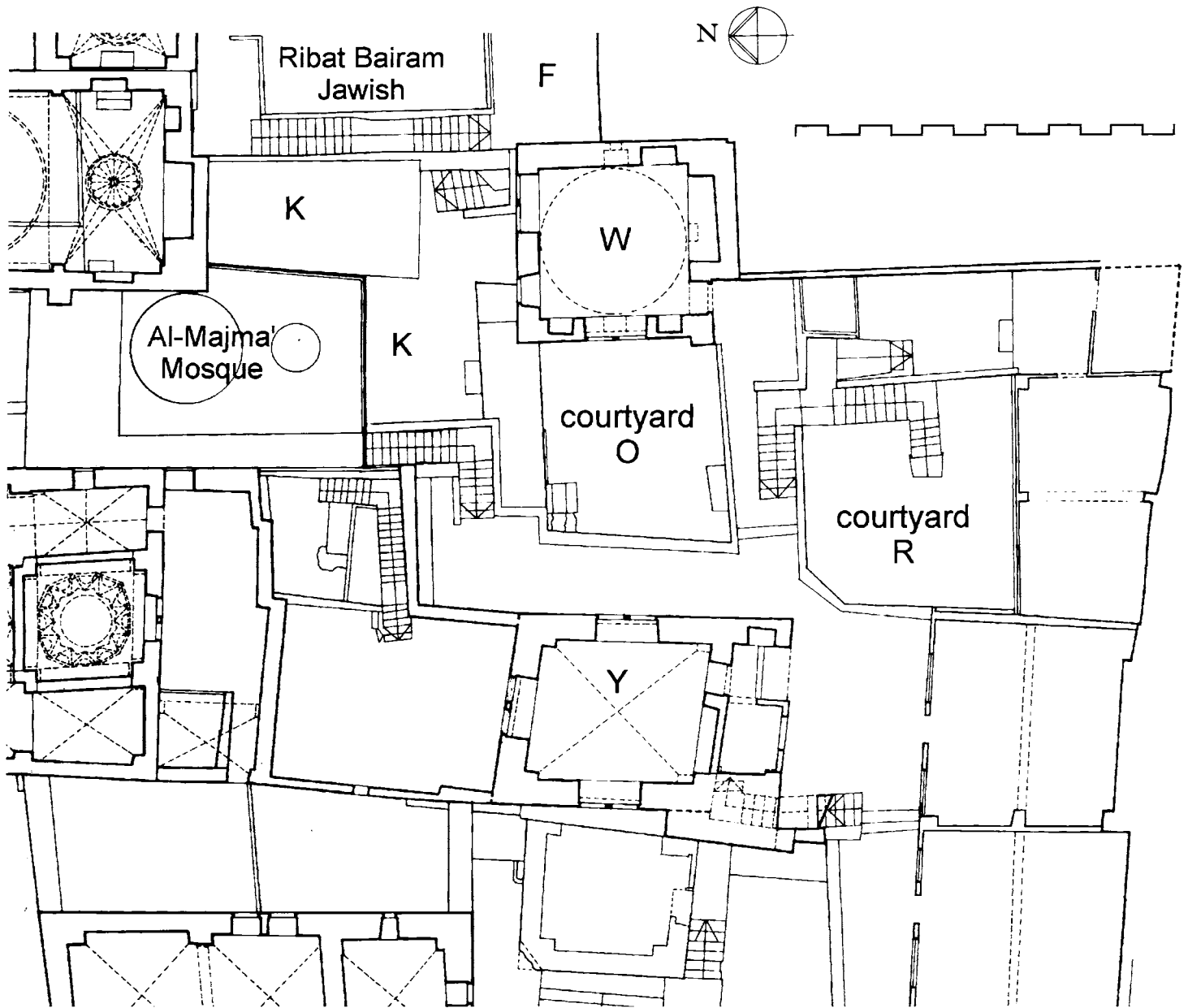
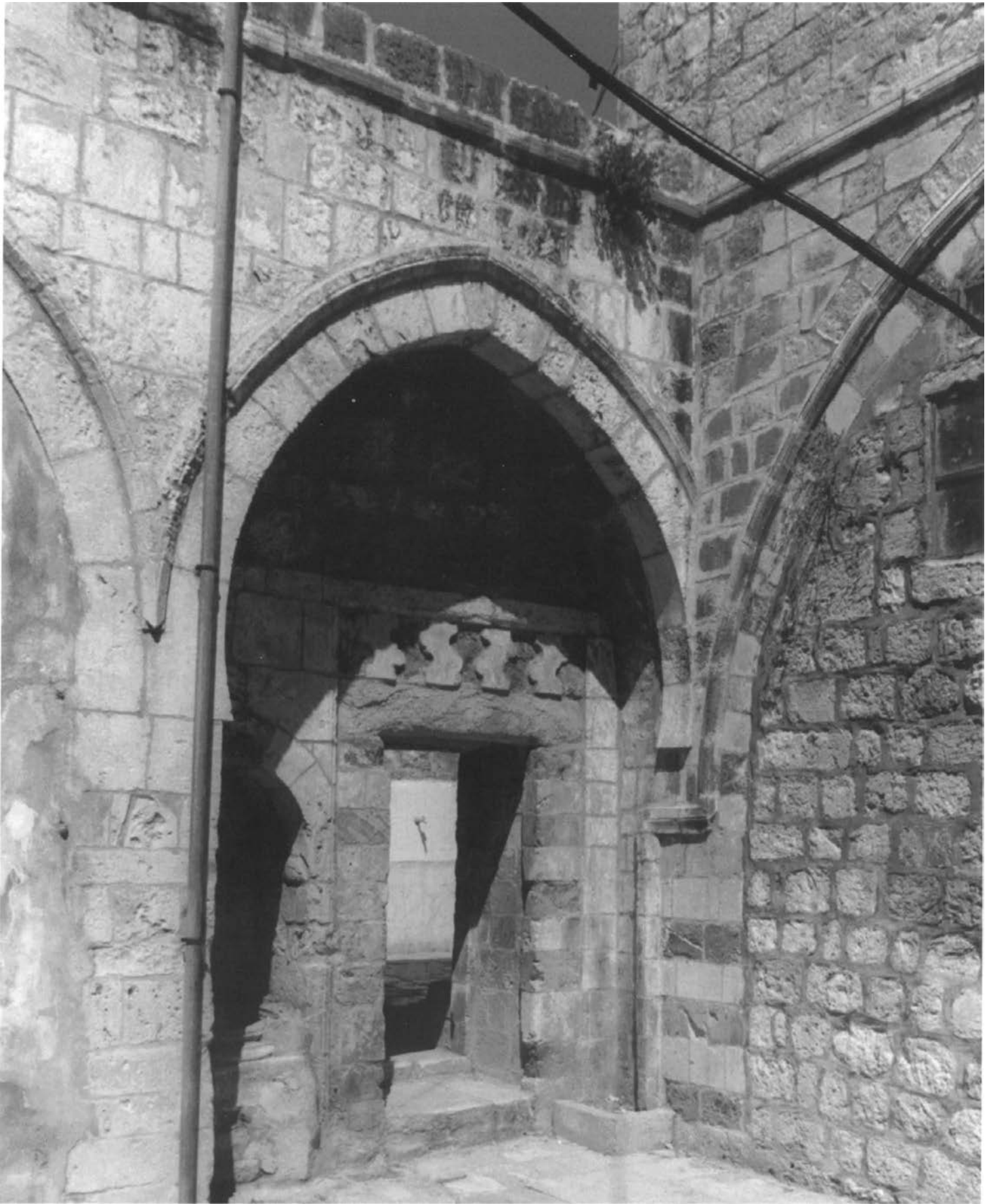


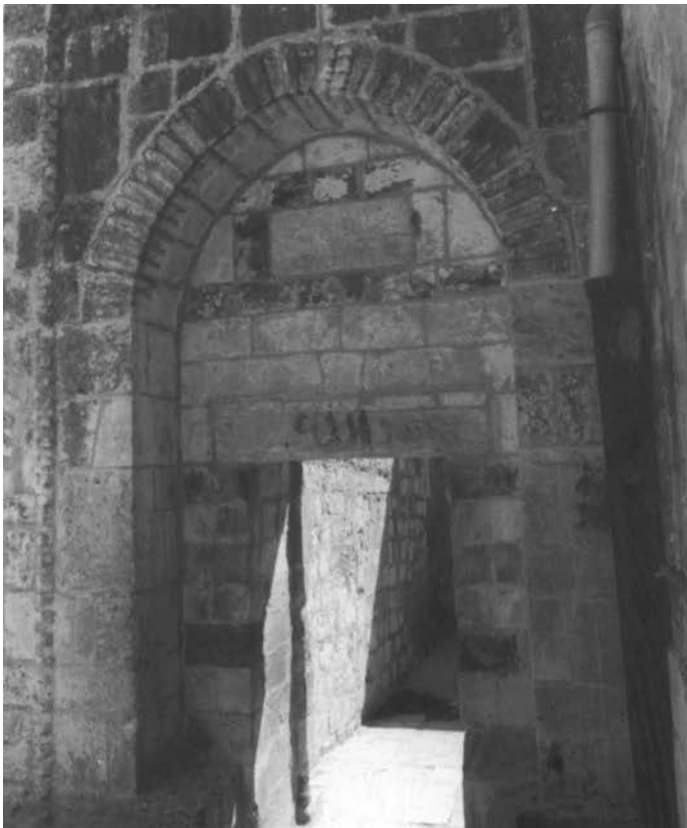
Fig. 28.9 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, plan of second-floor level.



Pl. 28.1 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, entrance to the courtyard, from the interior, showing *ablaq* masonry.



Pl. 28.2 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, 'schoolroom', general view of mosque, looking north.



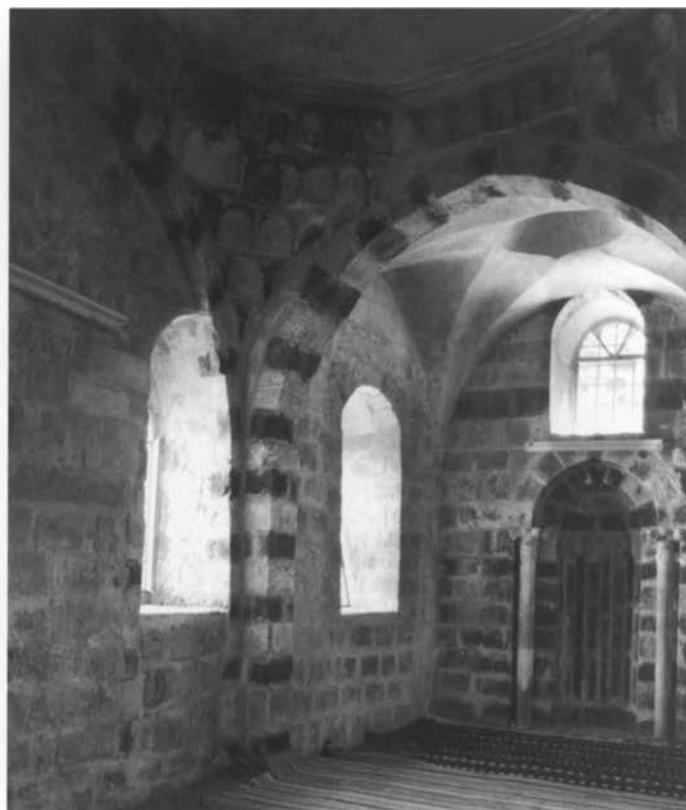
Pl. 28.3 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, entrance to the courtyard, exterior.



Pl. 28.5 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, north façade.



Pl. 28.4 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, mosque at first-floor level.



Pl. 28.6 Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya, mosque at first-floor level, east wall.



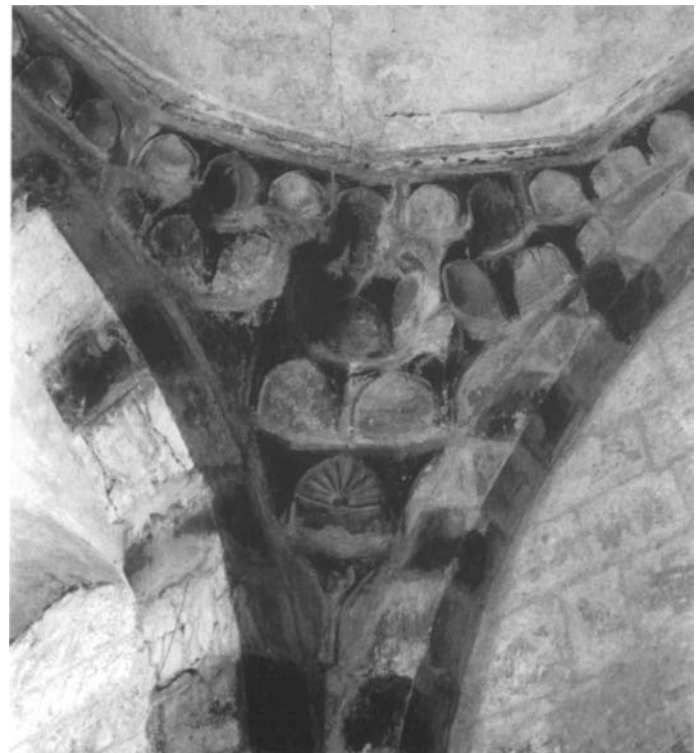
Pl. 28.7 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, vault on the northern part of the mosque.



Pl. 28.8 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, detail of decoration of upper floor window.



Pl. 28.9 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, view of courtyard.



Pl. 28.10 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya, mosque at mezzanine level.

29 AL-ZAWIYA AL- MUHAMMADIYYA

Name: Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya

Date: Undated, most probably late Mamluk, possibly early Ottoman

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Dar Abu Hadwan

Location

The *zawiya* is located to the north of the lower part of the street of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt).

Site and brief description (figs. 29.1-29.3, pls. 29.1-29.6)

Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya is situated on the other side of the road ('Aqabat al-Takiyya or al-Sitt) to al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (cat. no. 28) and almost opposite it. The eastern wall of the *zawiya* adjoins the west wall of the western hall of Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12). Its southern façade is the only one visible, for the *zawiya* is bordered to the west and to the north by unrecorded buildings dating to the late Ottoman period. The main entrance to the *zawiya* was originally in the west front, which is now hidden. Originally the *zawiya* consisted of a single large hall divided into two sections on the ground floor. The upper second level was added later. This upper level is made up of an open courtyard and an archway spanning the street of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt).

History

So far nothing is known or has been published about the building, and only one piece of information has been discovered in the *sijills*.¹ This is the brief record of a four-year contract to lease a building called '*al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya*'. The most interesting part of the record is the detail regarding the location. The document reports (Sijill 12: 397) that 'Taj al-Din Khalifa (the inspector) has leased to Mustafa ibn 'Abdullah of the Yeniçeri (Janissaries), the whole of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya which is situated in Jerusalem the Noble at the lowest part (*suff*) of 'Aqabat al-Sitt near al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya. It is so well-known in the neighbourhood that there is no need to give details either of its description or of its border.' Since the location of '*al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya*' given in the *sijills* (12: 697) corresponds to that of the building adjoining Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12), and also because of its architectural form, it has been concluded here that the structure under discussion does not belong to the Maktab Bairam building but that it is most probably the '*Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya*' mentioned in the document.

The *sijill* entry shows that the building was not only in existence in Ramadan 947/December-January 1540-41 but in good enough condition at that time to be rented for 180 '*uthmaniyya*' per year. It is not known when it was built, and thus whether it is Mamluk or early Ottoman. With no dating control, it seems most practical to deal with the structure in a separate entry. It is hoped that it may be possible to date the building more precisely in the not too distant future.

Architecture

Exterior—the south façade

The south façade of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, its only visible one, merges with that of Maktab Bairam, although it is misleading to suggest that they form an integrated whole. Following the *sijill* reference quoted above and the discussion on the *maktab* (cat. no. 12), it is correct to see the two as separate entities. Although it adjoins the western end of Maktab Bairam, the *zawiya* is constructed of a different, good-quality masonry, which is now seriously dilapidated. The south façade of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya lies 10cm behind the southern elevation of Maktab Bairam Jawish; moreover, the masonry courses of the two buildings are not engaged. This is not enough to decide whether the façade of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya was built earlier or later than that of the *maktab*, but it suffices to indicate that it was probably constructed at a different time.

Two doors and one window dominate the lower section of the southern façade of the *zawiya*. The window is on the same level as the central door. Now blocked, the window is slightly recessed; it is a rectangular opening measuring 1.4m wide by 1.8m high, and is framed by a *cyma* moulding. The jambs of the window are built with coloured *ablaq* masonry and it is surmounted by a slab lintel. The window has suffered badly from later alterations; the stones with which it is blocked are both coarse and of a different quality to the masonry of the window itself, and it is probable that these stones replaced a high-quality iron grille. The same quality of coarse stone also appears in some of the courses to the east of the window. There is a rectangular window in the upper part of the southern façade which is still visible. It is flanked to the west by the archway and to the east by the south-western corner of Maktab Bairam Jawish. It measures 60cm by 1.15m, is surmounted by an elaborate marble slab lintel, and is also now blocked by stones. The Jerusalem Municipality has recently fixed heavy iron supports to the façade to help support the building, and as a precaution against it collapsing after an excavation to install a new sewage system (these supports do not appear in the drawing of the elevation). There is a rectangular door to the west of the window. It measures 80cm wide by 1.75m high; it is reached by three steps of 50cm from the level of the road of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (al-Sitt). The door is simple, being fitted with two wooden leaves and surmounted by an equally simple single-slab lintel. This door was presumably built at the same time as the archway dwelling (*qantara*) and the rest of the first floor were added. The reasons for this belief are the simplicity of the design, particularly if it is compared to the doorway located directly to the east and to the window situated at the middle of the south façade. In addition, the first steps leading to the entrance are built over the sill of the original entrance. It follows that this original doorway has been partly blocked at a later date. There is another door to the west but it has nothing to do with al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, for it gives onto one of the later separate adjoining buildings that have not so far been recorded. Three blocked pointed arches are to be found directly above the level of the lintels of the door and the window. These arches spring directly from the façade. The central arch has a greater span than the two to the sides; it is constructed of simple voussoirs, and its tympanum is occupied by a rectangular recessed panel that was probably originally open in order to give light to the interior. The curve of the eastern arch is clumsily finished.

The upper section of the southern façade, as noted above, is blocked by the later archway (*qantara*), which spans the road of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. This archway forms the principal part of the first floor built at some point above the two main halls of

¹ I would like to express my deep gratitude to my colleague, Mr Khadr Salameh, the Librarian of al-Aqsa Mosque Library, for drawing my attention to this entry in the *sijills*.

the *zawiya*. In this respect, it is similar to the archway that spans the road to the east between the Ribat and Maktab Bairam (cat. no. 11). Once again, it is difficult to date with any precision either the archway or any part of the first floor, because of the lack of information. However, it would seem that the addition of the *qantara* stemmed from the need for residential space in the Old City of Jerusalem during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Interior—The Ground Level

The ground floor consists, as noted above, of one large hall divided by an arch into two rectangular chambers. Access is through an entrance situated directly west of the doorway in the south façade. The entrance is rectangular in shape, measuring 90cm wide by 1.85m in height. The jambs of the entrance are badly worn, but one can easily recognise that they were built in *ablaq* style using black and white stones of similar quality to those of the window on the south façade (described above); and it is surmounted by the same type of slab lintel. The door is now in a ruined state and is partially blocked. The floor level is lower than that of the first landing of the staircase that leads to the upper floor of the *zawiya*, and than the street level of Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. Three steps lead down to the room, which is now so full of earth and rubbish that the actual level of the floor is concealed. The rubbish is probably the accumulated debris from successive nearby restorations. The room is rectangular in plan with an internal measurement of 5.7m wide by 9.2m long, and a huge pointed arch at its centre divides the area into two similar rectangular spaces. The arch springs from two rectangular bases located on the west and east walls of the hall. The only means of illumination in the hall besides the door is the window to the south of the southern chamber (now blocked) described above. A gutter is cut in the southern wall just to the west of the window. It measures 40cm wide by 35cm deep and runs along the top of the wall to end at the mouth of a well. Its function was to collect rainwater.

One half of a gadrooned arch is to be seen at the north-eastern corner of the south chamber at the point where the eastern base of the pointed arch is located. It is surmounted by another half arch made up of voussoirs. The other half of each arch is obscured by the base of the pointed arch. On the one hand, this provides a clear indication that there was a sort of connection between Maktab Bairam and al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, and that there were later alterations. On the other hand, it raises the possibility that al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya was built some time earlier than the Maktab Bairam Jawish (cat. no. 12).

There is a rectangular stone cenotaph, 1m by 1.85cm, in the north chamber of the hall. Only the upper two courses of the monument are visible, the rest being submerged under the present floor level. It is not known with certainty whom this cenotaph commemorates, for so far no funerary inscription has been found. However the local Jerusalemite community call the monument 'the tomb of al-Shaikh al-Matbuli'. Both chambers are roofed by a cross vault and there are traces of old plaster, a mix of lime and mortar. This hall is in a bad state of repair and is neglected today.

The first floor²

The approach to the first floor is through the doorway situated in

the south elevation. The doorway leads directly to a stairway made up of seventeen steps running north which gives access to an open courtyard (A). The courtyard connects the two parts of the first floor of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. The first lies to the north west and consists of a long chamber (C) divided into two separately cross-vaulted sections by an arch, an antechamber (*dirka*) (B), and a small room (D). The second part in the south west includes the *dirka* (E), the main chamber (F), and the two lateral chambers (G) and (H), each again separately cross-vaulted; these vaults follow a north-south axis. The archway (*qantara*) that spans Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya is part of the northern section of this floor.

Courtyard A is a rectangle measuring 3.8m wide by 4.5m long. It has been paved recently with a modern pavement, replacing the old good-quality flagstones. It is bordered to the west by a simple wall built of stone and concrete blocks. A rectangular recess (50cm wide by 60cm long) with a slab lintel had previously been constructed in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. This has recently been dismantled to give space for a modern bathhouse. The recess formerly housed the conduit-head leading to the gutter mentioned above, and thence to the cistern beneath the west part of the lower ground floor.

Antechamber B gives access to the long chamber C and the small room D to the north west of the complex. It was entered from courtyard A through the west wall, which was open and dominated by a pointed arch. The arch is built in *ablaq* technique with black, white, and red stones and it is surrounded by another arch of plain white stones. A new concrete kitchen has now been built directly in front of this antechamber. Antechamber (*dirka*) B is square in plan, measuring 2.7m by 2.7m, and it has a new pavement. The room is dominated by the arched entrance which acts as one wall and it is here called a *dirka*, for it gives access to the adjoining rooms. Two doors in the north and the south walls of the antechamber give onto chamber C and room D, and there is a rectangular recess in the east wall. This measures 1.85m wide by 35cm deep and 2.5m high, and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. The walls and the roof of the *dirka* have been recently plastered and its roof is covered by a cross-folded vault with a saucer dome in the centre.

Chamber C has only one elevation visible and that faces south over courtyard A. It is undecorated. Its single rectangular, window, which measures 1m wide by 1.7m high, has a slab lintel. Chamber C is reached through a simple door (80cm wide by 1.9m high) in the north wall of *dirka* B. The room is rectangular, with an internal measurement of 6.8m long by 2.7m wide. The floor is paved with the type of coloured tiles popular in Palestine during the first half of this century. The tiles are decorated with repeated geometrical patterns forming lozenges which enclose a floral motif. The interior is divided into two by a pointed arch which springs from two engaged piers on the north and south walls of the chamber. The first part to the east is windowless, and is smaller than the area to the west. In this second part of the chamber, there is a rectangular blind recess (90cm by 45cm by 1.6m high), which was originally a window in the north wall; this is surmounted by a relieving arch. The room is now lit by a double window in the west wall set within a rectangular niche measuring 1.8m wide by 1.5m high. Each window opening measures 70cm wide by 1.1m high, has a slab lintel on the outside and is fitted with iron grille. Each part of chamber C has its own cross vault, and the walls have recently been plastered.

Access to room D now is through a new opening in its

² This floor has recently undergone a major renovation with additions by the residents; there are therefore serious discrepancies between the survey plan and the more up-to-date description of the architecture as it now exists.

south wall; originally it was approached through a door in the south wall of *dirka* B, that is from the north. The door is 75cm wide by 2.35m high, and it leads into a square room which measures 2.5m wide by 2.5m long internally. The floor was once paved with white flagstones that have now been replaced by a modern pavement. Two windows illuminate the room, the first in the west wall overlooking the courtyard (A); the second is smaller. It is in the south wall, opening towards Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya. It is now blocked, as explained already, its lower part being on the same level as the ground. There is a modern artificial wood ceiling concealing the original cross vault.

The other part of the upper level of the complex is approached by way of *dirka* E which gives access to the main chamber F, as well as to chambers G and H. In principle, the two *dirkas* (B) and (E) resemble each other in that they are both entered by way of an arch which effectively forms one side of the room. Like B, the external northern face of E is dominated by a slightly pointed arch. But E is rectangular in plan with an internal measurement of 2.6m wide by 3.4m long. It was once raised 20cm above the level of courtyard A. The floor has recently been given a new pavement in place of the old one, and the room is covered by a domical vault. Its lowest part is carried on four small pointed arches which spring from the corners of the room. Four corner triangular pendentives mark the transition zone from the square to the octagonal drum. The drum is made up of eight blind panels surmounted by semicircular arches which support a series of faceted triangles with a small saucer dome above them. The exterior is expressed as a shallow dome covered with small flagstones.

A simple entrance in the south wall of *dirka* E used to lead to the principal chamber F. It is now blocked but was fitted with a wooden door made up of two leaves. Chamber F is flanked by the southern parts of the halls G and H to west and east. It is square in plan, measuring 3.7m by 3.7m, and has a modern pavement. A rectangular double window in the south wall provides light and air. Each section of the window measures 40cm wide by 1.85cm high and is surmounted by a semicircular arch on the inside and a slab lintel on the outside; it is fitted with an iron grille. Chamber F is covered by a dome expressed internally as a shallow saucer and externally as a hemisphere. The twelve-sided drum rests on a faceted twelve-sided base of two masonry courses. Each side of the drum was once pierced by a small window under a semicircular arch. All but one of the windows are now blocked. The drum and the transitional masonry courses are supported on four pointed arches, which extend almost the full width of each side of the chamber and are supported in turn by the walls from which they spring. A pendentive in each of the four corners serves to form the duodecagonal transitional zone between the square base and circular drum. The dome and the transition area have recently been coated with plaster. The exterior of the dome once again is covered with small flagstones.

A simple entrance in the western wall of *dirka* E, now dismantled, once gave access to the adjoining hall G. It was fitted with a wooden door with two leaves. The interior of room G, running north-south, is rectangular, measuring 2.4m wide by 6.9m long. It is divided into two by a pointed arch in the middle of the chamber. The arch springs from a small pier on the west and from the eastern wall of the hall. The interior is lit by two windows; the first, on the west side, is a rectangle measuring 60cm wide by 1m high and surmounted by a semicircular arch. The second window is to the north and is smaller than the first one. The floor is covered by a modern pavement, and the walls

have recently been plastered. The roof is made up of two cross vaults.

Chamber H corresponds to chamber G on the other side of F. Although similar, the two halls are not identical, for they differ in measurement, in the scheme of fenestration and in their doors. Chamber H opens directly off *dirka* E with no intervening door, for the division between the two spaces is dominated by a pointed arch. The interior of H is rectangular in plan, measuring an average of 2m wide by 5.7m long. A single window in the east at floor level provides light. The window is rectangular, measuring 75cm wide by 1m high, and is fitted with wooden shutters and an iron grille. The window opens onto the Tariq 'Aqabat al-Takiyya directly over the western archway. Another small slit window is placed in the south side over the door that leads to the back courtyard (I). It measures 20cm wide by 60cm high. The floor of chamber H is covered with flagstones, the walls have been recently plastered and the roof is covered by two cross vaults. The once-open courtyard I, now roofed in concrete, is entered through a door in the south wall of chamber H. The courtyard is rectangular in plan and paved with flagstones. It is bordered to the east and south by a rusticated stone wall reaching a height of 3m, and to the north by the south wall of chamber G. The double window in chamber F is in the north wall of courtyard I and here too there are traces of an arch that has been partly dismantled and later blocked. A small room with a pointed-arched entrance once occupied the west end of the courtyard but has now been dismantled to allow the area to be transformed into a kitchen.

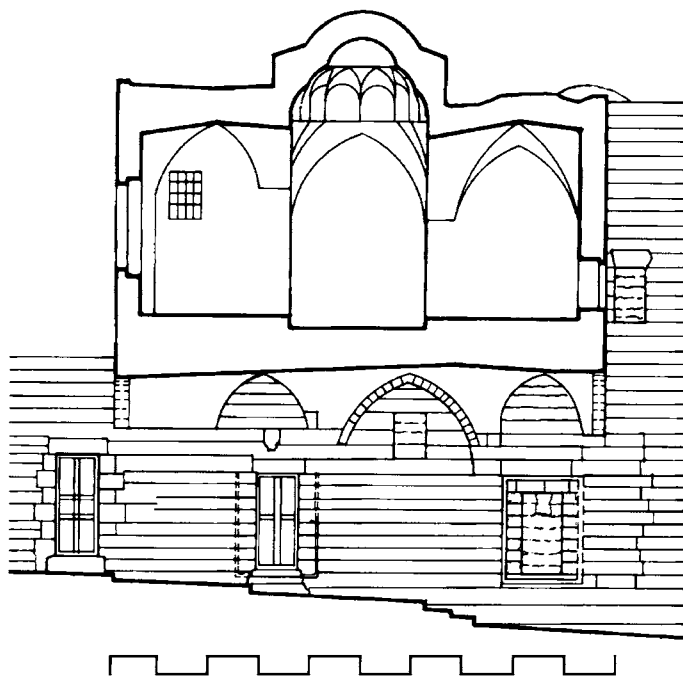


Fig. 29.1 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, south façade.

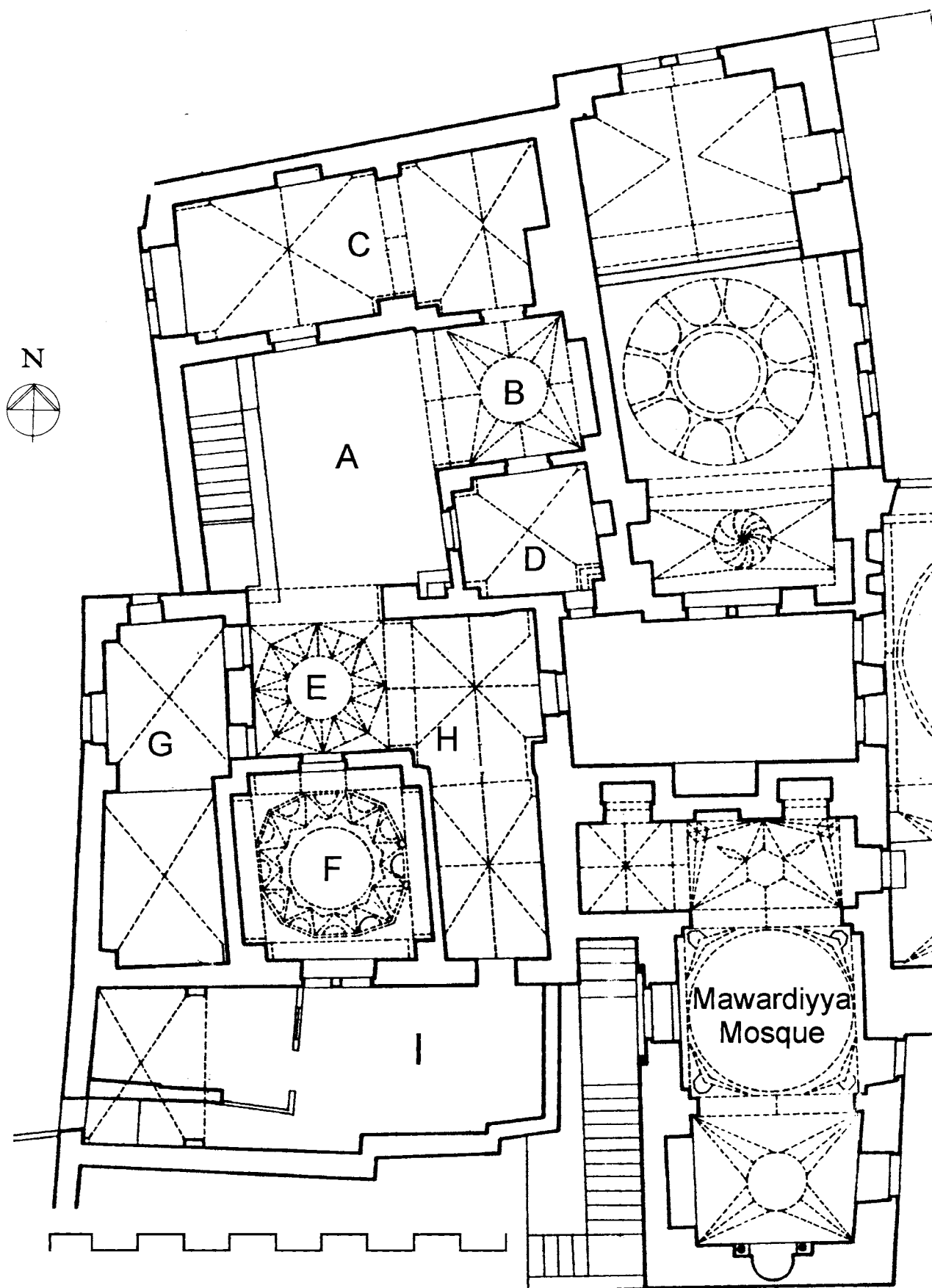


Fig. 29.2 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, first-floor plan.

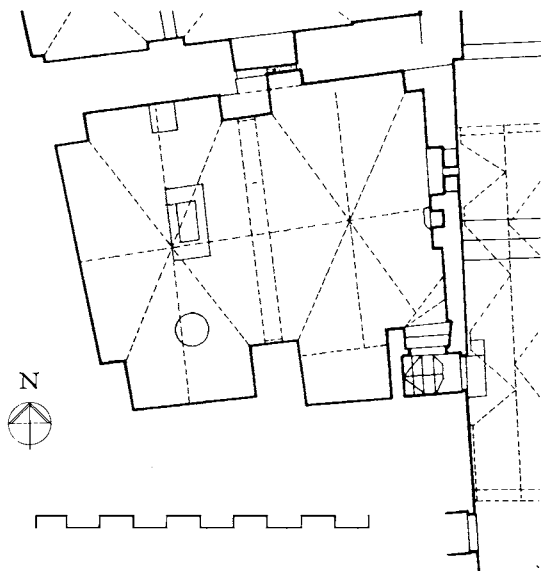
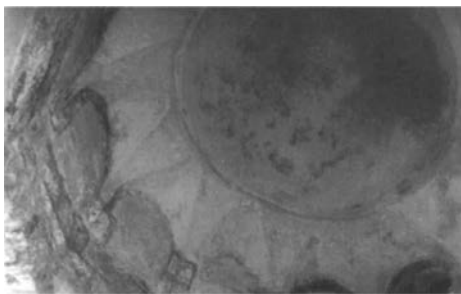


Fig. 29.3 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, ground plan.



Pl. 29.1 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, view of dome from interior.



Pl. 29.3 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, upper view of the exterior.



Pl. 29.2 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, external street façade with domes.



P1. 29.3 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, courtyard with view of both domes.



P1. 29.5 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, courtyard with stairway leading down into it.



P1. 29.6 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, view of side walls.

30 QUBBAT AL-ARWAH

Name: Qubbat al-Arwah (The Dome of the Spirits)

Date: Before 1037/1627-8

Endowment: 1037/1627-8

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Qubbat al-Arwah

Location

Qubbat al-Arwah is located to the north west of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, about 10m to the south east of the north-western colonnade.

Site and brief description (figs. 30.1-30.3, pls. 30.1-30.8, col pl. XXXVI)

The building is octagonal in plan. It is a free-standing, single-unit structure. Eight columns carry eight arches with a slightly pointed profile; these are left open. A single course of masonry above the arches supports a heavy projecting cornice; the hemispherical dome rises immediately above this level, supported by the arches below. A single course of masonry encloses the base of the columns and thus delineates the octagonal floor space; below the arch to the south (the *qibla*), the enclosure breaks outwards to form a semicircular niche which serves as a *mihrab*. Most of the octagonal flooring of the interior is made of a single slab of natural white rock of irregular shape, part of which continues below and beyond the enclosure to the north east, to merge with the paving of the terrace.

History

Identification

As early as 1037/1627-8 the Qubbat al-Arwah was mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of Muhammad Agha in Sijill 113: 639. The donor specified funds to cover the cost of oil and to pay a man to be in charge of lighting the lamp that was to hang in Qubbat al-Arwah, which was stated to be located in the north-western section of the platform of the Noble Rock. In 1083/1672 Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 93) included a description of Qubbat al-Arwah in his survey of the shrines on the north side of the Haram. He wrote that: 'Bab Hutta (*sic*) is the shrine of the prophet Qaffah b. ... Nearby is the Dome of the Spirits (Qubbat al-Arwah), with its small dome rising over eight slender columns'. In 1105/1693, al-Nabulsi (1986: 116, 118) visited Qubbat al-Arwah on two successive days (4-5 Rabi' I), but beyond noting the fact he gave no details.

Date

Qubbat al-Arwah is not dated either by epigraphic foundation text or *waqf* document. Burgoyne (1976: no. 115) suggested the 16th century as a tentative date for the building. Najm *et al.* (1983: 320) and Taha (1990: 21) both go one step further and state that the Qubbat al-Arwah dates to the 16th century but without giving their grounds for that dating. The founder of the building is equally anonymous (see below).

Endowment

Sijill 113: 639-40 contains a long *waqfiyya* bearing the name of Muhammad Agha the Administrator (*mutawalli*) of the *waqfs* of Khassaki Sultan (cat. no. 15). He was known as the brother of *maulana* (our master) Istaqamati Efendi, the son of the deceased Ahmad Pasha. Muhammad Agha had made a *waqf* in the sum of

300 *ghirsh asadi* (gold coins). He stipulated that the *mutawalli* was to administer (*yurabbihu*) the money in a lawful way and that he was to raise an annual interest of 48 *ghirsh asadi* on the capital. The expenditure of the income was specified, and among the amounts listed were two items concerning Qubbat al-Arwah. The *waqfiyya* reports that '... he (the administrator) is to allocate 3 *ghirsh asadi* in each year for the cost of oil to light the lamp that hangs each night in the Qubbat al-Arwah, which is located on the platform of the Noble Rock on the north-western side. The lamp is to be lit every day throughout the year from sunset to daybreak. Another 2 *ghirsh asadi* are to be allocated annually for a man to light the lamp and to serve it. Muhammad Agha has appointed Shaikh 'Ali al-Khafaji for the duration of his life and after him the appointment is to be according to the *qadi* of Jerusalem.' For the full Arabic text of the *waqf* of Qubbat al-Arwah, see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 30.

Architecture

Exterior

The dome is hemispherical and rests on eight slender columns spanned by arches constructed of small grey-white stones, which are framed by a thin ogival moulding. The eight arches are similar in height and their span is between 1m and 1.06m, the arch to the south having the widest span. The *qibla* is further marked by a roundel which decorates the keystone of the arch to the south. The roundel has a six-pointed star, the arms of which stand a little proud of the surface and are marked by a central groove. In the centre of the star-polygon there is a projecting floral boss, its centre marked by a six-petalled rosette. A metal tie-beam now runs between the openings at the level of the springing of each arch. The shafts of the slender columns are cylindrical and are made of grey-white marble; they share a radius of 62cm. The capitals are of various types, which would suggest that they are in secondary use.

[Editorial note: 1. Capital nos. 1 and 8 are similar but not identical. They are of a basket type, and their ornamentation is made up of two series of counterchange triangles. The first series of triangles are small, carved in relief, and appear to be conceived with a straight base, while the second group are larger, are recessed and their bases are formed from a concave semicircle. The effect is organic; the upward-pointing triangles resemble bracts surrounding a fruit. The carving of capital no. 1 is of a higher quality than that of capital no. 8, which has a lozenge decoration at the bottom of the recessed triangles, giving the effect of a secondary leaf. The abaci are plain with the exception of two engraved grooves running parallel to the edge, and a slanting chamfered corner.

2. Capital no. 2 is a *muqarnas* type, made in two sections. The upper part of each face consists of three ogival arches slant-cut into the surface; within this outer delineation, a crisp fillet frame outlines the cut-away *muqarnas* panel, which takes the form of an almond; each almond is divided into four facets, with the four faces meeting at the springing of the enclosing ogee. The lower part of this upper level is cut by triangular facets framed by deeply cut grooves that meet at the centre, directly below the apex of the upper arches. The groove continues into the lower level to form part of the frame of the four splay-faced, irregular lancet panels. It is possible to read this lower section either as two subdivided panels, or as four irregular lancets. Either reading is marked by the emphasis at the apex of the panels, for a deep triangular recess is carried above a groove and carries the supporting 'pilasters' for the ogival arches above. These 'pilasters'

take the form of crisp fillet projections with the same profile as the ogival frames. The corners of the capitals are conceived with the same grammar—that is, they are formed of chamfered panels whose curved profile is cut by a central groove that rises to a deeply recessed triangle carrying the ‘pilasters’ to each side of the angle. A narrow astragal moulding runs round the base of the capital, which has no abacus.

3. Capitals nos. 4 and 5 are identical. They too are a type of *muqarnas*, but one markedly different from the design described above. The decoration is made up of three tiers of triangular splay-faced *muqarnas* panels, three at the base rising to a single panel at the apex. Together they create a chamfered corner. The panels are undecorated apart from a narrow groove outlining each. Between each of them there is a deep recess. The triangular shape of this recess, allied to the groove surrounding each lancet panel, allows a play of light and shade over the surface. Indeed, the contrast between the *muqarnas* lancet elements and the recesses between them creates a sort of counterchange motif. The centre of each face of the capital is marked by a single niche. It is conceived as being in two sections; the lower part is a recessed triangle cut with triangular facets to each side of it, and the upper part is a chamfered niche with a pointed profile. The astragal of this shaft is in the shape of a roll moulding.

4. Capitals nos. 5 and 7 are similar. The decorative scheme derives its form from the upper section of a standard Corinthian capital which has been greatly simplified (see, for example, Wilkinson 1987: figs. 24–5). The projecting corner volutes have lost all semblance of a leaf apart from a central rib on capital no. 7; it is seen more clearly on capital no. 5. At the centre of each face a vestigial palmette, again reduced to the utmost simplicity of form and identifiable only by the slender triangular rib and projecting tip, rises to carry the square abacus above. This is divided into two sections by a central groove. The astragal is a roll moulding.

5. The last example, capital no. 6, is odd, and the origins of its design are obscure. Each face is made up of three stilted semicircular niches; the first and the third niche each have at the centre a tall tapering triangle which gives the effect of a leaf with a central rib; this interpretation is given credence by the detailing of the middle niche which is worn but is clearly foliate. Beneath the capital there is a plain thin slab apparently of a different composition to the capital itself. The function of the slab is presumably to raise the capital above it to the requisite height, almost as if it were a misplaced abacus. It is undecorated apart from a slight step before it is cut in a curved chamfer to meet the circle of the column beneath. SA]

Although the capitals are so diverse in form, which must point to a re-use, the columns themselves are cut from the same stone and rest on identical bases. Each base consists of a square plinth measuring 32cm by 32cm, is set across the angles of the octagon, and has a torus moulding and an apophyge. The bases of columns nos. 1, 4, and 8 are constructed from veined stone. The upper joints of all the columns are strengthened by a metal band; similar bands encircle the bottom of all columns except no. 3, which has a band two-thirds of the way up its shaft.

Above the apex of the southern arch, a square blind recess runs between the frame of the arch and the cornice above; once it probably housed either a decorative panel or one with an inscription. The projecting cornice is composed of three elements—a concave section supporting a *cyma reversa*—and it runs around the top of the building. This marks the beginning of

the dome, which is constructed of an uncovered mortar mixture. The apex is crowned by an elaborate knopped marble finial in the form of a full moon. It is conceived in four sections. The lowest section is a plain baluster knop, its base wider than the top. Two grooves mark the beginning of the middle section, which is itself made up of two parts. The upper section is square in plan and rests on the lower part which is in a form of a short baluster knop. The uppermost part is a seamless ring from which a short protuberance rises towards the sky.

Interior

Qubbat al-Arwah, octagonal in form, is centrally planned and is surrounded on all eight sides by open arches. Thus it has no one face that could be called ‘the main façade’, and can be viewed from any angle. Equally, access to the *qubba* can be from any side. The building is surrounded at the level of the floor on seven sides by slabs of white marble, each measuring 1.4m long, 17cm wide, and 17cm high. They are arranged in octagonal form, to enclose, as mentioned above, the rock forming the floor of the little building. There is a difference in the south side of the octagon, where the slab wall has been replaced by five stones forming a semicircular niche to serve as a *mihrab*. The slabs of the low barrier are fixed together by means of joint holes filled with lead.

The niche that serves as *mihrab* is unusual; it is probable that it was once higher than its present level, for it seems inconceivable that the unsightly joins which are now uncovered were so planned from its inception. It is 40cm deep and is preceded by a rectangular panel of black marble set into the floor.¹ This measures 29cm by 43cm. A geometrical marble panel is to be found set into the paving to the west of the *mihrab* niche. It is made up of a white octagonal slab in the centre, with four triangles of red marble set at the corners; the whole design is framed by white flagstones. This decoration may indicate that the site was once occupied by a construction to which no reference is found in the medieval sources.

The interior of the domed building has no decoration whatsoever, and it has been recently replastered. The zone of transition leading to the dome is achieved by means of a short circular drum.

Features

The founder of the Qubbat al-Arwah is not known. This was perhaps deliberate, for some religious teaching encouraged benefactors to make their charitable donations anonymous. Another possibility, since this is best regarded as a commemorative building, is that its foundation was due to local initiative rather than to the sponsorship of a member of the ruling élite. Whatever the circumstances of the commission, the founder can be presumed to have been motivated by two factors: (1) the floor, which is formed of a single piece of bedrock;² and (2) the tradition in Islam which regards Jerusalem as the site of the Day of Judgment. The dome as a gathering place to which the souls of

¹ Although the idea is intriguing, it is difficult to suggest any connection between this panel and the Black Stone (*al-balata al-sauda*) located within the Dome of the Rock—one of the Holy Places in Jerusalem from the early Muslim period right up to the middle of the 16th century. On its significance and history, see Elad 1995: 78–81.

² It is worth mentioning that the floor of Qubbat al-Arwah today resembles the floor of Qubbat Jibril according to the description of Nasir-i Khusrau (1945: 43).

the believers could be summoned is implicit in the name al-Arwah. Because of this function, the site deserved *ziyara*, and in turn the assembled souls needed Qur'anic recitation.

To date the dome with any precision presents a problem due to the lack of any secure dating control. Those who propose a foundation date in the 16th century (see above) are doubtless influenced by the date of Qubbat al-Nabi. Yet, as already demonstrated in the catalogue entry devoted to the Qubbat al-

Nabi (cat. no. 10), a date in the 16th century is correct only for the second *mihrab* rather than for the Qubbat al-Nabi as a whole. At present, then, there is no conclusive proof either to support or to deny that the Qubbat al-Arwah was founded in the 16th century. It is, however, safe to say that it was extant in the 17th century because of the existence of the *waqf* dedicated to the lighting of the dome as mentioned above, and it is, of course, possible that the 17th century is also the period of its foundation.

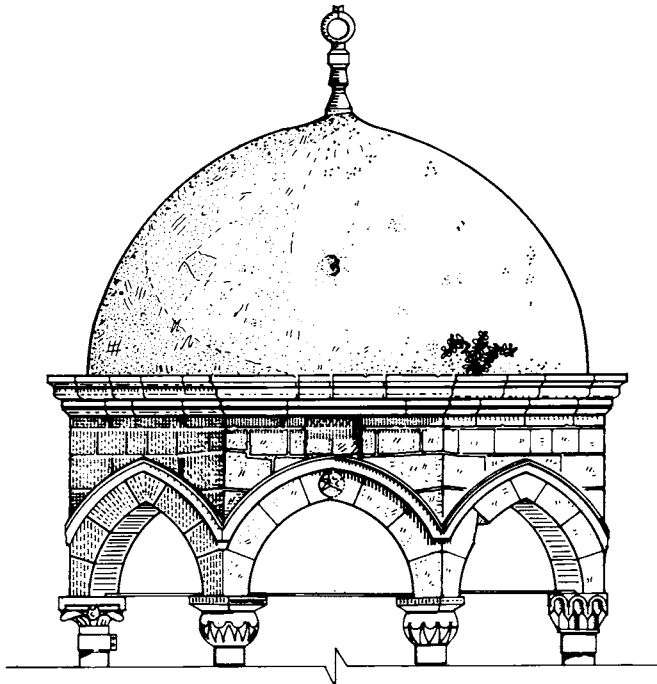


Fig. 30.1 Qubbat al-Arwah, upper elevation of dome.

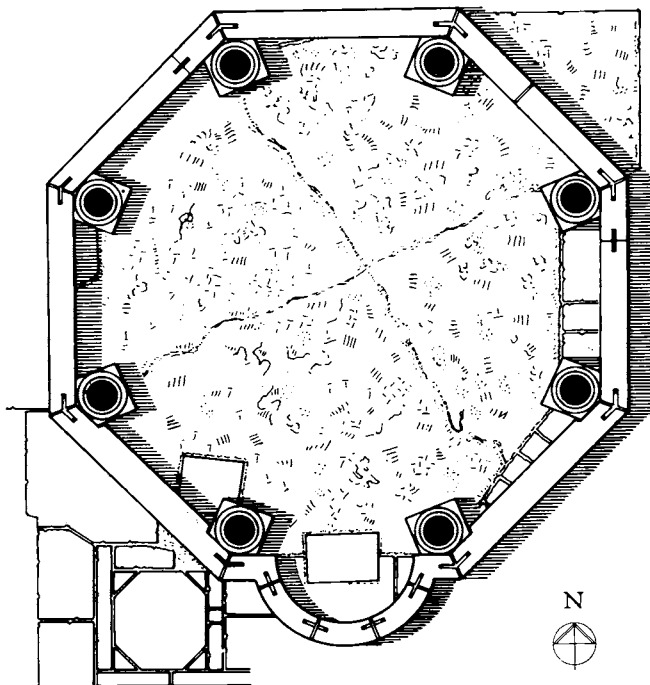


Fig. 30.3 Qubbat al-Arwah, ground plan.

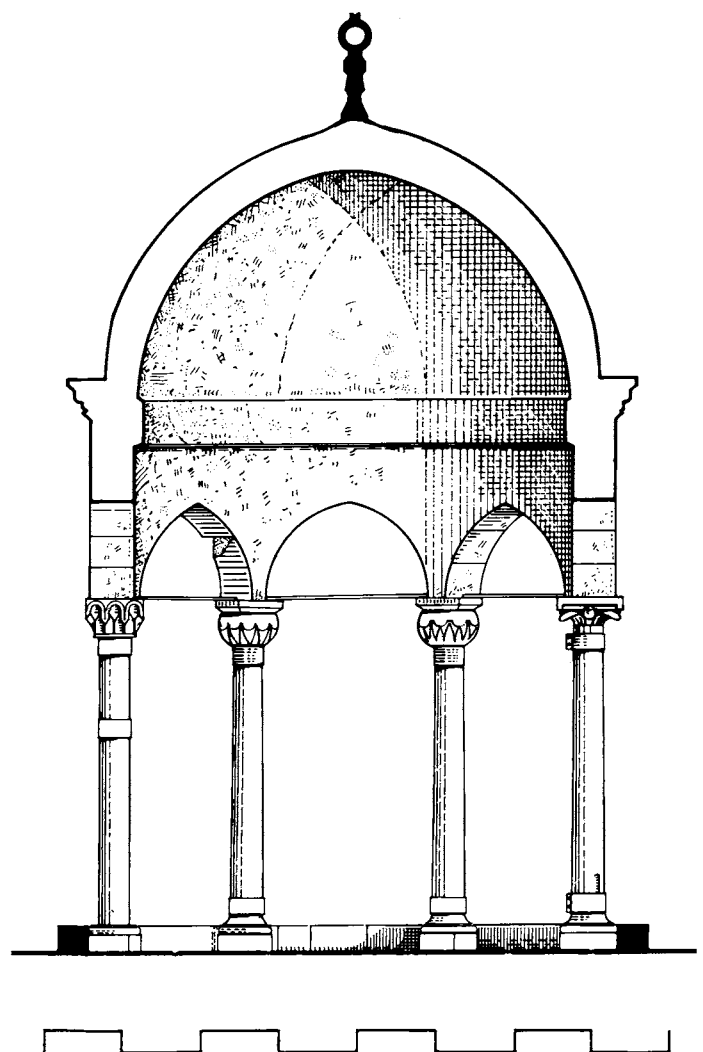


Fig. 30.2 Qubbat al-Arwah, section.



Pl. 30.1 Qubbat al-Arwah, general view.



Pl. 30.2 Qubbat al-Arwah, view through arcades of the Haram al-Sharif.



Pl. 30.3 Qubbat al-Arwah, *muqarnas* capital and spandrel.



Pl. 30.6 Qubbat al-Arwah, cushion capitals.



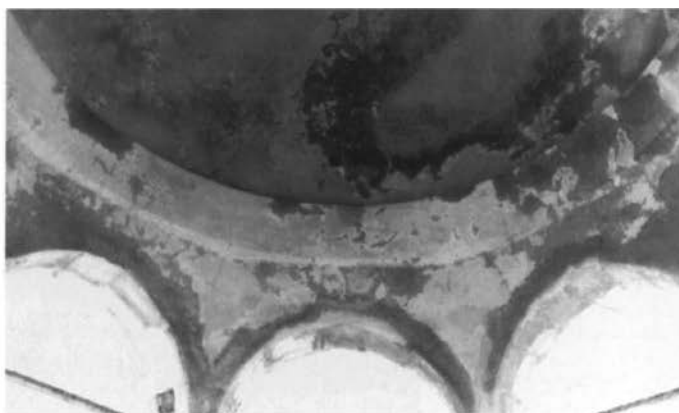
Pl. 30.4 Qubbat al-Arwah, view of capital.



Pl. 30.7 Qubbat al-Arwah, capital.



Pl. 30.5 Qubbat al-Arwah, *mihrab* at floor level.



Pl. 30.8 Qubbat al-Arwah, view of interior of dome.

31 QUBBAT AL-KHADR

Name: Qubbat al-Khadr¹

Date: (A) Qubbat al-Khadr. Undated, perhaps 1249-82/1833-67
(B) 'Reserved' *mihrab* and the *maqam* al-Khadr. Undated, but with a reference before 900/1494-5

Endowment: None known

Variants of name: Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 21) refers to the 'reserved' *mihrab* as *mihrab magharat al-arwah* (the niche of the cave of the spirits), and the site beneath the *mihrab* as *maqam al-khadr* (the place of al-Khadr)

Modern name: Qubbat al-Khadr. The area below Qubbat al-Khadr was referred to by al-'Arif (1947: 79) as 'Zawiyat al-Khadr'.

Location

The Qubbat al-Khadr is located at the north-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock.

Site and brief description (figs. 31.1-31.3, pls. 31.1-31.10)

Qubbat al-Khadr stands isolated from any close neighbour. It is flanked to the west and to the north by the corner formed by the upper parts of the western and northern walls of the terrace, and is hexagonal in plan. The dome, which has a pointed profile, rests on six arches carried on columns. The space directly under the dome houses a 'reserved' *mihrab* and is raised 48cm above the level of the terrace. The building is commemorative, constructed in honour of al-Khadr who was himself associated with al-Haram al-Sharif. Beneath the domed structure, there is a rectangular hall covered by a barrel vault at the level of the Haram esplanade. The hall is known as 'Zawiyat al-Khadr' and is used today as a store for old tiles from the Dome of the Rock.

¹ Al-Khadr, who is identified with the Christian St George, has a prominent position in Muslim tradition. He is mentioned in the Qur'an as a companion of the Prophet Moses (Qur'an XVIII: 59-81). Traditionally he is believed to appear in different human guises, one of them as a protector of ships, but he is also a protector in a more general sense—a figure to whom prayers are directed in times of crisis. He is frequently described as 'the man in green'. According to tradition, al-Khadr used to live in Jerusalem, and therefore had a close association with al-Haram al-Sharif where he was frequently seen at prayer. This is the reason for the many sites on the Haram which bear his name. For further references to al-Khadr within the Islamic tradition, see Wensinck in *IEP* 1978 4: 902-5 and *Palestinian Encyclopaedia* 2 1984: 7. Al-Khadr has been associated with different sites at different periods. Ibn al-Faqih (1885: 100-1), writing in 291-2/903, after describing the Dome of the Chain, mentions that 'in front of it (the dome) is the prayer place of al-Khadr (*wa amamuha musallat al-Khadr*)'. Eighty years later al-Muqaddasi (1873: 170) writes of 'Mihrab al-Khadr'. Al-Wasiti (1979: 91), who compiled his book some time around the year 410/1019, reported on the residence (*maskan*) of al-Khadr in Jerusalem. Ibn al-Murajja (1995: 140), al-Suyuti (Le Strange 1887: 266) and Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20-1, 28, 29) cite the tradition of al-Wasiti, though Mujir al-Din adds information on 'Maqam al-Khadr'. Throughout the Ottoman period, the association of al-Khadr with the Haram seems to grow in popularity. Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 71-2, 83) mentions 'Khalwat al-Khadr' in addition to the *maqam* and also notes that one of the Haram Gates is named after him. Al-Nabulsi (al-'Asali 1992: 262, 258) refers to a gate, *mihrab* and a Maqam al-Khadr. See also Elad (1995: 117).

History

Identification

Al-Suyuti (Le Strange 1965: 156) wrote in 875/1470 '... The Dome named the Dome of the Prophet is, as I understand it, the one which lies to the east of the Sakhra, being also called the Dome of the Chain. It was built by the Khalif 'Abd al-Malik. For I would point out that in the Haram area, beside the Dome of the Ascension, there are two other Domes. One, a small Dome, stands at the edge of the Sakhra Platform, on the right hand side of the northernmost of the steps leading up to the Platform from the west. I believe at the present day this is in the hands of certain of the servants of the Noble Sanctuary, and is put to some use on their part; certainly no one in the Holy City considers this to be the Dome of the Prophet.' See also van Berchem (1925: 45) for the Arabic text. Le Strange (1965: 156) commented on the reference by al-Suyuti, the only earlier reference known to us, by saying that 'At present (the dome is) known as Kubbat al-Khadr, the Dome of St George.'

There are problems regarding this identification. The first difficulty is al-Suyuti's identification of the Dome of the Prophet with the Dome of the Chain, which was not adopted by subsequent authorities, as Le Strange also noted (1965: 155). Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20-1) recounted the tradition of the 'lined' *mihrab* (*makhtut fi 'l-ard*) of Qubbat al-Nabi, following al-Suyuti. The term 'reserved *mihrab*' seems preferable to 'lined *mihrab*' and is the one used here. Mujir al-Din dismissed the identification of the Dome of the Chain as the Dome of the Prophet, but did not mention Qubbat al-Khadr at all, although he described the reserved *mihrab* and the *zawiya*. The inference is, therefore, that the dome itself did not exist at the time when Mujir al-Din was writing. The second problem is that al-Suyuti did not make the connection between his dome and al-Khadr. And the third problem is that it is difficult to see how the building could have been used by 'certain of the servants of the Noble Sanctuary', if we are to accept its present form as original. Perhaps it has been radically changed (see below). The conclusion has to be that, if there was a domed structure on the site at the time of al-Suyuti, it can have had little in common with the present Qubbat al-Khadr.

Qubbat al-Khadr is identified only by modern commentators as belonging to the Ottoman period. These references are Burgoyne (1976: no. 116), Najm *et al.* (1983: 321), Meinecke (1988: 261-2), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1990: no. 187), Taha (1990: 21), and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 89-90). Buschhausen (1978: 233), unlike these authors, thinks the dome belongs to the late Mamluk period.

The marble *mihrab* (*mihrab min rukham makhtut fi 'l-ard*) reserved within the floor level is recorded by Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 21) who added that 'people go to visit it.' Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20-1) also identifies the place known as 'Maqam al-Khadr', today known as 'Zawiyat al-Khadr'. The text states '... beneath the west *maqam*, next to the Dome of the Rock, there is a rock called '*Bakh Bakh*';² this is the place (*muda*) of al-Khadr—peace be upon him. He (al-Khadr) was overheard while he was

² '*Bakh Bakh*' literally means 'excellent, well done or bravo.' It is inscribed on 'Abbasid coins from Ramla (Natsheh, unpublished MA thesis, cat. nos. 63-65). The term is used by the Prophet in the Hadith Abu Talha (al-Sahihan, Muslim n.d. [Dar al-Fikr] 2: 693, and al-Bukhari n.d. [Dar al-Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi] vol. 7: 142). In this context it denotes praise in relation to an act of charitable value that will be rewarded.

praying and calling (to God) there. This place has been abandoned in our time (900/1494) and has become a storage place (*hasl*) for the mosque. It is located beneath the court of the Sakhra opposite Bab al-Hadid adjoining the staircase that leads to the Sakhra court. It is frequented by the people (*ma'nus*).'

Date

The dates of the domed building, the 'reserved' *mihrab* and what is today known as al-Zawiyat al-Khadr are all unknown; so far no relevant inscription or *waqf* document has been found. The account by Mujir al-Din implies, however, that both the *mihrab* and the site of the *zawiya* date to the pre-Ottoman period, that is to some period before Mujir al-Din compiled his book in 900/1494-5. Buschhausen (1978: 233) reflects that 'judging from the style of the dome, it is dated (*sic*) to the decline of the Mamluk period'; he adds that it possibly dates to the 15th century, but gives no supporting argument for his opinion by way of comparison. If his view were to be accepted, it would be difficult to understand how Mujir al-Din could have overlooked the dome while describing the *mihrab* and the *maqam* beneath. The conclusion must be that it is not a Mamluk structure and thus must belong to the Ottoman period. A more precise date is attempted in the discussion below.

Founder

It is not known who founded the *mihrab*, the *maqam* (*zawiya*) and the Qubbat al-Khadr. Qubbat al-Khadr is in this respect the same as Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) and Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30). A possible explanation for this anonymity is offered in the closing paragraphs of the catalogue entry on Qubbat al-Arwah.

Architecture

The shallow dome terminates in a slight point. It rests on six slender, elegant columns which carry arches that also come to a point and are constructed of seven small stones acting as voussoirs, originally white but now weathered to grey. The arches are similar in height (2.42m) and span (70cm). The extrados of each arch is framed by a carved billet decoration. An unadorned iron tie-beam once ran between the arches above the capitals at the level of the springing of the arch. Four struts are still extant; two have been lost.

The shafts of the six columns are of grey-white marble. Five are cylindrical. The sixth, to the north (no. 4), is octagonal. Four of the cylindrical columns and the single octagonal shafts are matched in height, measuring 2m. The exception is no. 1 to the south which is shorter than the other five, being only 1.63m; the extra height needed to match its companions is achieved by a short cylinder of red and black granite, which is 42cm high and is now badly cracked. The radius of the granite cylinder is 87cm. This is wider than the radius of the shaft it carries, which measures only 54cm at the head and 59cm at the base. A metal band reinforces the join between the two elements of this column, and a further metal band has been placed recently around the top of the shaft at the point where it meets the capital, again in order to strengthen the joint. These bands replaced copper ones, and were the work of the Aqsa Restoration Committee in the 1970s.

The capitals are of various types. The most simple type is represented by the capitals of shafts nos. 1 (in the south with a granite base), 3 and 5 which closely resemble each other.

[Editorial note: The capitals are numbered 1-6 in a clockwise direction. Numbers 1, 3 and 5 are similar; each has a marble abacus. They are by far the simplest in design. The upper

part of the square abacus, the sides of which each measure 24cm, projects beyond the lower, smaller section. The capital proper, which is cut from a different stone, is constructed in two sections, both of which are plain except for their corners, which have been chamfered. The corners of the upper sections have an oval or almond-shaped boss left in reserve in the middle of a squat lancet-shaped niche, marked by a crisp central division that corresponds to the corner. The lower square section of the capital, although echoing the upper in the lancet-shaped chamfer at the corner, has no central boss, leaving the chamfer as a plain, splay-faced concave cut that converts the square into an irregular octagon to achieve the necessary transition to the cylindrical shaft below.

Capital no. 2 is the only example of its kind. It too has a heavy abacus with a complex moulding. Below it, the capital is cut from a single, separate stone. The design incorporates a kind of false abacus within it; this forms the uppermost part and is unadorned. Below this square, the stone is cut away in two levels. The upper level has a lancet-shaped chamfer at the corners. Each is decorated with a five-rayed, foliate motif which is perhaps a vestigial acanthus. Another lancet-shaped niche is cut in the centre of each side. In each case, this is decorated with a series of grooves that follow the profile of the niche, to give a striated effect. The areas between the lancet elements are cut away sharply, presumably in order to accentuate the design. The lower level of the capital, where it meets the column beneath, is converted into a circle by a series of eight splay-faced, plain elements. These are the familiar lancet shape and their tips meet the level above at the point where the frames of the upper lancet-niches converge. This arrangement leaves a deep triangular cut underneath each corner and the central motifs. The deep shadow produced by this cut, which is framed by the sides of the plain niches, completes the upper design in a satisfying way.

Capitals nos. 4 and 6 are similar in that they both employ re-used Crusader capitals as part of their design, using them as a kind of abacus extension. Although not identical, this upper element in each case consists of a series of circular concave saucers delineated by a carved undulating stem. Foliage hangs from this stem, with the deeply drilled detailing typical of the Crusader period. The interesting point about this re-use is that it has necessitated a reworking on two sides to cut an over-large capital to fit the smaller Ottoman site. The reworked faces are towards the interior of Qubbat al-Khadr and are not, therefore, immediately obvious to a visitor to the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The reworking appears unfinished, or at any rate with no attention to detail. In each case it consists of a central circular boss flanked by an elongated oval set at a slant to either side. It is just possible to make out a narrow fillet which joins the top of the circular boss, encircles it and then extends to join the bottom of the neighbouring oval. It is probably a clumsy attempt to emulate the Crusader design and is clearly intended to represent a stem, for four leaves can also be made out. This makes it likely that the central disc in each case is intended to represent a fruit. Probably the two ovals are also meant to represent fruits or buds; perhaps they all echo the mosaic fruits in the Dome of the Rock and were originally intended to recall the fruits and flowers promised to the faithful in Paradise.

The lower sections—that is the capital proper—of nos. 4 and 6 are Ottoman. At first sight they appear to be similar, but a closer examination reveals differences. They are both typical of Ottoman capitals found elsewhere on the Haram (for example, Qubbat al-Nabi, cat. no. 10, or the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, cat. no. 23, although the carving on both of these

is finer and crisper than it is here), and basically take the form of two simple *muqarnas* tiers. No. 4 is cut from a single stone, but no. 6 is made up of two separate stones, the joint occurring above the lowest tier. Both nos. 4 and 6 have a total of ten motifs in the upper level, each made up of a central almond-shaped device marked by a central division. These are set into a squat lancet-shaped niche, which is flanked on each side by an acute-angled triangle placed as a wedge beneath the main element. These niches are arranged so that there are two on each face with another across the corners, creating a chamfered reduction in the overall size of the upper level. Cut flat across the base, the segmental element created by each niche with its wedge-shaped additions is given definition by the play of light across the surface. Where the points of the wedges meet, three grooves run vertically down into the lower section of the capital. The effect is curiously organic, as if the grooves represent stems of an abstracted flower motif in the segmental niches above. The corners of this lower level are each chamfered with a splay-faced lancet niche.

Further differences between nos. 4 and 6 lie in the carving. No. 6 is cut more crisply and the uppermost level of the Ottoman capital proper is finished by a narrow border of teardrop-shaped depressions. There are eleven to each side. Each alternate drop has a small circular boss and they are so arranged that a boss appears at each end of each face. However, the lowest level of the lower tier of capital no. 6 is very roughly finished. It is larger in circumference than the column beneath, and the clumsy reworking may have been executed at the time the capital was adapted for use on Qubbat al-Khadr. Clearly, because of the different designs and the haphazard arrangement, the capitals were gleaned from elsewhere. Although the overall carving of no. 4 is less crisp now, it may be that the softened effect is due in part to wear and tear, for the lowest level is well finished in a crisp cut to accommodate the size of the column beneath. It is fitted with a metal band, and the sharpness of the cut might indicate that it was deliberately designed for just such a support at the time when the present Qubbat al-Khadr was erected. SA]

Buschhausen (1978: 233, pls. 333-7; 338-40) says that the capitals take the form of the 'late Mamluk stalactite' but neither cites his authority nor gives parallels. It is obvious that the almond-shaped device is on the contrary used in Jerusalem solely in buildings from the Ottoman period (for example, on Qubbat al-Nabi, cat. no. 10; Qubbat al-Arwah, cat. no. 30; the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, cat. no. 22 and Sabil Mustafa Agha, cat. no. 48). No comparison can be found in Mamluk architecture in the city. It is clear that the upper levels of capitals no. 2 and 4 date to the Crusader period, and Buschhausen (1987: 233), who suggests that the decoration shows traces of animal figures, compares these with the capitals of the *sabil* of Sulaiman at Bab al-Nazir (cat. no. 7) and is inclined to believe that they might come from the same source. There is no confirmation of the reason behind the variety of capitals used in this small building. Its suggested late date, however, added to the inconsistencies in the way it has been built, might suggest that the capitals were collected from various different sites and are here in re-use.

The bases of the columns are partly hidden. This appears to be the result of the floor of the reserved *mihrab* having been raised at some time, which has had the effect of concealing the column bases. The shaft of no. 1 rests on a short cylindrical granite base, as shown above; and in the case of no. 4, which is an octagonal column, this moulded base is further raised above the platform by an additional square cushion 8cm high.

One and a half courses above the billet moulding over the arches a projecting cornice runs round all six sides of the building. The salient face is decorated by a series of pointed, leaf-shaped divisions, each containing an abstracted plant with seven leaves, reminiscent of those found on capitals nos 1, 3 and 5. This cornice marks the start of the dome, which is constructed with stone and mortar, and was covered in 1998 in lead sheeting by the Aqsa Restoration Committee. The apex of the dome is crowned by a modern metal finial in the form of a crescent.

Interior

The plan of the building is hexagonal, surrounded on all six sides by open arches. This is the only domed structure on the Haram al-Sharif which has a hexagonal plan. Usually the commemorative domed structures in Ottoman Jerusalem have an octagonal plan, like the Dome of the Prophet (cat. no. 10) and Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30), or are four-sided, like Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38), Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39) and the dome of the summer pulpit—although this last dome is a Mamluk building which was restored in the Ottoman period (Burgoyne 1987: 319-20). There is no obvious reason for the choice of six sides, for there is no clear iconographic association with the number six as far as this author knows, although the hexagon is widely used in Islamic geometric design.

Access is possible from the south and east only, for the sides to west and north are bordered by the walls of the north-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. As the building is raised 48cm above the level of the terrace, access is not easy. The dais measures 1.9m wide by 1.81m long and it includes a *mihrab* similar to that found in Qubbat al-Nabi. It is clear that an addition to the east has enlarged the original area of the site.

The *mihrab* is shown as a reserved area within the floor level. It is simple in design and is made up of three slabs. Two are rectangular in shape and are of black stone, while the third is of white marble. This last slab has a rectangular base but terminates towards the south (the *qibla*) in the form of a pointed arch. A frame of red paving marble runs round these three slabs and this in turn is framed by white marble. For more details about this type of *mihrab* see Ch. 36 under the heading 'The floor or "reserved" *mihrab*'.

The Zawiya of al-Khadr (Maqam al-Khadr)

The *zawiya* is to be found at the level of the Haram esplanade. To the north and west its sides are formed by the north-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The *zawiya* is separated from the north-western colonnade by a passage which leads to its entrance. The entrance is preceded by a square porch of three pointed arches topped by three courses of masonry. The arches are carried by two columns to the north and by imposts to the south. The short, massive columns are of red granite and are in secondary use. The eastern column is 2.1m high and its radius is 1.7m, while the western one is 2.2m high and its radius is 1.7m. Both columns have cushion capitals and moulded *abaci* of restrained elegance, and the imposts have a similar rounded profile and moulding.

The door to the *zawiya* is simple and measures 97cm wide by 2.12m high. It has a narrow stone lintel which is surmounted by an arch. The only other aperture in the building is a window between the lintel and the arch. The interior is currently used to house old tiles from the Dome of the Rock, removed after the restorations of the 1960s. It consists of a single rectangular hall with a barrel vault rising directly from floor level. A simple

mihrab niche with a semicircular head is cut into the south wall of the vault. The *mihrab*, walls and vault are all lime-plastered.

Date

Qubbat al-Khadr is a commemorative building, as already stated, which seems to have been erected on a site for a long time associated with al-Khadr, as discussed above. A likely sequence of events seems to be as follows:

(1) The lower part of the north-western corner of the Dome of the Rock terrace came to be identified as the Rock of Bakh Bakh (see note 2) in Islamic tradition, according to Mujir al-Din (see above). It is believed to be the place (*muda'*) where al-Khadr used to pray, and according to a mid-16th century guide³ was known as Magharat al-Arwah. At some later date the place became known as Maqam al-Khadr.

(2) A 'reserved' *mihrab* (*makhtut fi 'l-ard*) was built some time before 900/1494-5 over Maqam al-Khadr, and during the Mamluk period developed into a site to be visited for religious purposes.

(3) By the end of the Mamluk period and in early Ottoman times, Maqam al-Khadr was no longer used for religious purposes, and was employed instead as a storage place for materials belonging to the Aqsa Mosque.

(4) At first, al-Khadr was believed to have prayed at Maqam al-Khadr, also called the Rock of Bakh Bakh. Subsequently, in the late 11th/17th to early 12th/18th century, this tradition became associated with another site, known today as al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, Masjid al-Nabi or Qubbat Bakh Bakh (cat. no. 43).

(5) A dome at some still later period was built over the 'reserved' *mihrab*, perhaps deliberately in order to revive the traditional link with al-Khadr, and to encourage the *ziyara* (visitation) of the Haram and Jerusalem generally.

If the above sequence is correct, it is possible that the dome dates to the end of the 12th/18th or perhaps to early in the 13th/19th century. Apart from Meinecke, all those who date the Qubbat al-Khadr to the 10th/16th century are influenced by the date of the second *mihrab* of Qubbat al-Nabi, but unfortunately they do not support that date with any documentary proof (see above). Two dating controls may be helpful in an attempt to solve the puzzle. The first is the billet stone moulding which frames the arches, and the second is the decoration of the cornice which runs around the building below the springing of the dome. Both these decorative elements are found in 10th/16th-century Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem.

Meinecke (1988: 261), basing his view on the billet moulding ('denticulate frieze'), presumed that Qubbat al-Khadr was erected at the same time as the restoration of the neighbouring colonnades, that is the north-western colonnade, for this has the same billet moulding as Qubbat al-Khadr. These colonnades were restored between 926-74/1519-67 (van Berchem 1925: 184-86) by order of Sultan Sulaiman during the comprehensive restorations of the Haram. Meinecke (1988: 261-

2) comments that 'This decorative element [denticulation] which was adopted from Mamluk architecture goes back to the early architectural activities of Sultan Sulaiman in al-Quds/Jerusalem ... [It] goes back to the Aleppo school of architecture, [and thereafter] can no longer be traced in al-Quds/Jerusalem.' Meinecke supported his argument with examples of the architecture of Sultan Sulaiman in Jerusalem which have this decorative billet moulding. He mentions Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud (930/1524), the minaret of the Citadel (restored in 939/1524), and Sabil Bab al-Silsila and Sabil Bab al-Nazir, both of which are dated to 943/1537. Meinecke concluded his discussion by saying that this decorative detail cannot be traced in Jerusalem after 943/1537, pointing out that the billet moulding is no longer employed in the *mihrab* of Muhammad Beg, which dates to 945/1538-9.

There is more than one obstacle to accepting Meinecke's hypothesis. First, there are three places where the billet moulding occurs in the complex of Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud. These are: (a) above the triple arch of the double window in the upper eastern side of the main entrance to the Maqam; (b) on the north elevation of al-Zawiya al-Ibrahimiyya; and (c) above the arch of the eastern entrance to the Maqam. None of these three sites can be dated to the 16th century—they are all later. Al-Zawiya al-Ibrahimiyya is attributed to Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali, and was built in 1834, and both the eastern and northern entrances have foundation inscriptions which date them to restorations carried out in the 19th century.

Secondly, there is no reliable evidence that the minaret of the Citadel was either built or restored by Sulaiman—it is only an assumption (based on the major work being carried out by him at the time) that the sultan patronised the restoration of the minaret. Even if one believes that the minaret was restored under Sulaiman, it is not clear if the billet moulding dates to the work undertaken by him or whether it rather dates to the other period of restoration by Muhammad Pasha in 1065/1655, which is documented by a marble panel (van Berchem 1922: 165). If the billet moulding on the minaret of the citadel is from the time of Sulaiman, it might also be expected to occur on the minaret of Nabi Da'ud, but in point of fact it is not to be found there. Meinecke (1988: 27, 6 n. 39) himself recognised that the Khassaki Sultan, completed in 959/1552, has sporadic billet mouldings, but explained their presence there by saying that 'these could be earlier constructions which were inserted into the pilgrim hospice (the Takiyya of Khassaki Sultan) at a later date'. He observed (1988: 262) that this decorative moulding is preserved in several places on the surrounding walls of the Haram and in particular over the entrances, but he considers them an indication of the comprehensive restoration work undertaken by Sultan Sulaiman. If these are part of the restorations of Sulaiman, it is surprising that there is no foundation panel to testify to the fact, for it is clear that Sulaiman was keen to document almost every work he undertook in the Holy City.

Finally, this type of moulding is found in many other dated and undated monuments. For example, it occurs above the entrance of the house of Bairam Jawish (959/1551-2), on the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (1009/1600) no. 22, and on the façade of the outer entrance of the 'Umar ibn al-Khattab mosque which was built in 1255-77/1839-61, as well as on an undated *sabil* near Bab Hitta and an unidentified domestic building in Tariq al-Wad located a few metres south of Sabil al-Shurbaji (cat. no. 40). It would thus seem that the billet moulding was a popular decorative element adopted from Mamluk buildings and employed widely in Ottoman architecture. It is not

³ Nasir al-Din Muhammad al-Rumi (mid-16th century) wrote of the same place in his 'Guide for the Muslim Pilgrim to Jerusalem', but in more concise form, under the name of Magharat al-Arwah. He describes the site (Elad 1995: 166) as that '... from which one can descend to the Gate of the Inspector (Bab al-Nazir) towards the place called Magharat al-Arwah (The Cave of the Spirits) which is located at a distance of 10 cubits or more (about 5 to 6 m) from the edge of the staircase.'

used exclusively in the building work of Sultan Sulaiman, as Meinecke thought, and thus unfortunately cannot be used as a proof for dating Qubbat al-Khadr, for it is of course possible to copy such decorative elements in later periods.

A second element which might be used as a dating control is the cornice which runs round all six sides of the building. The salient face is formed of a small lancet niche resembling a single *muqarnas* niche, decorated with a series of pointed, leaf-shaped divisions, each containing an abstracted plant with seven leaves. The design is reminiscent of those found on the extrados of the huge pointed arch of the Damascus Gate (944/1537-8). But this cannot be taken as evidence, for not only are the motifs not identical, but such decoration can be copied at any time. Moreover, this type of decoration is not to be found in the majority of 16th-century buildings.

The problem is compounded by the fact that 'Ali al-'Abbassi mentions the existence of Qubbat al-Khadr in 1807 but none of the diaries of travellers in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries do so. Above all it does not appear on three maps drawn

before 1867. The evidence is contradictory, but it is possible that the dome was built at the end of 12th/18th century or at the beginning of the 19th century. The maps are in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London. The first map was drawn by Catherwood in 1833, the second is a reduced copy of that map with a few corrections and additions, and the third is a sketch map drawn by Conrad Schick (Schick 239/7) of the north-western area of the Haram. If it is accepted that these early survey maps are accurate, then we are left with a problem. If 'Ali al-'Abbassi was talking about the same dome, then it must have been built some time before 1807. But if it was in existence then, why is it not shown on the three 19th-century maps? Up to now there is no obvious solution to the problem of date. Perhaps 'Ali al-'Abbassi was referring to a different *qubba* by the name of Qubbat al-Khadr. Whatever the solution, one fact remains unchallenged—our Qubbat al-Khadr certainly existed in the later 19th century, for the Ordnance Survey map of Palestine dated 1867 shows it quite clearly.

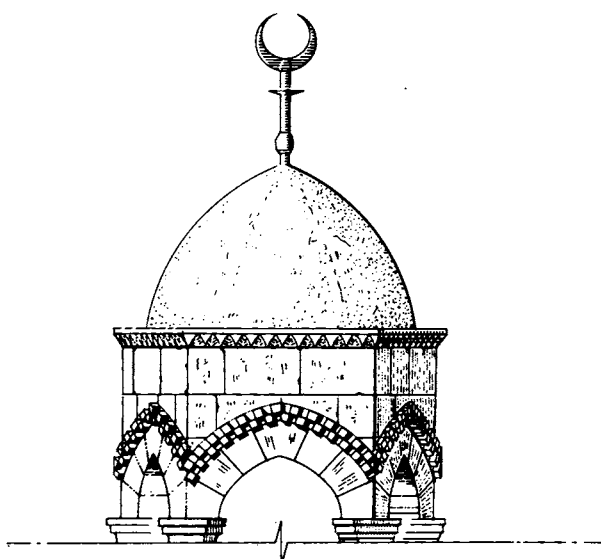


Fig. 31.1 Qubbat al-Khadr, elevation of dome.

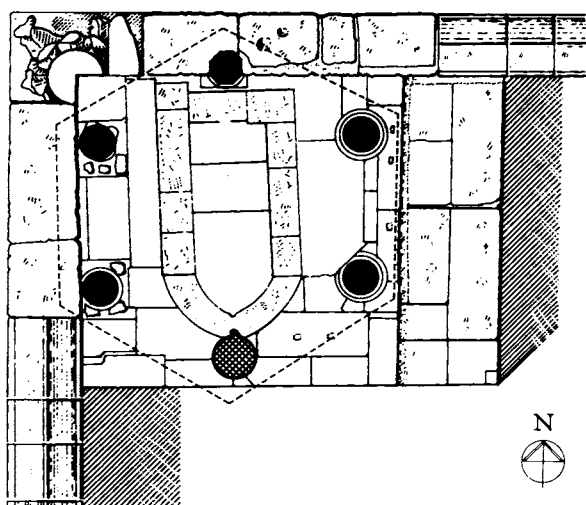


Fig. 31.3 Qubbat al-Khadr, ground plan.

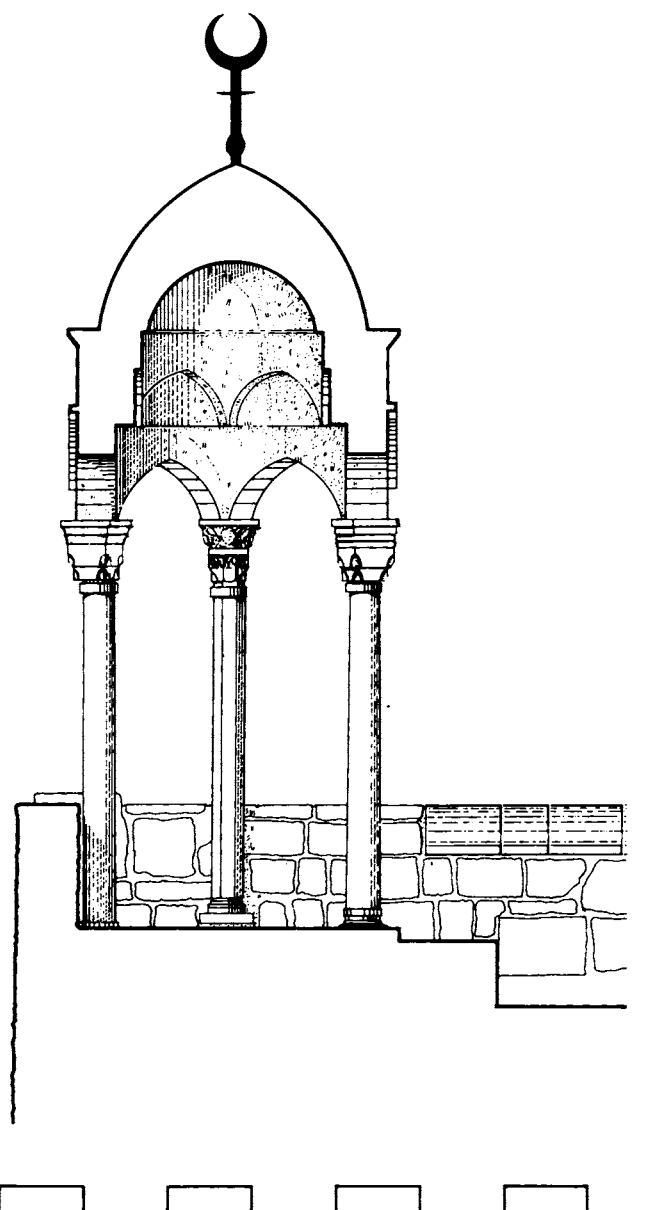


Fig. 31.2 Qubbat al-Khadr, section.



Pl. 31.1 Qubbat al-Khadr, general view.



Pl. 31.3 Qubbat al-Khadr, column capital in re-use and superstructure.



Pl. 31.2 Qubbat al-Khadr, column *spolia*.



Pl. 31.4 Qubbat al-Khadr, entrance to Maqam al-Khadr.



Pl. 31.5 Qubbat al-Khadr, upper part with denticulated moulding.



Pl. 31.8 Qubbat al-Khadr, crescent finial.



Pl. 31.6 Qubbat al-Khadr, capital.



Pl. 31.9 Qubbat al-Khadr, capital.



Pl. 31.7 Qubbat al-Khadr, capital.



Pl. 31.10 Qubbat al-Khadr, capital.

32 MASJID AL-QAIMARI

Name: Masjid al-Qaimari

Endowment: None known

Date: Undated

Variants of name: Masjid al-Qaimariyya; Jami' al-Qaimari

Modern name: Masjid al-Qaimari

Location:

The mosque is to be found in the north-west area of the Ottoman walls of Jerusalem.

Site and brief description (figs. 32.1-32.3, pls. 32.1-32.4)

The building is situated to the west side of the New Gate¹ (al-Bab al-Jadid). It is flanked to the north, west and east by the Ottoman walls, and by medieval, possibly Crusader, structures to the south and east. The site includes a small, undecorated entrance-way which ends in a T-junction or passage that in turn gives onto a rectangular courtyard, and a simple domed chamber now used as a mosque. To the south of the courtyard there is a group of modern buildings which now serves as a kindergarten, and shops to the east enclose a small tomb chamber. The complex does not have a minaret.

In principle the Masjid al-Qaimari, with its domed prayer chamber as the main feature, can be compared to other Ottoman mosques in Palestine, although it has no parallel in the public buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem. These comparanda are the prayer hall of al-Jazzar mosque at Akka (Acre), and the mosque dated 1743 of Zahir al-'Umar at Tabariyya (Tiberias). These two mosques have typical Ottoman features and relate to certain examples in Istanbul, for example the mosque of Firuz Agha (Bernie *et al.* 1992: 115). The features include: a square or nearly square domed chamber, a porch of two or more bays surmounted by small, shallow domes, and a 'pencil' minaret. The Masjid al-Qaimari has, however, only one of these typical features, namely the domed chamber. This diminutive scale can be explained in part by its location in a nook of the city wall.

History

Identification

Although the building has no inscription plaque and has suffered from extensive restoration, the mosque in its present form resembles a typical Ottoman single-unit structure, for it consists of a square prayer chamber surmounted by a dome. Moreover, the use of poor quality, roughly dressed stone for the exterior walls, the fact that the structure is not mentioned by Mujir al-Din, who in 900/1494-5 listed all the extant Islamic monuments of the city, as well as the fact that the Ottoman city walls (finished in 945/1538-9) are integral to the structure on the northern and western sides, all point without doubt to a date in the post-Mamluk period. Despite the fact that this pared-down type is common among early Ottoman mosques elsewhere from the 8th/14th century (see Kuran 1968: *passim*), it is the only example from the Ottoman period still standing in Jerusalem.

Date

Burgoyne (1976: no. 114), al-Husaini (1977: 20), Najm *et al.*

(1983: 51), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1992: no. 185), and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 2: 62) have all dated the mosque to the 16th century, but without giving any supporting evidence. In the absence of any foundation inscription and because so far neither a *waqfiyya* for the building nor any reference to it in the historical sources has been found, it is almost impossible to date this monument accurately.

Founder

Unfortunately, no information² has yet emerged regarding the founder. However, the name of the mosque—al-Qaimari³—seems to be derived from the name of Sitt Qamra bint Ahmad al-Qaimari, who is buried in the tomb chamber.⁴ Given the simplicity of the building and the indifferent quality of its stonework, it seems likely that the founder was an ordinary member of the public rather than from the higher ranks of society.

Other periods

Any visitor to this site will immediately recognise that the building has undergone many modifications and alterations. The windows, for example, which are oddly placed, are covered by modern shutters, and the exterior masonry is of many different types, both as to size and technique, with many stones re-used from elsewhere. The squinches, especially from the exterior, are ugly and ill-constructed. Above all, the *mihrab* is off-centre, with a clumsy scallop, and appears on the exterior as a masonry fill. A fuller description is given below. The visual impression is backed by the evidence contained in the *waqf* file (Auqaf file no. 54: 6) of the mosque. There can be no doubt that the location of the monument has always given it a strategic importance, especially when the cease-fire lines were determined during and after the 1386/1948 war. No doubt the position of the mosque has been a contributory factor to the manifold alterations which it has undergone.⁵ During the last four decades alone, many repairs have been carried out within the mosque.⁶

² This despite the recent publication in Jerusalem of an anonymous book entitled *al-Qaimariyyun*. Most of the information in the book relates to al-Qubba al-Qaimariyya, which is located outside the walls of the Old City. That site appears to date to the Ayyubid period and has certain Crusader architectural features.

³ Al-'Asali (1989: 110) published a fragment of Sijill 143: 56 dated 1060/1650-1 concerning the appointment of al-Shaikh Ibrahim ibn Bashir al-Khalili as a servant (*khadim*) in the tomb (*maqam*) of al-Shaikh Qaimar. Unfortunately for our purpose, the record is clear that the tomb was located outside the Old City of Jerusalem and can therefore have no bearing on the mosque under discussion. The Maqam al-Shaikh Qaimar was originally an Ayyubid structure and is still extant.

⁴ According to Mr Muhammad al-Qaimari (1992: 77), there was once a plaque on the tomb of Qamra, but it was defaced by paint and plastered with concrete. The name Qamra is inscribed on the cloth pall covering the tomb.

⁵ There were originally two rooms in the mosque courtyard, which were demolished during the 1386/1948 war. Subsequently, the area was used by the Jordanian Army for fortifications, which were later demolished some time before 1376/1956 (Auqaf file 54: 6, 20).

⁶ All the details of the restorations are preserved in the Auqaf file 54 which dates back to 20 Shawwal 1368/14 August 1949. A total sum of 24.79 Palestinian pounds was first requested, but because of the critical circumstances at that time, only P£ 10.79 was approved. At this time the major repair work undertaken consisted of replacing glass in the windows; repairs to the wood of the doors and the windows; and the removal of rubble (File 54: 1). The second record of expenditure on repairs is dated 29 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1377/16 June 1958 when a total of JD

¹ Yenişehirlioglu (1989: 50, 53) in error dated the New Gate to 944/1537. The city wall was breached at this point only in 1308/1889-90 when a new gate was built in order to provide easy access to the Christian Quarter (Ben-Arieh 1984: 1).

Architecture

The entrance to the mosque is through a narrow vestibule, which is raised above street level by means of six steps. It is bounded to the north by the Ottoman walls, and to the south by a modern building, erected in the early 1950s according to the Auqaf file (54: 6). The vestibule leads to a T-shaped passage from which the mosque is entered.

The Mosque

The eastern façade is the main one. It has at its centre the door which gives access to the interior of the monument. The door is flanked by two rectangular windows. One course beneath the level of these windows, the lower part of the wall projects forward about 15cm to form a narrow ledge on both sides of the doorway. This ledge measures 2.6m by 70cm on the north side and 1.9m by 90cm on the south side, and its purpose is obscure, for the walls are so thick that they need no reinforcing. A new sheet of corrugated iron shelters the door, and replaces an earlier one. Apart from the door and the two windows, the façade is plain; it is built of rubble masonry. The varied tooling of these stones could either be the result of re-use or it may represent different stages of restoration.

The dome, which is almost hemispherical and is built of a mixture of stone, lime and mortar, sits on an octagonal drum. It has recently (1410/1990) been faced with small blocks of stone similar to those used for paving (Auqaf file 54: 79).

Apart from a small vertical window in the centre of the upper part of the façade, the south elevation consists of a solid wall, constructed mostly of rubble masonry in the same way as the east façade. However, its first two courses are different, for they are made up of much larger stones. These two courses appear to be the remains of an earlier structure on the site. Could it have been a Crusader structure?

Interior

The interior space consists of a single, square prayer chamber which is raised above the open courtyard by means of a step 15cm high. The modern floor replaces the previous flooring that probably resembled the paving still extant in the courtyard. The prayer chamber has a hemispherical dome which, as already

stated, rests on an octagonal drum. The drum is supported on four huge pointed arches, extending almost the full width of each side of the chamber and measuring 4.5m in height. They spring from just above floor level and they dominate the whole elevation, their strong salience adding force to this impression. At the south-western corner, however, the arch running south-north parallel to the city wall begins at a height of only 50 cm from floor level, which supports the proposition of re-use of original, pre-Ottoman, masonry at that corner. Four squinches act as the zone of transition between the square base and circular drum. The bottom centre of the squinch is marked by a stepped cavity. Below the collar of the dome, some corners of the hexadecagon are marked by projecting corbels or lintels. The squinches are expressed on the exterior as small, plastered stone projections.

The *mihrab* is off-centre, has a skewed round-arched profile found nowhere else in the building, and is unusually low and narrow. All this suggests that it was not originally conceived as a *mihrab* but served as a niche or window in the earlier building. This hypothesis is borne out by the masonry fill visible on the exterior. If this hypothesis is correct, the original building on this site was not a mosque.

There are six windows, all of different sizes: one on each of the east, south, and west sides of the drum; two rectangular windows flank the door; and a final one is found well above the *mihrab*, just below the apex of the southern arch. There is no window on the north wall, but an original entrance in the city wall has been closed and now serves as a niche, slightly off-centre to the west of the northern arch.

The tomb chamber is situated to the south of the vestibule, and is preceded by a small antechamber which today serves as a place of ablution. A small passage formerly led from the antechamber to the tomb, but it was blocked off during the last phase of work. The tomb chamber is now remarkably small.⁷ It has no window opening, and the tomb rests against the south wall.

Features

Although the design of the mosque is typically Ottoman and it cannot have been built in that form before the Ottoman period (see above), nonetheless the structure has architectural features that mark it as different from other Ottoman buildings. First, if the structure was indeed built to serve as a mosque, the absence of any trace of a minaret would be surprising, particularly in view of the Ottoman preference for furnishing small, domed, square mosques with minarets, and the fact there was ample available space for one. Moreover, the mosque is sited in the highest part of the city, in a place easily accessible to and patrolled by the Muslim authorities, and in the traditional Christian quarter. A minaret on this site would therefore recommend itself on several grounds. Secondly, the quality of stonework suggests the hand of

²² was needed for the following—to whitewash the whole mosque and the tomb chamber; to paint the window adjacent to the gates; to restore sections of the wall of the mosque and of the tomb chamber; and to repair the pavement at the entrance to the mosque. This work was completed at the end of September in the same year (File 54: 26-31). After 1387/1967 the following events are recorded with regard to the site: on 14 Sha'ban 1388/5 November 1968 a manservant (*khadim*) was appointed to the mosque at a monthly wage of JD 6 (File 54: 34). The mosque was supplied with electricity in 1393/1973 (File 54: 34); a new iron gate was installed at the outer entrance of the mosque in order to protect it from misuse at night and to prevent the accumulation of dirt (File 54:42); and in 1410/1989 a dispute arose between the Auqaf Department and Mr H. Seniora over the ownership of land adjoining the site. The dispute was later settled in favour of the Auqaf Authority. Finally, large-scale renovations were undertaken on the site on 15 Dhu'l-Hijja 1410/7 July 1990. Indeed, these works would be better described as an 'adaptation' or 'modification'. The intention was to restore the site and, excluding the mosque itself, to make it suitable to meet a modern requirement in the form of a small kindergarten. The cost of the work reached a total of JD 32,498.76 which was met from a special fund raised in Kuwait through the efforts of a local committee (Auqaf file 54: 67-79).

⁷ It appears that this room was once larger. According to the letter of Mr Mahmud Khalil al-Qaimari dated 3 May 1950 (Auqaf file 54: 6), sent to the President of the Supreme Muslim Legislative Council, it was reduced at least twice in the early 1950s. In that letter Mr al-Qaimari voiced his astonishment that part of the tomb chamber had been converted into two shops, the first used as a glass factory, the second as a coffee shop. The letter went on to question how the Auqaf Authority had allowed (3 May 1950) Mr Ghatas to erect a new building which, according to the writer, violated the mosque and the tomb. Mr al-Qaimari ended his letter with a request to stop the building work and to restore the mosque to its previous state.

local unskilled craftsmen, representative of the village vernacular tradition rather than the Ottoman urban style. Such features as the breadth and width of the joints between stones and courses, the rough masonry, and the off-centre location of the upper window, suggesting a lack of pre-planning, all provide tell-tale evidence. In addition, the grossly unnecessary thickness of the walls, the variation in ground-levels, the widespread re-use of materials, and above all the evidence of the adjacent continuous wall to the south, indicate that the site was in all probability occupied by a previous structure.

To sum up, Masjid al-Qaimari seems to represent a meeting point between early Ottoman architectural features and local domestic building traditions. It is therefore difficult to date, although our hunch—unsatisfactory from an academic viewpoint—is that it dates from the late Ottoman period and was built by local initiative.

This theory is based on the fact that single-unit mosques predominate in the early period of Ottoman architecture, and surviving examples are to be found in small *masjids* and provincial buildings. Bernie (Bernie *et al.* 1992: 114-115), in trying to explain the reasons for the single-unit type of mosque exemplified in the Mosque of Zahir al-'Umar in Tiberias, argues that 'the 1740s marked the development of what has become known as Ottoman Baroque.' She further argues that it is to be expected that local Palestinian mosques would not exhibit such stylistic features and it is therefore preferable to look for relevant parallels among earlier buildings. If this argument by Bernie is valid, and it probably is, it is likely that the Masjid al-Qaimari, too, was built some time in the 18th century.

Whether or not this date for Masjid al-Qaimari is proven in the future, certain possibilities concerning the site of the building remain relevant. These include: (1) a connection with the tomb of Sitt Qamra, which might have resulted in the mosque's original establishment as a *zawiya* or *maqam*; (2) the height of the building, which provides a clear view in multiple directions and therefore a possible connection with the Citadel; (3) a possible connection with the Crusader site of Tancred's Tower, which was later developed as a defensive tower or a guard post occupied by Sufis.

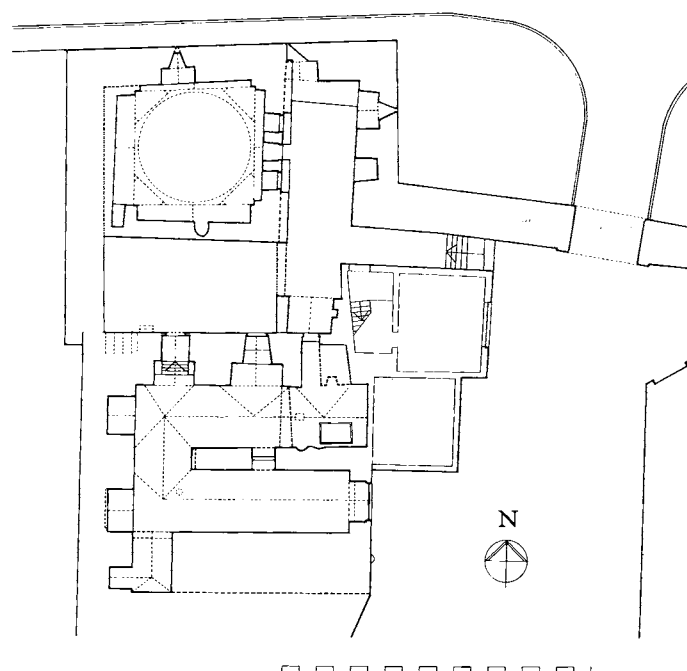


Fig. 32.2 Masjid al-Qaimari, plan.

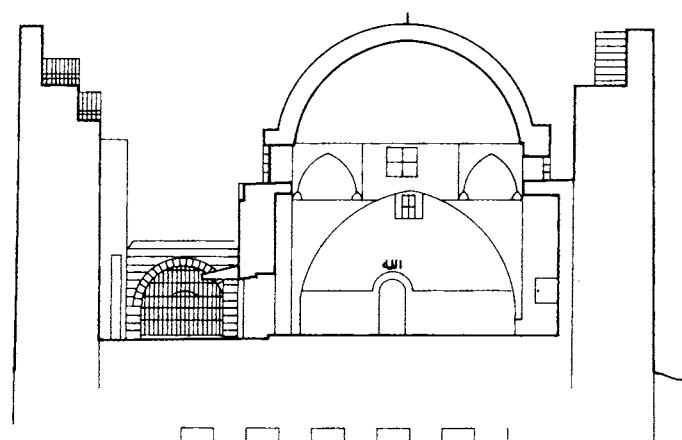


Fig. 32.3 Masjid al-Qaimari, section

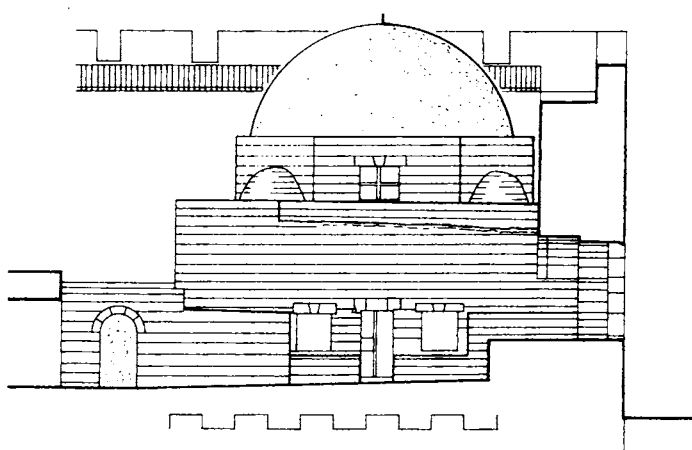


Fig. 32.1 Masjid al-Qaimari, elevation.



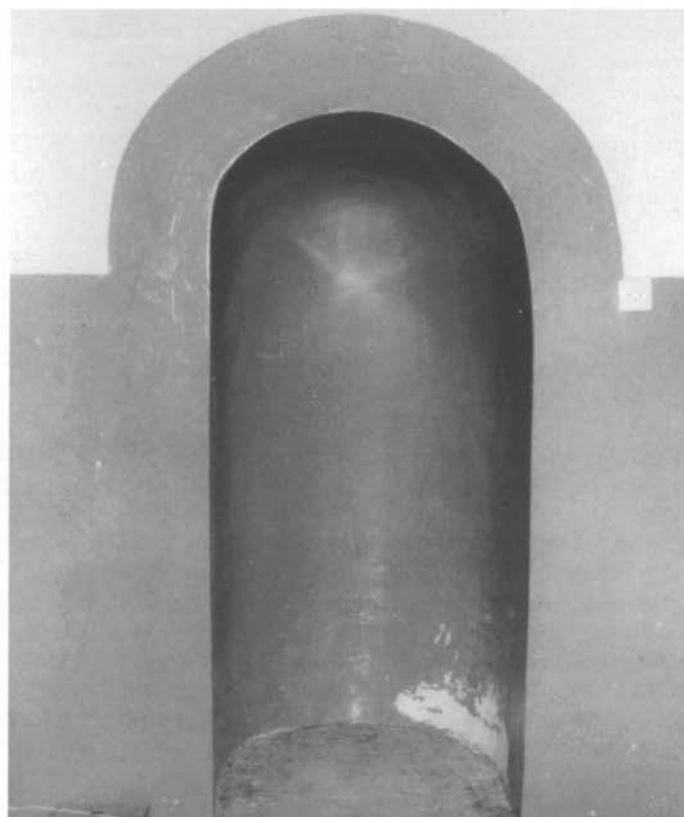
Pl. 32.1 Masjid al-Qaimari, transition zone of the dome.



Pl. 32.2 Masjid al-Qaimari, south elevation.



Pl. 32.3 Masjid al-Qaimari, entrance with city wall in the background.



Pl. 32.4 Masjid al-Qaimari, *mihrab*.

33 AL-ZAWIYA AL-NAQSHBANDIYYA

Name: al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya

Date: Undated

Endowment: Final endowments 10 Muharram 1033/3 November 1623

Variants of name: Three names are given to this building. The first is 'al-Zawiya al-Bukhariyya', for most of its caretakers in the later period were from Bukhara. According to al-'Arif (1961: 499) the *zawiya* was built by al-Shaikh Muhammad Baha' al-Din Naqshband al-Bukhari. Al-'Arif does not give the source of his information, but this at least explains how this name came to prevail. The second name is 'al-Zawiya al-Uzbekiyya', apparently after a famous caretaker, the *shaikh* Muhammad al-Salih al-Uzbeki and his son al-Shaikh Hasan, who were, as their name indicates, both from Uzbekistan. The third and most widely-used name is 'al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya' as the *zawiya* served the Naqshbandiyya order of *sufis* (see below). More recently it has frequently been called 'al-Takiyya al-Naqshbandiyya' instead of *zawiya* (Auqaf file 3/17/12, 44 and below).

Modern name: al-Zawiya or al-Takiyya al-Naqshbandiyya.

Location

The *zawiya* is situated a few metres to the northwest of the Haram entrance of Bab al-Ghawanima.

Site and brief description (pls. 33.1-33.9)

The northern boundary of the site is determined by the western end of Tariq al-Mujahidin, more commonly known as the Via Dolorosa; to its east lies the street of Bab al-Ghawanima which leads to the Haram. There are a number of houses to its west and it is flanked to the south by al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya (cat. no. 35).

The *waqf* document of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (see below) provides no details of the original architectural make-up of the *zawiya* apart from a brief reference to a mosque and four chambers for its Sufi members. The land register certificate issued in 1938 does not give any information either about the components of the *zawiya*, although it states that the whole area of the complex was 1,335 square metres (Auqaf file 3/17/12, 73). The *zawiya* has not yet been surveyed.¹ From 1857 until the present the *zawiya* has unfortunately suffered a number of serious changes and additions, including the rebuilding of the northern façade, the addition of a second floor built in stages (see below), and the construction of many new houses placed haphazardly within its courtyards. However, the most dangerous alteration, incurring a massive destruction, took place in October 1983 under the current lessee of the *zawiya*. As a result, four chambers for the Sufi residents to the east of the vestibule, the long rectangular vestibule, and cells and halls opposite the four Sufi chambers were demolished. This means that we have lost forever one of the original (and unsurveyed) parts of the *zawiya*, for it is impossible today to make out any of the features of the building dating to before 1857 with the exception of the dome over the tomb of al-Shaikh al-Salih Muhammad al-Uzbeki (see below), and the mosque. It has been a great disappointment not to find a proper and detailed photographic record of the complex before

the changes of 1983. The Department of Islamic Archaeology has a written text describing the *zawiya* dated 28 March 1983. According to this, the convent included: an eastern elevation (which has since largely been altered); a northern façade built in various phases since 1857 (still extant); a long rectangular vestibule (of which only a small part has been preserved); four *sufi* chambers in addition to a large hall and a few cells on both sides of the vestibule (now completely destroyed); the mosque chamber; and an open courtyard with the Qubbat al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Salih al-Uzbeki (both of which still exist). The first level of the *zawiya* is now taken up with a large souvenir store, three smaller shops and a mosque chamber still in use. The second level is used as residences for three families with parts of it belonging to the store.

History

Identification²

Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya is identified by many *waqf* documents in the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem (Sijills 103: 416-17; 107: 117-19; 220: 29, 131). In addition, a number of different inscription panels, some of which are probably re-used (see below), support the identification of the *zawiya* to the Ottoman period.

Date

If we are to believe al-'Arif (1961: 499) and, following him, al-'Asali (1981: 353), al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya was built between the years 717-92/1317-1389-90 by the founder of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order, al-Shaikh Muhammad Baha' al-Din Naqshband al-Bukhari. Since neither author supports his account with a contemporary source or document, and as there is no hint of a reference in any of the contemporary historical sources such as Mujir al-Din (1973 2) to such a *zawiya*, it is difficult (if not impossible) to consider a 14th-century date for the convent as established. It was most probably built in different stages and at various times (see the endowments below). The first stage was when 'Uthman Beg, who was well-known to the Sufi community, came to Jerusalem and erected a mosque and four cells for four Sufi members. This was assuredly before 1033/1623-4, as evidenced by a *waqfiyya* described below. Al-'Arif (1961: 499) and al-'Asali (1981: 353) fix the date of this work as 1025/1616, but again without giving supporting evidence.

The second step to be established was the drawing up of the *waqf* document to secure the income for the *zawiya*, and to register it at the Shari'a court. Even this registration was made in two main stages with slight differences (see below). Later, in 1144/1731, a dome was built over the tomb of al-shaikh Muhammad al-Salih al-Uzbeki, whose post at the *zawiya* had been as caretaker and principal *shaikh*. The dome was constructed by the then governor of Jerusalem, Mustafa Agha Parwana (1144-1165/1731-51). A panel with a foundation inscription records the construction. De Jong (1984: 39; 54 n. 104) drew attention to this panel and photographed it. He presented al-'Asali with a copy of this photograph, and it was published in 1981 (al-'Asali 1981: 352). The panel is to be found on the north wall of the *qubba*

¹ During the last decade, the *zawiya* has been the subject of dispute between the Auqaf Administration, the caretaker and the lessee. The situation is so sensitive that it has proved impossible to make a survey or to take measurements.

² It is surprising that this monument with its many inscription panels escaped the meticulous work of van Berchem (1922, 1923). It is also odd that more recently Burgoyne (1976), Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980), and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994) have all missed it. It may be an example of the influence exerted on modern European scholarship by the work of van Berchem.

rather than the façade of the *zawiya* as al-‘Asali suggested. The marble panel is made up of five lines of Arabic written in Ottoman *naskhi* script. The work is of high quality and the script is robust, the lines divided by a fillet into five cartouches. The translation is as follows:

1. [There] has ordered the construction of this elegant dome, he who is distinguished among
2. the greatest notables, his Excellency (lit. ‘presence’) al-Hajj Mustafa
3. Agha Parwana Zadah, Governor of Jerusalem the Noble, over the tomb of the pious *shaikh*
4. Muhammad al-Uzbeki, the *shaikh* of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya
5. —may his exalted mystery be hallowed and may the mercy of Allah be upon [him], the year 1144 (1731-2).

It is likely that some rooms were added to the *zawiya* while Shaikh Hasan, the son of Muhammad al-Salih al-Uzbeki, was in post, as al-‘Arif (1961: 499) has suggested.

A rectangular plaque records that a major restoration—and it might have been an enlargement project—was carried out on the *zawiya* in 1209/1794. A panel survives in the north façade, probably placed there when it was completely rebuilt soon after 1857. It is probably not in its original location but is a re-use. The panel is of marble, measuring 40cm wide by 25cm high, and consists of six verses of Arabic in Ottoman *naskhi* script. The text is rhyming and the calligraphy is elegant and highly compressed. The translation runs as follows:

1. Move quickly to the splendid and wise *zawiya*, and seek the blessing of reading the valuable books.
2. Be in good spirits for the sake of your happiness, for this *zawiya* has abundant gifts.
3. It is the right path for hearts, and guidance is within its auspices.
4. And pray to Allah (*al-muhaimin*, superintendent) in it for his answers can obviously be achieved there.
5. He who initiated its construction is undoubtedly one of the purest hearts.
6. He has gained remembrance during his lifetime and will be given a comfortable place in the second life. The year 1209 (1794).

Founder

The founder of the mosque and the four chambers for the *sufis* was—as stated above—‘Uthman Beg. His full name, as it appears in an early *waqfiyya* in Istanbul (Sijill 98: 563), was ‘Sufi ‘Uthman Agha ibn ‘Abd al-Mu‘in’. He was head of the door-keepers (*ra‘is al-bawwabin*) for the grand vizier (*al-sadr al-‘azam*) Ibrahim Pasha before Shawwal 1024/24 October–November 1615 (Sijill 98: 563). It seems from the *sijill* records that ‘Uthman Beg stayed in Jerusalem for a certain length of time. It is difficult to fix the precise period owing to lack of information, but it is safe to say that he was in Jerusalem as early as 17 Sha‘ban 1024/11 September 1615 when he married (Sijill 98: 19) the daughter of the governor of Jerusalem, Muhammad Beg.³ ‘Uthman Beg apparently continued to live in Jerusalem for the rest of his life,

because later he changed the stipulations of his *waqf* in the interests of his family (see below). It is unknown when he died and the only other information available relates to certain of his financial transactions. The *sijills* reveal that ‘Uthman Beg leased a soap-factory (Sijill 107: 309), and rented a stable (Sijill 98: 3) near the Ghawanima district. From the *waqf* endowments (see below) and the amount of his bridal money, which was 1,000 *sultani* in gold, it is clear that ‘Uthman Beg was one of the rich élite who came from Istanbul to reside in Jerusalem. No clue has yet come to light as to whether or not he was buried in his *zawiya*.

Hajj Mustafa Agha Parwana Zadah, the founder of the dome chamber that was built over the tomb of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Uzbeki, was the governor of Jerusalem from 1144-65/1731-51. Mustafa Agha was also the patron of a *sabil* on the Haram which was named after him—Sabil Mustafa Agha (see cat. no.48). Other additions to the *zawiya* were built anonymously, in all likelihood by some of the caretakers of the convent such as al-Shaikh Hasan, son of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Uzbeki, as al-‘Arif states (1961: 499), or al-Shaikh Rashid al-Bukhari, as Mr Walid al-Bukhari, the grandson of Ya‘qub al-Bukhari, believed. But, once again, it is not possible to be positive about attributing the restorations to these individuals.

The Waqf Documents

Four unpublished documents have been traced in the Jerusalem *sijills* relating to the *waqf* made by ‘Uthman Sufi for the Naqshbandiyya *sufi* order. The first is probably the replica of a *waqfiyya* (Sijill 98: 563-5) drawn up by ‘Uthman Sufi. It is made up of three large pages and is dated the beginning of Shawwal 1024/20 October 1615. It states that ‘Uthman Sufi donated 1,000 *sultani* gold coins in addition to a big house at Istanbul as a *waqf* for the chief *shaikh* and the members of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order and in the interests of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Qastamuni. Then, in late Ramadan 1029/July–August 1620, ‘Uthman Sufi relinquished this document and established another new *waqfiyya* (Sijill 103: 417-19). A major amendment and new terms transferred the income of the former *waqf* to the benefit of four Sufi members of the Naqshbandiyya order. The document had the proviso that these four had to live in Jerusalem in the four rooms which had been built by ‘Uthman Sufi. Finally, a new *waqfiyya* (Sijill 107: 117-19) was drawn up by ‘Uthman Sufi on 10 Muharram 1033/3 November 1623 and this divided the *waqf* income equally between the four Sufis and his own descendants. This is a standard format *waqfiyya* of about 1,750 words and it can be divided into three parts.

The first section is a foreword. It begins with the usual prayers for Allah and the Prophet Muhammad, and emphasises the rewards that await the charitable both in this world and in the afterlife. In this section the name of the donor and the chief judge who has registered the *waqfiyya* are given as ‘Uthman Beg, ‘well-known to Sufis’, and Burhan al-Din, son of Muhammad, respectively. The second part contains the main text, which gives a detailed description of the endowments, terms, facts concerning the personnel and their duties, purpose of the construction, and expenses. Finally, the *waqfiyya* ends with an epilogue confirming the legality of the endowment and the inability of the donor to reclaim it after the caretaker has taken over the *waqf*. Because this last document was ‘final and legal’, and because only the donor had the right to change or to add to his *waqf*, it will be considered here as the authoritative *waqfiyya* from which to draw information on the buildings.

³ For the biography and architectural work in Jerusalem of Muhammad Beg, see cat. no. 19.

Endowments

Various estates are specified in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 107: 117) of 'Uthman Beg as an endowment to provide income equally for the donor's family and for the maintenance of the *zawiya* (see below). The estates were scattered in different parts of Jerusalem, both inside and outside the walls, and although all the estates have been carefully demarcated, it is pointless today to specify these borders, for much has been changed since the time of the *waqfiyya*. The list specifies income from the following:

- the whole harvest of grapes, figs, almonds etc., from land at al-Baq'a;
- the whole harvest of grapes, figs, quinces, olives etc., from the aforementioned land at al-Baq'a situated beside the *qasr* (villa or summer residence) built on it of stone and lime;
- the house situated in al-Ghawanima quarter known formerly as the 'House of Saifi Jawish';
- a house in al-Ghawanima quarter named the 'House of Jihan Agha', opposite the house of Saifi Jawish;
- a vegetable garden in al-Ghawanima quarter;
- one third of the soap factory and all that belongs to it of old brass (utensils), table-cloth and cisterns, located in the Damascus Gate quarter; and all the new brass pots and the new table-cloth which the donor provided for the soap factory.

The *sijill* entry (103: 419) adds that the donor had made a legal *waqf* for the benefit of the poor of two copper casseroles with their lids, a copper basin, a copper jug, four copper plates, a rug, and a Turkish (Rumi) carpet. According to the Auqaf file (3/17/12) the current income of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya is limited to the properties located inside the *zawiya* itself. This means that all the estates listed in the *waqf* of 1033/1623-4 no longer provide any income and were lost to the *waqf* some time ago.

Expenses, terms and duties

There is no estimate in the *waqfiyya* of the income from these estates, but it is clearly stated that the income, which apparently reached 162 *ghirsh* a year (see below), should be divided in half. The first half should be for the benefit of Ibrahim, the oldest son of the donor 'Uthman Beg, and for the sons of his sons, the males taking double the share of the females. In the event that the line of Ibrahim's descendants should die out, the *waqf* should serve the poor, to whom the second half of the income was dedicated. This second half of the income should be for the benefit of four poor Sufis living in Jerusalem in the four chambers built by the donor close to his mosque; the Sufis were to belong to the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order. These four persons were to be identified as people of religion, piety, virtue, and success. None of them should be careless or beardless, nor should he smoke or take any intoxicating drink or drug. In the event that there were no *sufis* of the Naqshbandiyya order in Jerusalem, the income should benefit four poor Sufis from the *arwam* (perhaps Rumi—in other words, they were to be Ottoman Turks) who possessed the same qualities. And if there were no Sufis from *al-arwam* in Jerusalem, then half of the *waqf* should go to four persons from the *affāq* (wandering) Sufi order, and, if that were impossible, the income should benefit four Sufis from any order. If there were no Sufis at all in Jerusalem, the income should go to members of the poor from *al-arwam* who were resident in Jerusalem, and in case that it

was impossible to do even this, the income should benefit the Muslim poor anywhere.

The donor reserved for himself throughout his life the position of caretaker, and after him it should go to his son, Ibrahim, and to the sons of his sons, provided that they were resident in Jerusalem. In the case that none of his descendants lived in Jerusalem, the position should be given to the son of his (the donor's) *shaikh*, Muhammad al-Naqshbandi, if he were in Jerusalem, and if not the position should go to the most deserving of the four Sufis. The donor assigned the sum of 6 *ghirsh* per year as a salary for the caretaker, and the rest of the income should be divided equally between the descendants of the donor and the four Sufis. The caretaker was to give each of the four Sufis at the beginning of every month 1 *ghirsh* for food and half a *ghirsh* for accommodation. Another 6 *ghirsh* per year should be spent to cover the cost of pottery jugs and mats for the mosque that had been constructed in the *zawiya* by the donor ('Uthman Beg), and for oil to light the mosque between dawn and the morning prayer, and between sunset and the evening prayer. The four Sufis were to assemble in the mosque to perform the five daily prayers, to recite certain chapters from the Qur'an after every prayer, and to call on and praise the Prophet Muhammad. The merit of the Sufis' prayers should be presented as a gift to the souls of the Prophet Muhammad, and of all of his companions, the friends of his companions, the donor himself and his descendants whether dead or alive, the donor's *shaikh*, Shaikh Muhammad al-Naqshbandi, and thence all Muslims.

Description of the building

Unfortunately, there are almost no details in the document about the architectural appearance of the *zawiya* except a brief reference to the mosque and the four chambers for the Sufis. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 103: 418) mentions that the mosque 'has a niche and two windows with iron grilles, the first opening to the south and the second opening to the north'.

Purpose of construction

It is obvious from the *waqfiyya* (107: 118) that there was a dual purpose in the establishment of the *waqf*—the first to secure income for the donor's family, and the second to provide accommodation for four members of the Naqshbandiyya order in Jerusalem. Following the general weakening of the Sufi orders in the second half of the 19th century, it appears that the *zawiya* served the poor by providing free food and accommodation. This service thus concurred with the terms of the *waqf* document, although it was admittedly low on its list of priorities. Apparently al-'Arif (1961: 499) had been influenced in the 1950s by this practice when he wrote that 'the Zawiya Naqshbandiyya was constructed in order to accommodate and feed poor Muslims from Bukhara, Java, and Turkistan'.

Subsequent History

According to Sijill 220: 29, in the year 1137/1724-5 a noble sultan order was issued to inspect the *zawiya* and to register all the costs necessary for its restoration in a special document (*daftar*) to be sent to Istanbul. Muhibb al-Din, *naqib al-Ashraf* (head of the 'Alid 'descendants of the prophet'), therefore, accompanied by two architects as well as a group of people and a few of the Naqshbandiyya poor, visited the *zawiya*. This group reported that 'the *zawiya* is made up of two parts, the upper of which comprises a mosque, a chamber with a door opening to the south and its northern wall destroyed, a demolished chamber to

the east and below it a wrecked chamber, another dilapidated chamber, and an *iwan*. The lower part is composed of five chambers, an *iwan* with a cistern, a latrine (*adabkhana*), a small cistern and utilities (*marafiq*). All of these need to be reconstructed, for they are in a ruined state. The two architects estimated that the repairs would cost 734 *asadi ghirsh*.⁷ It took almost six months to carry out the restoration work and the actual cost reached a total of 965 *ghirsh asadi* (Sijill 220: 131). When the restoration work was finished the *qadi*, Muhibb al-Din (*naqib al-Ashraf*), and many dignitaries toured the building and inspected the restoration.

Architecture

Exterior—the North Façade

The north façade is the main one of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya. It faces, across the Via Dolorosa, the Lithostratos Convent of the Sisters of Zion. The springing of the Ecce Homo arch is in the middle of the façade, and the recent attic constructed above it belongs to the *zawiya*. The façade is made up of two sections, built at different times and each with types of masonry that differ in quality and chiselling technique. The present architectural features of the lower section were built some time after 1880, for a photograph taken in that year and published by Schiller (1980: 78) shows a completely different elevation from the one that exists today. This lower part consists of sixteen courses of stonework. Its eastern corner forms the angle where the road of Bab al-Ghawanima meets the main road of al-Mujahidin (Via Dolorosa). The main entrance to the *zawiya* is raised above street level by means of two steps measuring 40cm high, and it is flanked by a stone bench on either side, each measuring 45cm wide by 45cm deep by 65cm high. The door is 1.15m wide by 2.3m high, and it is surmounted by a slab lintel of white masonry. A narrow grooved moulding is the only form of decoration, and this runs round the whole structure. The lintel is supported by two brackets decorated with a frame moulding. Directly above the lintel there is a semicircular oculus window which provides light for the area behind the door. It is fitted with a modern iron grille and surmounted by a semicircular arch of 11 voussoirs. The keystone of the arch projects slightly and is decorated with a roundel (15cm in diameter) with a six-pointed star at the centre from which radiate lines carved in relief. A semicircular arch of chevron voussoirs frames the whole upper part of the entrance niche; the stonework of the entrance is finely cut and highly dressed, quite different in quality to the rest of the façade. Directly above the chevron arch a string course like a cornice cuts across the north face, separating the lower from the upper section. A door is situated to the east of the *zawiya* entrance, surmounted by a primitive semicircular arch. This leads into a rectangular area currently used as a souvenir shop. To judge by the shape, the size of the arch and the lack of lintel, it is probably of recent date.

A blind recessed niche is located to the west of the entrance, 60cm wide by 65cm high. The recess is surmounted by a small semicircular arch and is now fitted with a wire-mesh grille. Its lower part is deep enough to form a small basin to hold the water that used to be distributed to passers-by. Today the small water-trough (*misqa*) no longer functions, for it is blocked by the modern iron grille. Immediately above the niche there is the inscription panel described above, giving the date of one phase of restoration as 1209/1794.

A rectangular door is placed to the west of the *misqa* niche and this leads to a small shop. Originally this door was a window, for it is mentioned in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 103: 418) as the

north window of the mosque chamber. Recently the window has been enlarged and widened, for the stone courses of the shop are roughly cut with no jambs, lintel or voussoirs to accommodate the space for the door. In late 1997 the shop was amalgamated into the mosque as a gesture of goodwill by the landlord. A rectangular restoration inscription is fixed almost one and a half courses above the top of the door. The panel is of marble, measuring 50cm wide by 50cm high, and consists of seven verses of Ottoman Turkish poetry. Each verse is divided into two hemistichs, and each hemistich is set into a simple rectangular cartouche. A fairly wide vertical groove and six thinner horizontal ones, which act as fillet borders, separate each hemistich, making a total of 14 cartouches. Three small, incised roundels decorate the lower part of the vertical cut. The script is a fine, thin, but compressed late Ottoman *naskh*, with many diacritical and auxiliary points. The date of the restoration is given as 1236/1820–21. Since the masonry courses surrounding the late 18th-century plaque are new and have a distinctive chiselling technique, it may be that the plaque is in secondary use. The string course that separates the two storeys of the façade is two courses above the panel and the southern springing of the Ecce Homo arch is at the same level to the west. It is believed that the Ecce Homo arch is the only surviving remnant of the Triumphal Gate in Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina (of the 2nd century AD), the span of which continues into the Ecce Homo Basilica.⁴

The second storey of the north façade of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya consists of two parts. The first, to the west, abuts the Ecce Homo arch, and dates to 1352/1933 according to an inscription; this is rectangular and contains merely the word *sanat* (year) and the numbers of the year in the Hijra calendar in Arabic. It is part of a long slab lintel set two courses above the course that divides the two storeys of the façade. The masonry in this section is distinct from the rest of the façade, for it is built of finely cut stones of white and red. The main focus is a double window of identical rectangles. Each window is surmounted by a horse-shoe arch and fitted with modern iron bars. Each arch springs from the wall on one hand and from the central cylindrical column on the other. The shaft of the column is of white stone; it has a bell-shaped base and a simple *muqarnas* capital. A rectangular moulded frame encloses the double window. The building terminates nine courses above the string course.

The second and eastern part of the upper storey is undecorated, its only relieving feature being three identical rectangular windows. Each window is fitted with modern iron bars on the outside with wooden shutters inside. The windows are surmounted by a low segmental arch of five voussoirs. The sills, the jambs, and the arches of the windows are smoothly dressed and project slightly. They are typical of buildings produced in Jerusalem during the period of the British Mandate. A rectangular restoration inscription is fixed to this part of the façade at the west corner above the level of the entrance. The panel is of grey stone and is made up of a *tughra* in relief which bears the name of the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II, the son of 'Abd al-Majid (1293–1327/1876–1908), contained inside a circular medallion. Five lines of Turkish *nasta'liq* script, each separated by a fillet frame, are set below the roundel. Unfortunately, the script is so badly eroded that it is almost impossible to read. It is possible to make out one word—*ta'miri* (restoration). This is located on the first

⁴ The basilica is the traditional spot where Pilate produced the tortured Jesus to the people, saying 'Behold the Man' (John 19: 5). See Murphy O'Connor 1986 (2nd Edition) 32–3; and Prag 1989: 158–9.

line and is legible enough to determine that the plaque is written in Turkish and that it is a restoration inscription. Unfortunately it is not possible to make out the date or further details of the work. Since it seems that the other inscriptions in al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya are no longer in their original positions, it is an open question whether this panel too is in secondary use or *in situ*. Because of its illegibility, it even raises the more fundamental question of whether the plaque belongs to al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya at all. If the inscription is indeed original and pertains to the building, then it provides a dating band of 1293-1327/1876-1908, which thus makes the eastern part predate the western section.

The eastern elevation

The eastern elevation runs from north to south through the short street to Bab al-Ghawanim. This elevation constitutes the eastern border of the *zawiya*, as well as the east wall of the four chambers and cells built for the Sufis. The masonry is very simple—medium square stones roughly chiselled and mostly weathered to black due to the elements; some are eroded. The pointing between the courses is thick and black. The upper three courses are slightly recessed, suggesting that they were added later or that they serve as a parapet. Before 1983 there was a small shop in the centre of the elevation and also five windows, two to the north of the shop and three to the south. The three small rectangular windows located to the south have been demolished and replaced by three large entrance-ways, which have been fitted with an iron door made up of two folded leaves. The entrances lead to the interior of the *zawiya*, now a very large, roomy gallery. The entrance to the shop leads to a rectangular area measuring some 4m long by 3m wide. There are no jambs, lintels or vousoirs at the top of the semicircular arch over the entrance. The shop is therefore not original but most probably of recent date. The floor of the shop is covered with small paving stones and it has a wooden roof. The two identical windows located to the north are still extant; very simple in form, they appear to be old although it is possible they have been widened at some point and therefore that the protective grille is modern. Each window is surmounted by a white slab lintel. A recent concrete construction was added above the eastern elevation, probably after 1983.

The Mosque

Access to the mosque of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya was until 1997 (see above) through the main—and the only—entrance in the north façade. A rectangular door measuring 1.4m wide by 2.4m high is situated to the west of the vestibule that once led to the interior of the mosque itself. The door is surmounted by a semicircular arch, contained in a recessed niche. It is flanked by stone benches on both sides. A damaged funerary inscription was attached in 1967⁵ to the eastern side of the northern bench. It measures 30cm wide and its present height is also 30cm. The first and last lines of the inscription are missing, and the beginning of the second and the third line are also lost. The script is written in Arabic in *naskhi* script with diacritical points. The bad condition of the text through loss and erosion allows only a partial reading, which may be translated as:

... [has passed ?] from the abode ([*intaqala*] *min dar*) of annihilation (life) to the eternal abode

(second life) ... (*al-fana' ila dar al-baqa' ...*). This is the tomb of the deceased Shaikh Muhammad al-Uzbeki ... [who belonged] to the Naqshbandiyya order, may Allah forgive him.

It is probable that the missing last line contained the date, which, as we discovered from the *sijills*, was 1144/1731 (see above). The position of this inscription is very curious. It is only 30cm above ground level and, in order to be able to read it, or even to look at it properly, it is necessary to kneel. Its true position should be either on the tomb of al-Shaikh Muhammad or, at the very least, somewhere within the tomb chamber.

The interior of the mosque comprises a single rectangular chamber, some 40cm lower than the floor level of the vestibule, which is reached by means of three steps. The room runs east-west and measures 9.2m long by 4.3m wide. The floor has a modern pavement, and from the ground to a height of 1.5m modern stone slabs have been fixed on the walls of the mosque chamber to try to eliminate damp. A trace of the old window which was blocked before 1997 by the new shop can be detected in the north wall of the chamber, and a simple *mihrab* niche is in the centre of the south side. The *mihrab* niche seems to be a later addition; it is 80cm wide by 50cm deep by 1.8m high and is surmounted by a simple semicircular arch. The area around and above this has been faced with modern pottery tiles decorated with geometric and floral motifs. The mosque chamber is roofed by a simple barrel vault and is covered with plaster. The simplicity of the *mihrab* and the prayer-chamber as a whole, as well as the disappearance of the south window mentioned in the *waqfiyya* (see above) suggest that the mosque has undergone some alteration. But the location of the mosque is doubtless original. If the position of the mosques in al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya (cat. no. 35), al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), and al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya (*waqf* 585/1189) are taken into account, it will be seen that the prayer-chamber of each of these monuments is located close to the main entrance to enable easy access for any outsider coming to pray. In this respect the location of the mosque in al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya conforms to that of the others.

Interior

The interior of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya at present is made up of three main sections. The first is the large store recently formed as a result of demolishing the constructions built on both sides of the old vestibule. This shop is entered through five large doors, three on the eastern elevation and two on the northern façade. The architecture of the space is very complicated and misleading, for it is not merely the result of the demolition of the main parts of the *zawiya* and adding new constructions in their place, but also the result of excavations in the lower parts of the *zawiya* to provide more space. The shop is thus a mish-mash and there is little point in attempting a logical description. The second section of the *zawiya* is a rectangular plot of land planted with various kinds of trees. This garden is located to the southwest of the *zawiya* complex, and adjoins the northern border of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35). There is a rectangular tomb in the north-western corner of the plot of land, constructed of two courses of stonework with a rectangular base above with an uncovered top. The western end has a tomb marker in the form of a cylindrical head covering of the type still used in Jerusalem today by Muslim divines. A small dome has been built over the tomb. The dome, which has a shallow profile, is carried on four identical pointed arches springing from four piers. The space between the arches is open, with the exception of the northern side which appears to

⁵ This is according to Mr Walid Bukhari, the son of Shaikh Ya'qub al-Bukhari, the last caretaker of the *zawiya*.

have been blocked recently, to judge by the use of modern concrete blocks. The small dome rests directly on the four supports, the transition zone being realised by means of four corner pendentives without an intermediary drum. The interior is undecorated, but on the northern side there is a collection of recent pottery tiles with five lines of fine *naskhi* script. The translation runs as follows:

1. The *Fatiha*
2. This is the tomb of the departed
3. al-Shaikh Musa [son of] Ya'qub al-Bukhari
4. who died on 5 Ramadan 1393.
5. 1 October 1973. May Allah grant him mercy.

A funerary inscription on a stone plaque occupies the northern corner of the east side. The plaque is of modern marble and

contains six lines of Arabic. The script is a slender, modern *naskh*, well-cut and very clear with diacritical points. The translation of this runs:

1. He Who is the Living, the Eternal [One]
2. [This is the] tomb of the deceased al-Shaikh Ya'qub al-Bukhari
3. The shaikh of al-Takiyya al-Naqshbandiyya in Jerusalem the Noble
4. He died on Monday 22 Jumada I 1376
5. 24 December 1956.
6. Say the *Fatiha* for his soul.

Bibliography

Al-'Arif (1961: 499); de Jong (1980: 11); al-'Asali (1981: 351-3); Najm *et al.* (1983: 370); Bahat (1990: 38).



Pl. 33.1 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, general view of the exterior.



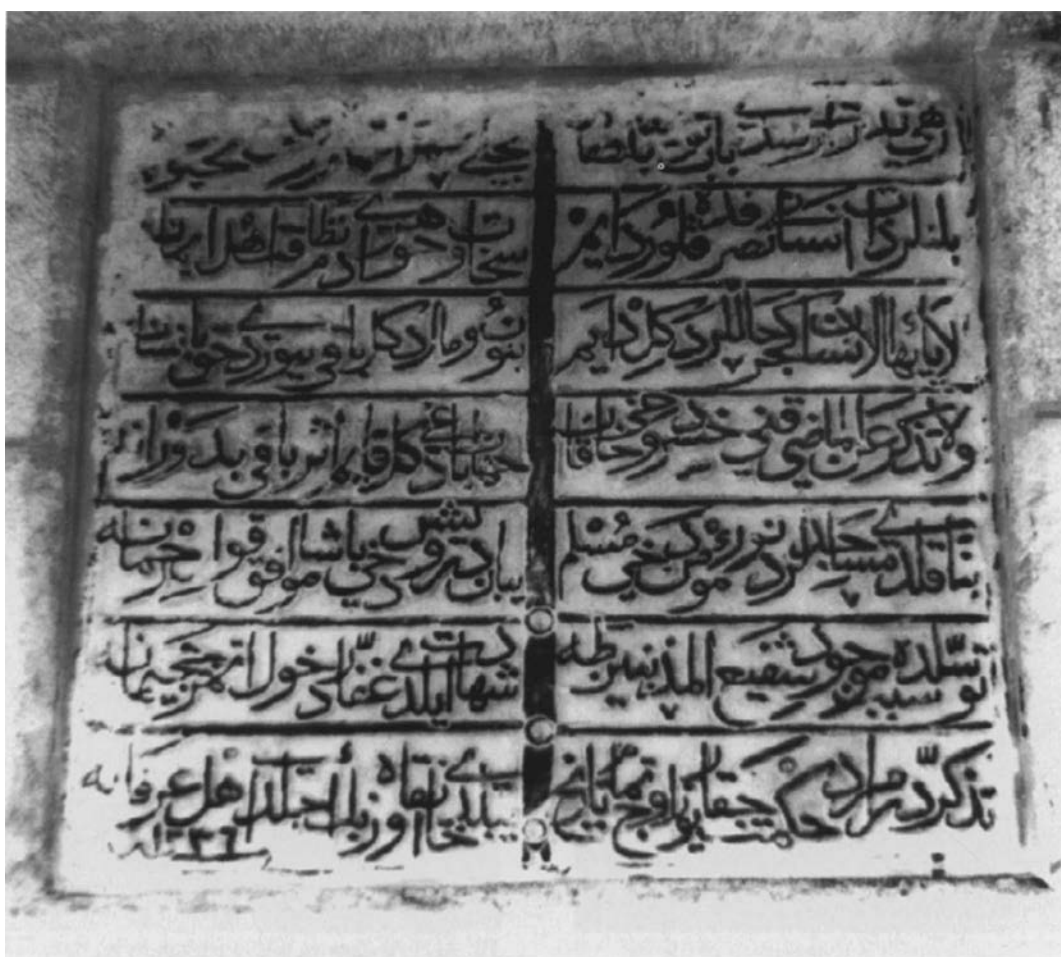
Pl. 33.2 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, mausoleum of Shaikh Ya'qub al-Bukhari, exterior.



Pl. 33.3 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, date at base of column on façade.



Pl. 33.4 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, tughra on Ottoman slab.



Pl. 33.5 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, inscription after modern retouching.



Pl. 33.6 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, entrance portal.



Pl. 33.7 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, cursive inscription on cenotaph.



Pl. 33.8 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, interior zone of transition.



Pl. 33.9 Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya, restoration inscription.

34 KHALWAT BAIRAM PASHA

Name: Khalwat Bairam Pasha

Date: 1038/1628-9

Endowment: 1042/1632-3

Variant of name: In the *sijills* (151: 181; 245; 567) it appears as 'al-Khalwa al-Bairamiyya'

Modern name: None is known. The lower part of the building is now used as an office for the draughtsmen of the Aqsa Restoration Committee; the upper section is a centre for the Haram Fire Brigade.

Location

The *khalwa* is located at the western edge of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, between the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21) and the Khalwat al-Sadanat al-Haram (cat. no. 51).

Site and brief description (figs. 34.1-34.4, pls. 34.1-34.2)

Khalwat Bairam Pasha is situated on the western divide between the two levels of the Haram esplanade. It is similar to the others found in the Haram in that it consists of two storeys. The lower section is a relatively large rectangular hall covered by two cross vaults. A *mihrab* niche is set in the south wall of the hall. The upper level of the building is made up of two units—the first is a square chamber covered by a hemispherical dome, and the second is a rectangular area divided equally between two small square cells. Both parts of the *khalwa* are built of good quality stone, which has weathered to shades of black or white.

History

All the historical information on this monument has been provided by the relevant Jerusalem *sijills*, for nothing else has so far been discovered or published. Sijill 115, which includes the proceedings for the year 1038/1628-9, contains on page 721 the copy of a document of sale registered originally at the religious court in Damascus. Although the transaction was carried out in Damascus, it relates to one of the *khalwas* on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The document gives the name of the vendor and the purchaser, details of the sale and specifications of the site, including the price, terms and—above all—the name of the architect. For the whole Arabic text, see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 34.

Identification

The *khalwa* of Bairam Pasha is clearly identified in Sijill 115: 721 as an Ottoman construction. The document states that 'Mustafa Agha has sold to Muhammad Agha the son of Husain, the legal agent of Bairam Pasha, that *hujra* (cell) which he possesses and which he has constructed out of his own money in the way of equipment and *mu'na* (material), which includes stones, fill, *qusurmil* and the like. The cell is located on the western edge of the platform of the Noble Rock facing the Dome of the Ascension on the upper roof of the cell of our master al-Shaikh Nusrat al-Islam which is located opposite Bab al-Qattanin, one of the gates of the Haram of Jerusalem the Noble.' The *sijill* goes on to give further information, saying that the cell 'is built in an identical style to the cell of Ahmad Pasha; it comprises a fine *makhda'* (chamber) below its two chambers together with *manafi' shari'iyya* (legal facility—this is discussed below). The length and width of the cell is the same as the cell of the aforementioned Ahmad Pasha.'

Date

The cell has no foundation inscription, but it is clear from the *sijill*

document that it was constructed shortly before 1038/1628-9, and it must therefore be correct to date it to that year at the latest.

Founder

The founder of the cell was Mustafa Agha ibn Muhammad, who was a member of *al-mutafarriqa* of the Sublime Porte (al-Bab al-'Ali—the central office of the imperial government of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul). The cell was built by the then chief architect in Jerusalem—'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar (see also cat. no. 22). The cell was then purchased by the Vizier of Egypt, Bairam Pasha, through his legal representative, and was named after him.

It emerges from the Jerusalem *sijills* that Bairam Pasha had a long association with a number of architectural projects in Jerusalem and Hebron. Besides this cell and its endowment (see below), he was responsible for other restorations and repairs in the Haram al-Sharif. Sijill 113: 248 includes a document relating to a donation of 1,700 *ghirsh* (gold coins) sent to Jerusalem by Bairam Pasha, then Vizier of Egypt. Dated 1 Rabi' I 1037/10 November 1627, it states that '... since Bairam intended to do charitable deeds for the mosque of the first *qibla* and the third Haram (the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa)—which has a virtue beyond counting—and for the *maqam* of the fathers of the Prophet al-Khalil (Ibrahim, Abraham), Bairam has sent 1,700 *ghirsh* to our master (*maulana*) Ahmad Efendi, the *qadi* of the city of Jerusalem the Holy and the governor (the administrator) of the *waqf* of the Holy Haram' (for the complete Arabic text, see Cat. Appendix 1, no. 34).

This document includes the information that Bairam Pasha allocated 1,000 *ghirsh* of the 1,700 to those areas of al-Aqsa mosque (presumably not just the mosque but the entire Haram) deemed by the *qadi* to be in need of repair—such as the cisterns—and to the maintenance of the 'two domes', their medallions (*jamat*), fixing the lead and wood, and other things. The rest of the money—that is, 700 *ghirsh*—was to be used for the restoration of the Great Mosque of Hebron.

The money was delivered to the *qadi* by a merchant named as al-Khwaja (gentleman) Taha ibn al-Shaikh Musa al-'Asali, in the presence of Muhammad Pasha (the governor of Jerusalem), Husain Efendi (the *shaikh* of the Haram al-Sharif), and Ahmad Agha, who had been appointed by Bairam Pasha. A deficit was discovered when the money was counted and, according to a legal certificate, was put down to the difference in the exchange rates of Egypt and Jerusalem. Soon after the arrival of the donation from Bairam in Jerusalem, it is reported in Sijill 113: 439 that the *qadi* Ahmad Efendi decided to restore the three porticoes at the main door of Masjid al-Aqsa. It seems that the lead over the porticoes had many large holes that were allowing water to leak through. The porticoes were impossible to restore until the sheets of lead had been melted down and recast. This repair was undertaken on 22 Rabi' II 1037/31 December 1627 at a cost of 600 *ghirsh asadi*. Another entry in the same *sijill* (113: 448) shows that the second choice for the use of the money by the *qadi* was rebuilding seven derelict porticoes located close to Bab al-Nazir, at a cost of a further 600 *ghirsh asadi*. It seems that a third option was restoring Sabil Sha'lan (for details, see cat. no. 36). According to Sijill 113: 1, Bairam Pasha also donated 1,000 *qit'a misriyya* (silver coins) to the tomb of al-Nabi Da'ud (David), as well as textiles of various sorts and colours to cover the tomb and niches.

From these documents it emerges that Bairam Pasha must be considered one of the major patrons of Ottoman

Jerusalem, and should take his place alongside Bairam Jawish, Ahmad Pasha, Khudawirdi Abu Saifain, and Muhammad Pasha.

Endowment

Sijill 122: 456 includes a relatively long and interesting record dated 9 Shawwal 1043/8 April 1633. It reveals that the Vizier Bairam Pasha sent 230 *ghirsh asadi* (gold coins) to Qasim Agha, and that Qasim transmitted the money together with his commissioner, Ridwan 'the Janissary of Damascus', to Jerusalem. The money was to be delivered to the readers who had been appointed in the Khalwat Bairam, located on the platform of the Noble Rock. The document concerns the allocation for the year 1042/1632-3; there was also an additional 10 *ghirsh asadi* for the *mu'adhdhin* of the Haram. Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Alami, the inspector of the readers (of whom there were thirty-two; their names are given), had received the money. He had paid each reader 6.5 *ghirsh asadi* (making a total of 208 *ghirsh asadi*), and he had taken for himself 19.5 *ghirsh asadi* in recompense for the position of inspector. Another document in Sijill 151: 567, dating from the last third of Ramadan 1066/12-22 July 1656, is a list (*sijill*) which includes the allocations of the salaries of the daily readers in Khalwat Bairam.

From the records, then, it can be inferred that Bairam had arranged a *waqf* for his *khalwa* in Jerusalem in the form of ready money to be sent yearly to Jerusalem. It is, however, not clear from this document what the position was to be after the donor's death. It is fortunate that Sijill 151: 245, dated 4 Rajab 1066/28 April 1655, includes the appointment of a reader to the *khalwa* at 6 *sultani* gold coins annually. The salary was to be paid from the gold coins coming each year from Istanbul, which arrived with *al-surra al-rumiyya* (the yearly money from Istanbul). This proves that, before he died, Bairam had set up a *waqf*, the income from which was to be sent to Jerusalem for the readers of his *khalwa*. It should be noted that Bairam employed a large number of readers; in terms of comparison, their number comes second only to those of the royal *waqf* of Khassaki Sultan.

Architecture

Exterior

The eastern façade of the cell faces the Dome of the Rock and is built on the same level. It is constructed with dressed masonry although it has the occasional rough stone in the upper part of the façade. The façade is dominated by three openings. One is a rectangular door measuring 69cm wide by 1.8m high, surmounted by a simple stone lintel. The jambs of the door and the stone above the lintel are different from the rest of the masonry, which would suggest a later phase of restoration or modification to the façade fenestration, such as the conversion of a window to a door. The door openings start one course above ground level and a rectangular window, measuring 90cm by 1.4m, placed to the south of the door, begins at a height of two courses from the ground. This is the second and central opening. It is surmounted by a lintel and above it is a pseudo 'eye-brow' arch. The third opening, still further to the south, is a simple pointed arch. There is a slight return at the level of the springing but otherwise it is undecorated. A trace of moulding can be seen in the upper course of the façade but it has almost completely disappeared. Two water-spouts are fixed at the top of both ends of the façade. The one to the north is small and made of terracotta, while the one to the south is of stone and has a big, flat opening.

The hemispherical dome sits directly on the roof above the four walls of the large chamber, and as usual there is no drum.

The dome is crowned with a stone finial made in three sections. The upper part of the finial is in the form of an open circle, facing north-south. The middle section is square in shape, and is slightly bigger than the upper and lower parts. The lower part constitutes the base of the finial, and is plain like the middle section.

The main scheme of decoration on the western elevation too depends on the system of openings—in this case, the fenestration. In all there are six similar windows—three to each part, but irregularly disposed. They are all surmounted by lintels and fitted with iron grilles. The windows differ both in their dimensions and in the type of arch that surmounts them. Both windows to the north of the upper part of the building measure 93cm by 1.4m, and are surmounted by an 'eye-brow' arch. The third window at this level measures 84cm by 1.22m and there is no arch above the lintel. The lower three windows share the same dimensions of 75cm by 1.32m. Only the central opening is marked out, and this is done by a lightly recessed and pointed blind arch.

The southern elevation is a solid wall with the exception of four windows, which are fitted with iron grilles and surmounted by lintels. Two of these respectively appear in the upper and lower storeys. The lower window to the east measures 80cm by 1.25m, while the one to the west measures 74cm by 1.24m. A door measuring 90cm wide by 1.6m long is set in the lower part of the northern elevation. It is surmounted by an arch made up of five voussoirs. To the west of the door there is a rectangular window measuring 73cm wide by 1.2m long, fitted with an iron grille and wire mesh. The eastern window of the upper section measures 80cm wide by 64cm high, while the western one measures 90cm by 1.2m; both are fitted with an iron grille of the same quality as the rest of the windows. The upper section of the northern elevation is pierced by two identical windows, which are surmounted by a white slab lintel and an 'eye-brow' arch.

Interior

The lower storey of the *khalwa* consists—at present—of a rectangular prayer chamber measuring 4.3m wide by 8.5m long. It has recently been paved and is covered by a double cross vault, but this is not centred as might have been expected. The reason for this must be the fact, mentioned in the *sijill* (see above), that this chamber originally consisted of two rooms. It seems that the wall which separated them was later dismantled, thereby creating a single rectangular hall. There are five windows in all, three in the west wall and two in the south wall, all of which are surmounted by a semicircular arch. In addition there are two extensions set back on the east side of the chamber. These could be the *manafi' shari'iyya* (literally 'legal facility') mentioned in the *sijill* document described above. They were adjuncts to the two chambers and were probably used for storage space by the *shaikh* who occupied the building. A simple concave *mihrab* measuring 58cm wide by 1.66m high by 33cm deep is placed in the middle of the southern wall between two windows. It is constructed of stone and has a semicircular arch and scallop. The *mihrab* is not described in the *waqf* documents; because of its shallow depth, it may have been added when the two rooms were adapted to create a single chamber. The walls of the prayer chamber are plastered and whitewashed.

The interior of the upper section of Khalwat Bairam Pasha consists of a rectangular hall divided unequally into two units. The first unit consists of two components: a small antechamber and a small ancillary square room. The second unit

consists of a large main chamber, also square. The antechamber once gave access to the whole interior of the upper section, but today the door is locked. The room measures 2.1m by 2.5m and is covered by a small folded vault with a small saucer dome at the centre. As noted above in the description of the south elevation, there are two windows in the south wall, the window in the antechamber forming the eastern one. It is surmounted by a semicircular arch and scallop. A narrow passage to the west leads into the ancillary room, which is to the west of the antechamber, and is square in plan, measuring 2.1m by 2.1m. The ancillary room has recently been paved and is covered by an eight-part cross vault. There are two windows, one to the west and another to the south, both already described under the relevant elevations. A blind recessed niche in the north-eastern corner measures 52cm deep by 60cm wide by 1.15m high.

A rectangular opening connects the ancillary room and the main chamber; it measures 81cm wide by 1.53m high by 94cm deep. The lintel of the opening seems to have undergone a recent unskilled repair, but the opening is original, for there are

fine jambs on either side of the opening looking north. It is worth noting that at some time this aperture was blocked, which means that the two units are quite separate. This explains the conversion of the northern window of the eastern façade to a door. Recently, when the Haram Fire Brigade took over the *khawwa*, it was reopened to allow easy access between the two units.

The main chamber of Khalwat Bairam is reached today through the rectangular door (originally a window) in the eastern façade. It is a square chamber with a modern pavement of tiles, 20cm by 20cm, and is covered by a shallow dome. There is no intervening drum, the necessary circle being achieved by a transitional zone of pendentives at the corners. There are five windows in all, four in the west and north, and one in the east wall to the south of the door. Each window is surmounted by a pointed arch. A blind recessed niche is placed in the south wall; it measures 70cm deep by 80cm wide. The walls are thick (approximately 97cm) and plastered.

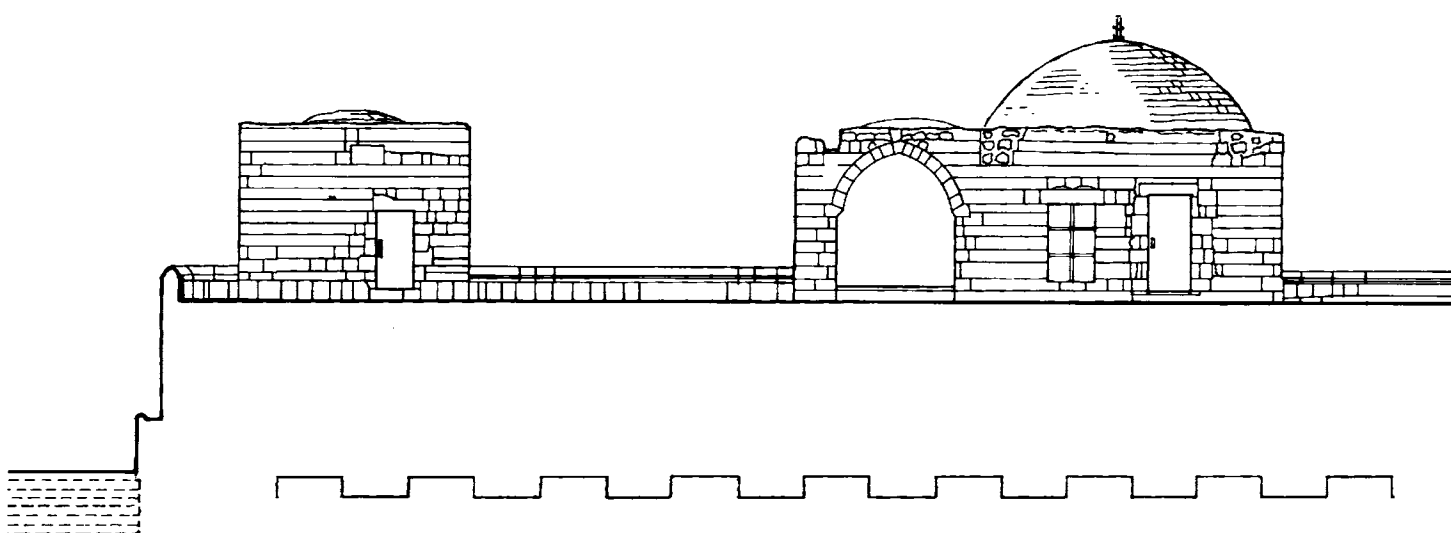


Fig. 34.1 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, main, eastern façade elevation.

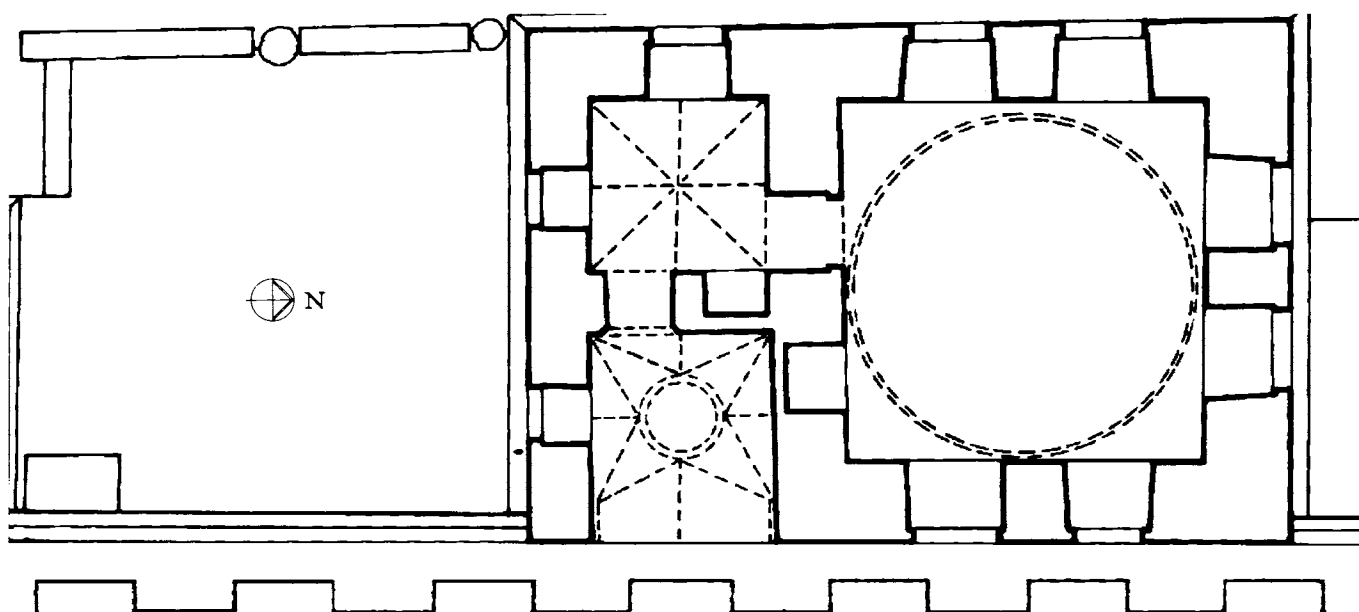


Fig. 34.2 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, ground plan.

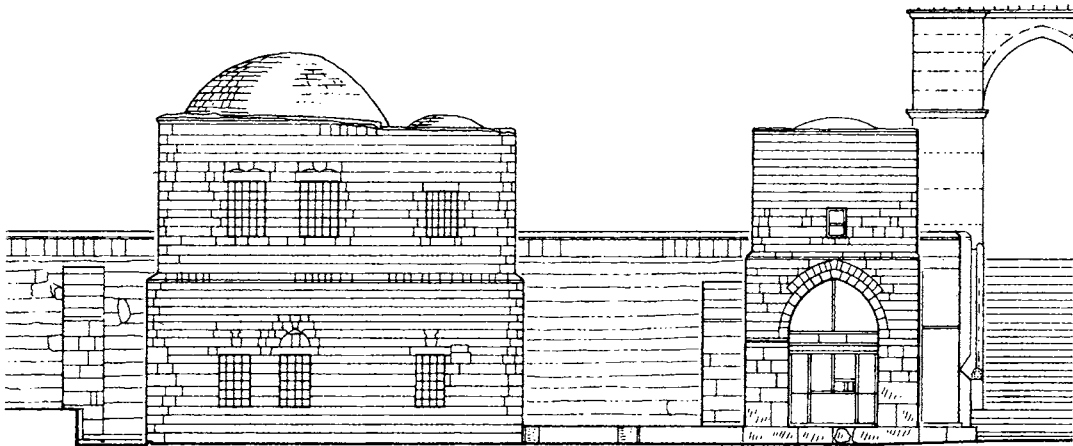


Fig. 34.3 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, west elevation.

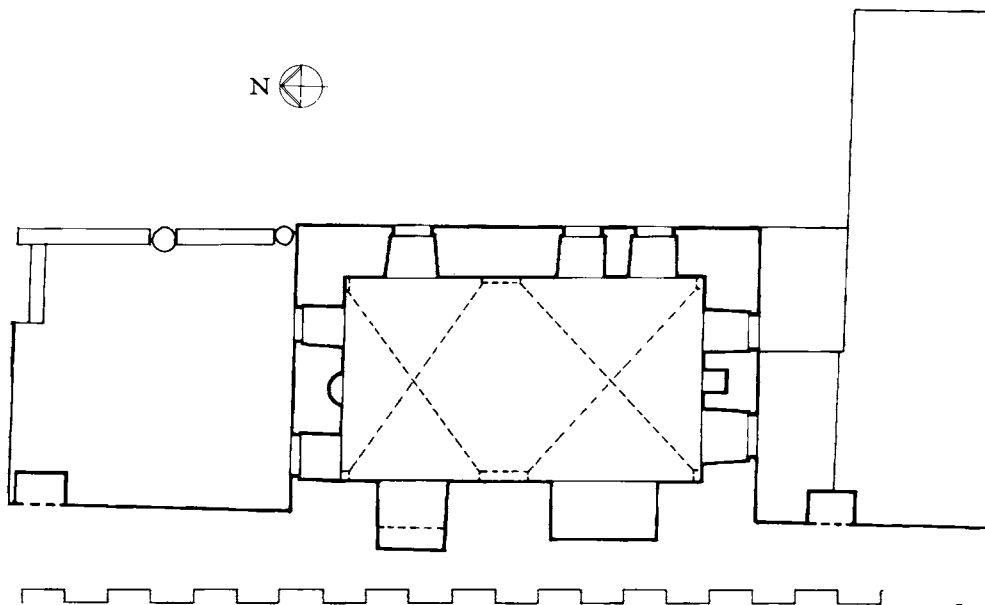


Fig. 34.4 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, plan of basement.



Pl. 34.1 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, main façade.



Pl. 34.2 Khalwat Bairam Pasha, north and west façades.

35 AL-ZAWIYA AL-QADIRIYYA

Name: al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya

Date: 1043/1633

Endowment: 15 Muharram 1043/22 July 1633

Variant of name: al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya

Modern name: al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya

Location

The *zawiya* is situated to the north of Tariq Barquq, which leads from the Haram gate, Bab al-Ghawanima, to Tariq al-Wad.

Site and brief description (figs. 35.1-35.3, pls. 35.1-35.12)

The southern boundary of the site is determined by Tariq Barquq; this street also lies to its west, as do a number of as yet unrecorded dwellings. To the north the complex is bordered by the complex of buildings that make up al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33). The *zawiya*, as already described, fronts onto two sections of Tariq Barquq, one part of which is a thoroughfare and the other a side street, although they share the same name. The entrance to the *zawiya* leads to an open courtyard, generously planted with trees, vines and flowers. The courtyard is surrounded by eleven small cells, a large chamber, a mosque, a house of two floors (the lower of which is original, while the upper is a later addition), latrines, and an area for ablutions. In addition to the courtyard, the complex has a plot of land measuring 600 square metres.

History

Identification

Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya is identified by a foundation inscription as well as by a *waqf* lodged in the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem (Sijill 122: 233). The *waqfiyya* states that '... Muhammad Pasha has made *waqf* the whole beautiful *zawiya* constructed by him, located in the Ghawanima neighbourhood of Jerusalem the Noble.'

Date

The date of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, as it appears on the foundation inscription, is 1043/1633. Both Burgoyne (1976: no. 124) and al-Husaini (1977: 21) recorded the date as 1040/1630 but it was in fact correctly read earlier by al-'Arif (1966: 500). The inscription is on a stone panel in a prominent position in the middle of the tympanum over the entrance. The panel is rectangular in form and measures 30cm by 20cm; the inscription consists of three lines of high quality Ottoman *naskh*, set out in six cartouches. The cartouches are undecorated rectangles of two columns, and are outlined by plain fillet borders. It is worth pointing out that, apart from the inscriptions in the name of Sultan Sulaiman on the walls of the city, the *sabils* and the Haram—which display a standard of high-quality calligraphy comparable to Mamluk inscriptions within Jerusalem—the majority of Ottoman inscriptions in the city are modest in size and quality, and notably so in relation to context and execution. They must be seen as local Jerusalemite rather than the courtly panels represented by Mamluk examples and by those of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni.

The translation of the panel reads as follows:

1. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful, this is the *zawiya* of

2. our master and lord, the leading savant, the sultan of all saints,
3. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani—may Allah hallow his mighty secret, (in the) year 1043 (1633).

The penultimate phrase, 'may Allah hallow his mighty secret', is a eulogy used in reference to the name of a deceased Muslim saint. It apparently refers to the belief that an eminent Sufi was in possession of a secret which enabled him to perform miracles (*karamat*). The most auspicious *du'a* for any Sufi, therefore, whenever his name is cited—in particular by his followers—is to ask Allah to hallow his 'secret'.

The reading of the date is confirmed by a *waqfiyya* in Sijill 122: 236 which carries the date 15 Muharram 1043/22 July 1633.

Founder

The *waqfiyya* refers to the donor, Muhammad Pasha, as 'our master, the governor of Jerusalem the Noble'. The document also refers to him by other long titles affiliated to his position, such as *amir al-umara' al-kiram*, *kabir al-kubara' al-fikham*, *mu'taman al-daula al-bahira*, and so on.¹ Muhammad Pasha, as explained elsewhere (cat. no. 19 under Founder), was a renowned patron of architecture in Jerusalem. He also played a leading administrative role in the city. Other catalogue entries have shown him contracting through his legal agent (*wakil*), the Administrator, to collect the *waqf* revenue of al-Zawiya al-Hamra' (cat. no. 3). He endowed a plot of land for the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19), and it is recorded in the foundation inscription that it was during his period of office that Bairam sent donations to rebuild the Sabil Sha'lan (cat. no. 36). On 17 Sha'ban 1024/11 September 1615 the daughter of Muhammad Pasha married 'Uthman Sufi, the founder of al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33).

There are many other items in the *sijills* (volumes 98-122) which record proceedings from the years 1024-43/1615-1634 that bear the name of Muhammad Pasha. Most of these records document his financial transactions, but a few point to other activities. From the records it is clear that Muhammad Pasha was deeply involved with the city of Jerusalem. He spent a long time there both as governor (1036-43/1626-33), and as a retired person. For example Sijill 100: 282 dated 1028/1618-19 states that the inspector of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa had contracted Muhammad Pasha, 'retired in Jerusalem', to help him to collect the revenues of Masjid al-Aqsa from certain villages, for the inspector was having difficulty in obtaining their income. On the binding of Sijill 112: 1, dated 23 Rajab 1036/9 April 1627, one of Muhammad Pasha's many arrivals in Jerusalem is recorded. It states that 'our master Muhammad Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem, has arrived at the place of his seat and at the centre of his government and rule (*ila mahal wilayatihi wa mautin hukumatihi wa himayatihi*).'

Muhammad Pasha acted as Supervisor of the *waqf* of Qanat al-Sabil² according to Sijill 113: 848 dated 20 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1037/21 August 1628. It states that the *qadi*, on the basis of an

¹ For other titles of Muhammad Pasha, see the text of the *waqfiyya* in Appendix I, no. 35. His titles appear frequently elsewhere in the Jerusalem records, for example in Sijills nos. 98: 18, 19; 105: 418, 451, 474, 645, 718, 726.

² On Qanat al-Sabil, see Ch. 36, under the Water Supply, n. 16.

official letter (*kitab*), had assigned Muhammad Pasha, *amir al-umara'* (all of his titles are provided), the governor of the city of Jerusalem, to the position of supervisor of al-Qanat al-Sabil—the water supply for Jerusalem—and its endowments for the sake of Allah (without salary).

Among the endowments of Muhammad Pasha, there is a short *waqfiyya* of one page with twenty-two lines in Sijill 102: 273. It is dated the beginning of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1028/10 October 1619, and it records that Muhammad Pasha, then governor of Jerusalem, had devoted a plot of land located on al-Tur mountain (Mount of Olives) for the benefit of the retreat (itself) and the poor (Sufis) who came to al-Shaikh Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad Shams al-Din surnamed al-'Alami. The plot was described as planted with olives and, as was normal, its boundaries were specified. The donor stipulated that the supervision of the land was to be in the hands of al-Shaikh al-'Alami, and after him his sons; and after his sons, one of the poor who observed the order of al-Shaikh al-'Alami. Whenever Muhammad Pasha is mentioned in the *sijills*, his name is accompanied with the complete string of his titles, which was the common practice for governors of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period.

There can be no doubt that Muhammad Pasha was one of the greatest patrons of charitable architectural projects in Jerusalem. Indeed he was the last Ottoman governor to enrich the city with a major architectural undertaking. Thereafter, the monuments in Jerusalem are either very small or represent restorations rather than new projects.

It is noteworthy too that all of Muhammad Pasha's projects in Jerusalem were associated with Sufi orders.

In addition to al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, under discussion here, which Muhammad Pasha built and to which he gave a generous donation, as already mentioned, he made *waqf* two plots of land, one for the Maulawiyya order, and the second for the Sufis of al-Zawiya al-As'adiyya at the mount of Olives. He appears as *wakil* (agent) for the great *mufti* of Istanbul, al-Shaikh Abu Sa'id As'ad Efendi, *shaikh mashaikh al-islam*, with the responsibility of supervising the building of Abu Sa'id's *zawiya* (al-As'adiyya) on the mount of Olives on 20 Muharram 1033/13 November 1623 (Sijill 107:128). This explains the similarity between the plan of al-Qadiriyya and al-As'adiyya mosques. Together with the western part of Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 40), they represent the work of a single architect or planner.

There is no clue in the information provided by the *sijills* as to Muhammad Pasha's affiliation with the Sufi orders. If one compares the interests of three major patrons of the architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem (other than Sultan Sulaiman and his wife)—namely, Bairam Jawish, Ahmad Pasha and Muhammad Pasha—it will be seen that these men concentrated in different areas. Bairam's interest lay in differing types of architecture, although he did not neglect the needy poor. Ahmad Pasha's activity focused on the *'ulama* (people of knowledge). Muhammad Pasha, for his part, concentrated on Sufi institutions. It seems probable that the interest shown by Muhammad Pasha to the Sufi community reflects the good position achieved by this community within Jerusalem society in the second half of the 17th century. In other words, connections between the Sufi order and the governor served their mutual interests—while the governor gained public support, the Sufi community benefitted from financial aid in the form of *waqfs*.

The waqfiyya

The unpublished *waqfiyya* is to be found in Sijill 122: 232-6 dated

15 Muharram 1043/22 July 1633. It is a comparatively lengthy document of five pages with thirty-seven lines to the page, each line averaging sixteen words. The *waqfiyya* states that Muhammad Pasha, being sound in body and mind, had attested in the presence of the *qadi* and other witnesses (who were to sign below) that he had endowed the whole of his 'elegant and beautiful *zawiya*'. The *zawiya* had been constructed out of his own money in the Ghawanima neighbourhood of Jerusalem the Noble. In addition to the *zawiya*, the donor had made *waqf* 1,000 silver *ghirsh asadi*, each *ghirsh* being equal to 30 *nisf misriyya*. Although it is difficult to ascertain the precise value of coinage in circulation in Ottoman Jerusalem over the centuries, it seems that the scale of the financial endowment of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya by Muhammad Pasha is in keeping with the normal standard of the time³ when compared with the endowments of al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19) and Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21).

Description of the zawiya

According to the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 122: 233), the *zawiya* comprised the following architectural elements:

- 1. A large rectangular mosque with 'many windows' in its four walls (the number of window are not specified).
- 2. A large square kitchen located opposite the mosque to the north.
- 3. A large house situated to the north of the *zawiya*, which included a big room with two windows opening onto the open courtyard of the *zawiya*. A cooking range (*aujaq*) was to be found in this room. The house had been prepared by the donor to act as the residence for the *shaikh* of the *zawiya*. A handsome platform adjoined the house.
- 4. The *zawiya* also included a small *iwvan*, whose door opened towards the east. It had a cooking range (*aujaq*) and a large basin (*qas'a*) of stone for the laundering of the clothes of the poor who were resident in the *zawiya*.
- 5. The donor had arranged eleven cells located to the west and south of the *zawiya* for the poor of the Qadiriyya, who were on retreat in the *zawiya*.
- 6. A large irregular rectangular garden (*haud*) for cultivation. This is described in the *waqfiyya* as square: *wa bidmin al-zawiya al-mazbura haud kabir murabb' bi-rasm al-zira'a*. The land measured 12m to the west, 14.8m to the north, 12m to the east, and 18.85m to the south.

³ This statement is based on the amount and percentage of the annual profit and on the equivalent in *nisf misriyya*.

Name	Amount of endowment	Percentage and profit	Equivalent in nisf misriyya
Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya	500 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	15% = 75	3,000
Khalwat Islam Beg	500 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	15% = 75	3,000
Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya	1,000 <i>ghirsh asadi</i>	20% = 200	6,000

Although the sum for al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya is double that of Khanqah al-Maulawiyya, it should be remembered that the number of Sufis residing in the Qadiriyya was double that of those in the Maulawiyya. It is worth noting also that between the *waqf* of Islam Beg (1002/1593-4) and the *waqf* of the Qadiriyya (1043/1633) the *sultani* had, it seems, been devalued by 10 *nisf misriyya*.

7. Three cisterns to contain rainwater.

8. A fair orchard (*hakura*; 16m wide by 20.5m) situated to the east of the *zawiya*, approached from the complex and planted with figs, almonds, and grapevines. It also included a cistern to collect rainwater, two latrines, and two platforms (*suffa*).

The boundaries of the *zawiya*

The whole property specified in the document had been made *waqf* by the donor, through a legal document dated 1042/1632. The *zawiya* was bordered to the south by the thoroughfare within which the entrance to the *zawiya* was found, to the east by houses known as 'the houses of 'Uthman Beg al-Sufi al-Masri' (for his biography see cat. no.33 under Founder), to the north by al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33)—which had been endowed by the same 'Uthman Beg—and to the west by an open courtyard and stables which were owned by 'our master the donor'.

The document concluded that the detailed property which had been recorded was a true and legal *waqf* and that the donor, Muhammad Pasha, dedicated it for certain charitable deeds, namely:

1. The *zawiya* was endowed for the benefit of the Qadiriyya *sayyids* who followed the order of 'al-Shaikh Muhyi al-Din 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, may Allah hallow his secret'. In case of there being no Qadiriyya members in Jerusalem the Noble, the *waqf* was to be for the benefit of the Muslim poor in Jerusalem the Noble, and if that was impossible, then it was to be dedicated to the Muslim poor anywhere.

2. Money in the form of cash had been endowed for the benefit of the *zawiya*, and the Administrator of the *waqf* was to deal with it legally, twelve *ghirsh* for each ten *ghirsh*, and he was to avoid *riba* (illegal interest). The income annually would amount to 200 *ghirsh asadi*. This was a large amount on 1,000 *ghirsh asadi*, corresponding to 20 percent interest. Other sums of money (see note 1) had, however, a lower rate of interest at 12 percent (each 10 *ghirsh asadi* for 11.5 *ghirsh asadi*) as in the *waqf* of the Maulawiyya (cat. no. 19) and the Khalwat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21). Whether this arrangement (*mu'amala*) represented illegal *riba* or legal *ribh* is still in dispute between the *muftis* today.

Personnel and expenses

The administrator of the *waqf* was to pay the following expenses:

Position	Ghirsh asadi annually
The <i>shaikh</i> and <i>imam</i> of the <i>zawiya</i>	20
Eleven Sufis (6 <i>ghirsh</i> each)	66
Door-keeper (<i>bawwab</i>) for the <i>zawiya</i> (one of the eleven Sufis)	3
<i>Sha'al</i> (in charge of lighting the oil-lamps) and attendant	3
Oil for the illumination of the mosque of the <i>zawiya</i>	6
Mats for the <i>zawiya</i>	2
Buckets, jugs, and ropes	3
Food to be cooked in the <i>zawiya</i> kitchen every Friday night for the Sufis (one and a half <i>ghirsh</i> each Friday night)	72
Cook (to be one of the eleven Sufis)	2
The <i>qadi</i> of Jerusalem, for signing the account books	3
The administrator	6
The surplus was first to be used to maintain the <i>zawiya</i> , should there be need, otherwise it was to be added to the capital	14
Total expenses annually	200

Stipulations

The donor, Muhammad Pasha, made the following stipulations:

1. The donor stipulated that the supervision of his *waqf* was to be his during his lifetime (may Allah grant him a long life), and after him it was to be under the control of his sons and the sons of his sons in order of maturity and competence (*al-arshad fa-l-arshad*) for the sake of Allah and without salary. The donor had the right to add or to deduct (from the *waqf*), to change or exchange it, to grant or to withhold, to assign or dismiss and to do whatever else he chose during his lifetime. After his death no one had the right to make any change to the *waqf*.

2. He (the donor) stipulated that the administrator of his *waqf* should be al-Khwaja Muhammad ibn al-Khwaja Nur al-Din al-Sahib during his lifetime, and after him the position was to be filled according to the [decision of the] Inspector and the *shaikh* of the *zawiya*.

3. The *shaikh* of the *zawiya* was to be the *imam* of the mosque; he was to perform the five daily prayers, and he was to be pious and (rightly) guided in both his deeds and words. If the *shaikh* left Jerusalem the Noble for more than three successive days without legal excuse and thus suspended his duties as *imam* and *shaikh*, the administrator was to replace him with another *shaikh*, always provided that he had the same qualifications.

4. It was to be a condition that none of the eleven Sufis was allowed to transfer (*tafarrugh*) his right to reside in his cell to anyone else, and if he did, then the *shaikh*, together with the administrator, was to appoint a replacement with the necessary qualifications to reside in the *zawiya*. In the case of a poor Sufi travelling out of Jerusalem the Noble for more than three successive days without legal excuse, once again the *shaikh* together with the administrator was to replace him with another indigent to occupy the cell.

5. The donor stipulated that the Sufis together with their *shaikh* were to gather after every prayer, unless they had legal excuse not to do so. They were to recite passages from the Noble Qur'an, to praise the Prophet Muhammad, and to make invocation to Allah in accordance with the practice of their named *shaikh* ('Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani). The merit of this action was to be for the benefit of the soul of the Prophet, for all the messengers and prophets of Allah, for the companions of the Prophet, for 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, for the donor and his family, and for all Muslims.

6. Furthermore, the donor stipulated that the cell which abutted the entrance of the *zawiya* was to be allocated to the Sufi who was to act as door-keeper of the *zawiya*, whoever that might be.

7. The administrator of the *waqf* was to give the endowed money only to a capable man, who was prepared to pay the income of the *waqf* on time. The administrator was to hand over the money only providing he held either a strong mortgage or other suitable guarantee. He was to avoid anyone who was unjust, powerful or from whom it was difficult to disengage.

8. Finally, the donor stipulated that, if it proved impossible to pay out the sums assigned above, the *waqf* was to be for the Muslim poor anywhere.

Later periods

The relevant file in the Auqaf Administration is no. 3/17/35 and it is important in that it contains information on the history of the *zawiya* in the last four decades and in particular provides evidence on its function, income and any necessary repairs, services, and so on. The documents in the file show that the *zawiya* in recent times had no other source of income than the JD2.605 a month donated by the Auqaf Authority, and even that has stopped since

17 February 1986. Despite the lack of income, the *zawiya* still functions independently. Shaikh 'Abd al-Karim al-Afghani is the current *mutawalli*, and he comes under the direct supervision of the *qadi* of Jerusalem rather than the Director of the Auqaf (as the file 3/17/35 31-2, 37-8 shows). From 1372/1952 until 1387/1967 the *zawiya* provided accommodation for Afghan visitors and pilgrims while they were in Jerusalem (File 3/17/35 1, 5, 20, 39) and thus continued to function according to tradition rather than the specifications of the *waqf* document. As well as providing temporary accommodation for visitors, the *zawiya* also served as a permanent residence for some of the Afghan community in Jerusalem. Later, during 1983, part of the western wall of the façade collapsed as a result of penetration by water, which placed it under too much strain. The collapse of the masonry revealed a large barrel vault.⁴

Architecture

Exterior

Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya has two façades that overlook the street called Tariq Barquq, as already explained—one facing west, and the other facing south. At the south-western point, where the two façades meet at the corner, there is a chamfered re-used stone. It takes the form of a simple *muqarnas* with two small niches, each cut across by a horizontal divide, set under a single niche of the same design centred above. In the spandrels to either side of the upper niche, there is an incised stem, and the niches are each outlined by a fillet frame with a central groove.

[Editorial note: The chamfer of the corner masonry is to allow laden animals to make the tight turn. The decoration is a charming—and rare—example of street ornamentation in the Ottoman period. The profile of the three *muqarnas* niches is segmental, the break in outline corresponding to the horizontal change in the depth of carving in each. The foliage details that decorate the spaces on either side of the upper niche recall the somewhat similar organic interlace on the façade of Khalwat Qitas, cat. no. 16. SA]

The masonry of the western façade consists of regular courses of square, roughly dressed stones. It is high and long, measuring 26.8m by 5.4m. It is divided into two parts, both of which are unbroken apart from a small window in the northern section, which was rebuilt relatively recently after its collapse in 1983; it remains slightly recessed in relation to the alignment of the other part of the wall.

The southern façade

The wall forming the southern façade has four component parts: a western face, a recessed entrance-way, the southern elevation of the mosque, and a plain wall that runs east of the mosque's southern elevation. The western face, measuring 34.6m by 9.1m, extends from the south-western corner of the *zawiya* until it reaches the recessed entrance.

The entrance door is off-centre and set in a recess with a pointed arch. It is raised above the level of the street by two steps measuring 65cm in height. The entrance is flanked on either side by stone benches, and the door is surmounted by a lintel. The imposts of the pointed arch incline inwards as if for a horse-shoe arch. The tympanum of the arch contains three inscriptions. The lower one is modern, and is written on metal. It bears the message 'Mosque of al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya, built in 1043. There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.' This notice was probably put in place when the mosque of the *zawiya* was re-opened in 1981. It was joined in 1996 by another metal inscription. It is made up of three lines written in a modern hand. The translation is as follows:

1. *Waqf* of al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya
2. the 'Alawiyya Sufi order
3. Masjid al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya 1043.

The second inscription, relating to the foundation of the *zawiya*, has been described above. The third and uppermost panel is also modern, but of marble, and probably dates to post-1967; it says '*Waqf* of al-Zawiya al-Afghaniyya, 1043'.

The third component part of this façade is the southern elevation of the mosque, which rises to twice the height of the entrance. The two lower courses of stonework are rusticated and of a larger scale than the other masonry in this part of the building. The façade is undecorated apart from two rectangular windows, each measuring 1m by 1.5m. Each window has a lintel surmounted by a small relieving arch, and is fitted with an old iron grille. This part of the façade is crowned by a projecting stone course which serves as a frame and extends around all four sides of the mosque.

The last part of this façade is a plain wall which constitutes the southern border of the plot of land situated to the south east of the *zawiya*. It is built of masonry that is identical with the fabric of the façade except for the upper three courses which are rusticated, and this suggests that they have been added later, after the main construction had been completed.

Interior

The entrance leads into a vaulted doorway measuring 1.9m by 1.5m. It is flanked by a remarkably thick wall to the east (1m) and west (1.4m). The doorway, which opens into a courtyard, has a flagstone pavement identical to that of the rest of the courtyard. This would seem to be the original pavement. Some of the flagstones measure 46cm by 1m and have the same colour, quality and size as examples in the floors of other Ottoman buildings such as al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya.

The courtyard is spacious, its total area being in the region of 400sq. m. The central part is planted with a variety of trees and flowers. The rectangular planted area (some 12m wide by 18.5m long) is enclosed by a wall reaching a height of 68cm. In the *waqfiyya* described above, this area was called the *haud*, and described as square. It is not possible to be sure whether the details in the *waqfiyya* are in error or whether the garden has undergone some change which has altered it to the present shape.

Cells

The eleven cells (A-K) are almost identical in their shape, area, design, and façades. They differ slightly, however, in size. The only exception is cell H which has no window with an opening onto the courtyard, but instead there is a small one set in the west

⁴ The vault (M) is situated at the north-west corner. It was discovered on 6 March 1983 as a result of the disintegration of part of the western wall of the *zawiya*. The section that then came to light seems to have been part of the vault only, since a modern wall of masonry blocks divides it in two. The main entrance to the vault was probably at one time from the north, but it was closed some time ago. Access now is through al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya itself by way of a recently constructed lower level. The profile of the vault, which runs from north to south, is pointed. It is built of good quality stone, and measures 25m long, 4.5m wide and about 3m high.

façade. The doors and the windows (each measuring 50cm by 76cm) of the rest of the cells open onto the courtyard. The door to each cell measures 76 cm by 1.5m, and is surmounted by a lintel with a relieving arch of the 'eye-brow' style above. To the east of each door there is a rectangular window, which has been provided with a simple iron grille for protection; the windows are similarly surmounted by a stone lintel and arch to conform to the style of the doors. The interior dimensions of the cells A to K are as follows: A, 3.7m by 2.1m; B, 4m by 2.2m; C, 3.7m by 2.1m; D, 3.6m by 2.1m; E, 3.6m by 2.15m; F, 3.6m by 2.1m; G, 3.6m by 2.7m; H, 3.2m by 2.8m; I, 3.1m by 2.8m (irregular shape); J, 2m by 3.1m; and K, 2.2m by 3.1m. Each is paved in stone, with a barrel-vaulted roof and blind niches in the walls. These range from one to three in number and vary in location. The walls of the cells are plastered. These cells, as the *waqfiyya* states (see above), used to provide accommodation for indigent Sufi residents.

The north-west chamber L

Chamber L is located next to cell K, at the north-western corner of the *zawiya*. It is rectangular in shape and measures 3.2m by 5.5m. The *waqfiyya* defines it as a small *ivan* with a cooking range and stone basin for the laundry (see above). It has two entrances in its eastern wall; the first is large and consists of an arch with a pointed profile, while the second is located to the north and consists of a rectangular door surmounted by a lintel. It is interesting that the *waqfiyya* denotes cell L as an *ivan*, and suggests that at the Jerusalem court at least some of the scribes were not conversant with the niceties of architectural terminology. Anyone who examines the plan of this so-called *ivan* will see immediately that there has been a mistake. An *ivan* should be open on one side and its floor level must be higher than the surrounding floor (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 17).⁵

The interior of chamber L has recently been divided into two parts by a pointed arch, each part being covered by a shallow cross vault. The floor is paved with flagstones. In the southern part of the chamber, and close to the entrance, there is a well-head which seems to have been blocked recently. At a height of 35cm to the north of the west wall there is a window measuring 55cm by 70cm. It is the only opening in the west façade, as mentioned above. The north wall has two openings. One, to the west, seems to have been designed to contain the *aujaq* (cooking range), while the second to the east is a blind niche capped by a lintel and was probably intended to serve as a wall-cupboard. This chamber is now used once a week as a location for the Sufi *dhikr*.

The building O and P

This building is located in the north-eastern corner of the *zawiya*, and has two floors. The lower level (O) is original. In the *waqfiyya*, as mentioned above, it is defined as a house for the *shaikh* of the *zawiya*. Access to the hall is through the southern façade, where there are two doors; the one to the west is bigger than that to the east, and both are surmounted by a lintel. The interior of the house (the hall) is square in plan. It is divided into four square bays by four pointed arches. The arches are supported by a central pier, measuring 1.1m by 1.1m, and by the walls from which they spring. Each bay is cross-vaulted. Two rectangular windows are set in the western wall of the house; they have been recently

widened, and now have neither jamb nor lintel. In the north wall, and close to the level of the vault, there are two openings which were, it seems, originally chimney flues. They were apparently blocked at the time the second floor was added.

The masonry of the hall is different from that of the cells and the mosque and also from that of the second level, being more heavily rusticated than elsewhere in the *zawiya*. The inference of this difference in masonry might be that hall O was built at some time other than 1043/1633, but, since the lower part of the hall is mentioned in the *waqfiyya*, the hall must have been constructed at the same time as the rest of the *zawiya*. The difference in masonry could indicate a change in the availability of stone. Today the house is used for prayers and a meeting place for the people who frequent the *zawiya*.

The second level (P) was added at a later period and now serves as a house for the present *shaikh* of the *zawiya*. The upper storey is reached through a passageway that extends from the staircase leading to the mosque. This floor consists of two parts—an open courtyard, and a rectangular hall divided into two rooms. The first of these is larger than the second and both are covered by a modified form of the local cross vault. A door in the eastern elevation leads to the interior, and there is a window next to it. Four other window openings provide light—one in the south wall, and the other three in the west wall. The windows and the door are each surmounted by a semicircular arch. It is not possible to give a precise date for this upper level.

The mosque—exterior

The mosque is situated to the east of the main entrance of the *zawiya* and is raised 2.4m above ground level. Ten level steps, surrounded by a modern metal fence, lead to its entrance. The mosque is built of stone similar in quality to that of the main part of the *zawiya*. Of its four faces, the southern one is integrated into the wall façade that gives onto the street, as described above.

The main façade, with the entrance to the mosque, looks north. The doorway is simple, measuring 1.1m by 2m; immediately over it there is a lintel, and above that an 'eye-brow' relieving arch decorated with an interlaced geometrical device.

[Editorial note. This takes the form of a knot. The motif is based on the idea of a single strand of rope, which bifurcates into two thongs. These are interwoven to produce a rectangular interlace in the form of a guilloche or duplex knot. The two strands then re-unite before splitting again to terminate in a leaf. The pattern is also called 'Solomon's knot', 'the endless knot', 'single knot' and 'lover's knot' (Rainey 1973: 177). While its appearance over a door may be simply ornamental, it is possible that it carries a more complex message, for similar knots were used to adorn the upright strokes of letters in inscriptions. In particular, knots traditionally decorated the letters *lam* and *alif*, two letters of the name of God. Other words frequently decorated in a similar way were blessings or good wishes, such as the word *baraka* ('blessing'; Baer 1998: 62-7). It has been argued (Auld, unpublished PhD thesis) that the presence of a knot may have had a cosmic significance because the term for 'knot' in Arabic (*'uqda*) also has the subsidiary meaning—as in the Latin *nodus*—of 'planetary node'. Another possibility is that an alternative term in Arabic for 'knot' or 'plait', *saraja*, has an additional meaning of 'to light' (the lamp) or 'to beautify'. This term is used in the Qur'an (25: 62; 33: 45; 71: 15, and 78: 13) to describe God, the Prophet and the sun. The popularity of the use of knots in inscriptions, which first made its appearance in architecture in Persia and Central Asia in the 10th century and diffused westwards to

⁵ In the *waqfiyya* under discussion, there are two obvious mistakes. The first is the use of the term *ivan*, as just discussed, and the second is the use of *haud*—which usually means 'pond'—to denote the garden (see above).

become widespread in such minor arts as ceramics and metalwork by the later 12th or early 13th century, had waned by the 15th century. The appearance of a knot over the door of a mosque in Jerusalem in the 17th century is therefore interesting and indicative, if nothing else, of the long-lasting nature of decorative motifs in Islamic art. SA]

To either side of the door there is a rectangular window equipped with a grille; both also have a lintel and relieving 'eye-brow'-shaped arch. Round the top of all four façades runs a projecting stone cornice that acts as a frame for the whole building. Two hemispherical domes using a lime and mortar cement rest directly on the roof of the mosque. The roof itself is covered by small flat stones. In the usual way, each dome is topped by a stone finial facing east-west. The finials are identical, each comprising three parts. The lower and central sections are made up of a short cylindrical shaft divided by roll mouldings. The third, upper, section takes the form of an open circle.

The western elevation is divided into two halves by a central buttress. Two windows of identical design are placed in each half-section. At ground level a stone bench, 80cm wide and 70cm high, runs across the façade. Two elaborate stone spouts to the north of the western elevation direct water collected on the roof for storage.

Only about half of the eastern elevation is visible, for there is a difference in the ground level between the site of the *zawiya* and the land that borders the mosque to the east. What can be seen shows that the elevation is a twin of the one to the west except for the absence of relieving arches above the lintels of the windows, which are now blocked, and there are neither bench nor water-spouts.

The interior of the mosque consists of a rectangular prayer chamber divided into two by a pointed arch. Each half of the space is square in plan and is covered by a shallow dome. There is no intervening drum, the necessary circle being achieved by a transitional zone of pendentives at the corners of each square bay. There are twelve windows in all, six to each bay, surmounted by a pointed arch. They begin just above floor level at a height of 30cm. The walls are so thick (approximately 1.2m) that the window openings form wall niches large enough to accommodate a Qur'an stand and stool. In addition there are two blind niches, one to the east and one to the west, which serve as storage spaces. A simple concave *mihrab* is found at the centre of the southern wall between the two windows. It is constructed of stone and has a semicircular arch and fluted half-dome. The walls of the prayer chamber are plastered except for the area around the *mihrab*, where the stone courses remain visible.

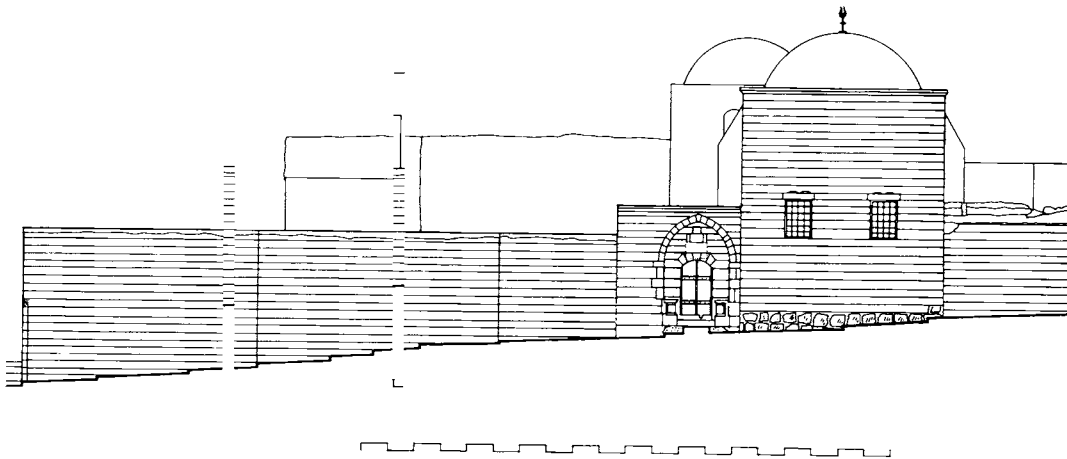


Fig. 35.1 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, south façade.

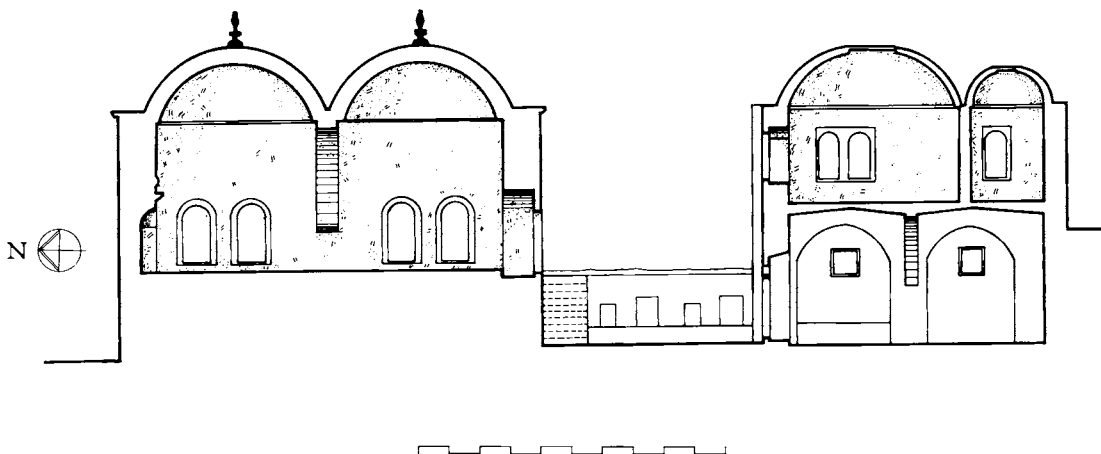


Fig. 35.2 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, section.

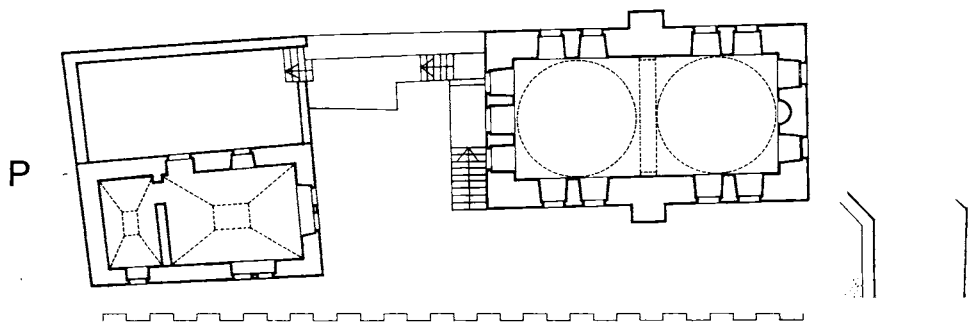


Fig. 35.3 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, first-floor plan.

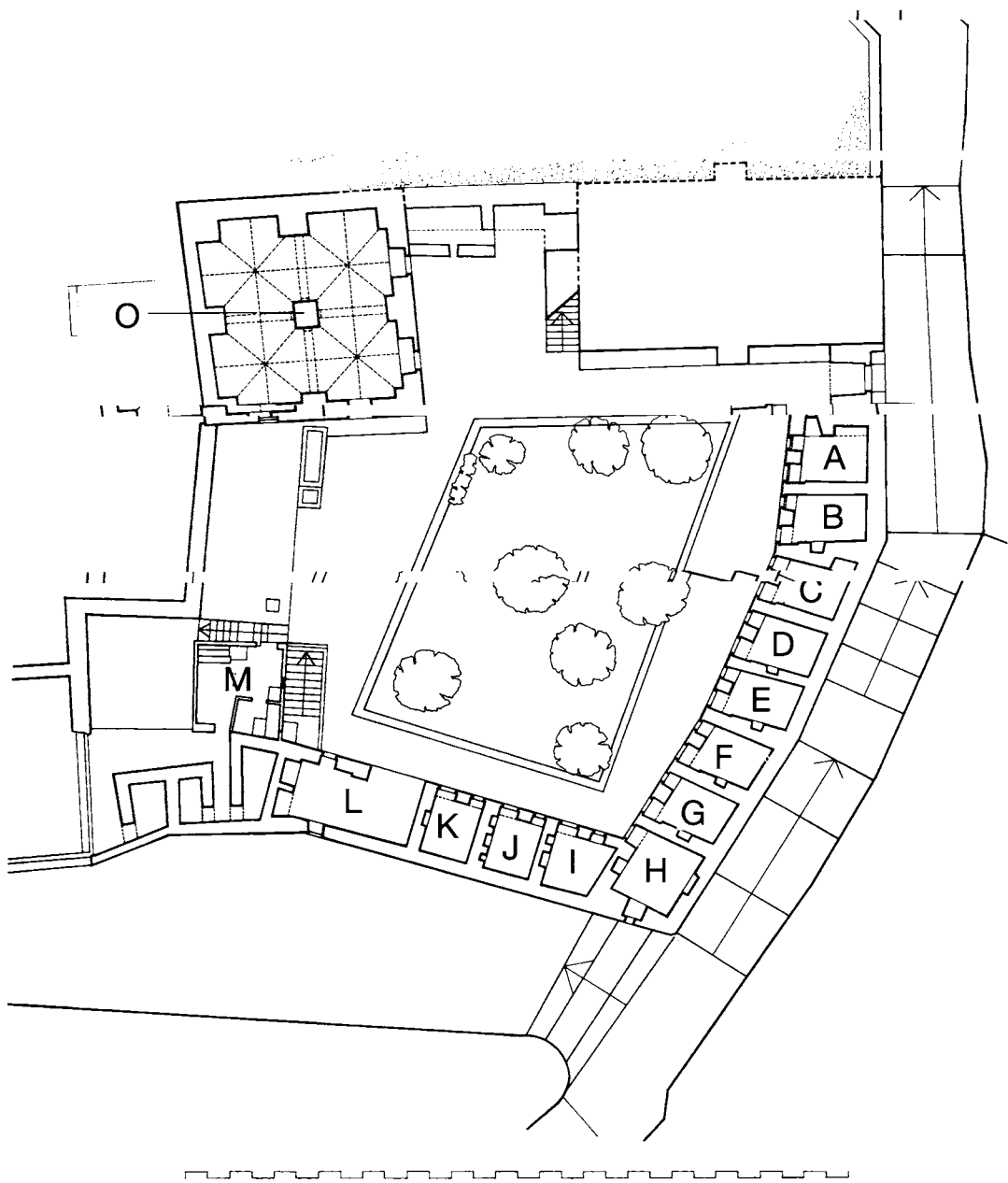


Fig. 35.4 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, ground plan.



Pl. 35.1 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, south façade and entrance, exterior view.



Pl. 35.3 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, portal.



Pl. 35.2 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, general view of courtyard.



Pl. 35.4 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, interior of mosque.



Pl. 35.5 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, stairway to mosque.



Pl. 35.6 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, decoration above mosque entrance.



Pl. 35.7 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, *muqarnas* decoration at junction of exterior walls.



Pl. 35.8 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, exterior of meeting hall.



Pl. 35.9 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, exterior side walls.



Pl. 35.11 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, mosque, west elevation.s



Pl. 35.10 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, cells around courtyard.



Pl. 35.12 Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, mosque, east elevation.

36 SABIL WA MIHRAB WA MASTABAT SHA'LAN

Name: Sabil Sha'lan

Date: (A) *The sabil*

1. Construction 613/1216-7

2. First restoration 832/1429.

Second restoration 1037/1628. Third restoration undated

(B) *The mihrab and mastabat*

1. Construction 795/1392-32

First restoration 832/1429

Second restoration 1061/1651

Endowment: 1037/1628

Variants of name: It is known as 'Sahrij (cistern) al-Malik Mu'azzam 'Isa', 'Mihrab wa mastabat Yusuf Pasha', and 'Sabil Bairam Pasha', but the most widely used name is 'Sabil Sha'lan'.

Modern name: Sabil, Mihrab wa Mastabat Sha'lan. Evidence for this name first appears in the second half of the 17th century (see below under Founders).

Location

Sabil Sha'lan is located in the north-western section of the Haram esplanade, at the end of the path which leads from Bab al-Nazir to the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock.

Site and brief description (figs. 36.1-36.4, pls. 36.1-36.9)

The *sabil* now consists of two units. The first is a small, rectangular room, with the mouth of the cistern at its centre. It is covered by a shallow dome. The second unit is a rectangular bay of stone with four pointed arches on heavy piers. Between the two sections there is a large stone basin. A rectangular *mastaba* abuts the *sabil* to the north, known as the 'Mastabat Sabil Sha'lan'. To the south of the *mastaba*, at the north-eastern corner of the chamber containing the cistern-head, there is a *mihrab* commonly known as 'Mihrab mastabat sabil Sha'lan' but it should more properly be called 'Mihrab Yusuf Pasha'. These structures are surrounded by open space, but Khalwa Parwiz (cat. no. 17) is only a few metres to the east, and to the west is Mastabat Jarkas. The *sabil* is no longer in operation.

History

Identification

Four commemorative inscriptions give a clear picture of the major development of the *sabil* over a long period; all have been published by van Berchem (1925: 99-102). Two of the inscriptions are pre-Ottoman but two are from the Ottoman period. The *sijill* entry specifies the location and the name of the *sabil*, recording that the '... *sabil al-wazir* ... is located in the Aqsa mosque below the stairs (the north-western colonnade) of the Dome of the Rock to the west.'

Although the cistern itself dates from the Ayyubid period, it is included here because its major architectural features are Ottoman (see below).

Date

The *sabil* was first built in 613/1216-7, according to the foundation plaque (A). This is marble and is to be found to the north of the western arch. It measures 55cm wide by 57cm high and consists of ten lines of Arabic written in simple, slender Ayyubid *naskhi* script with diacritical points. The script is incised

and is arranged in cartouches. The translation is as follows:

1. In the name of the Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful—
2. (There) has volunteered to make this cistern
3. And this blessed *masna'* for the love of Allah
4. The poor slave (who hopes) for the mercy of Allah
5. Muhammad ibn 'Urwa ibn Sayyar al-Mausili—may Allah forgive him
6. And His blessing be upon him. (There has built them) by the grace of our master the Sultan
7. al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dunya wa'l-Din Abu
8. 'l-'Aza'im 'Isa ibn al-Malik al-'Adil Abu Bakr ibn
9. Ayyub—may Allah pardon them both. And this in the months of the
10. Year six hundred and thirteen (1216-7)—and the blessing of Allah be upon Muhammad and his followers.

The meaning of the word *masna'* is a structure to contain water, such as a pool, a basin or a cistern (see Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 108). Its meaning here is a cistern.

The second inscription (B) is Mamluk. It states that the *sabil*, *mastaba* (here called *musalla*) and *mihrab* were restored in 832/1429. The inscribed panel of marble (44cm by 54cm) is slightly recessed and is located to the south of the arch. It consists of five lines of Arabic, each set in a rectangular cartouche surrounded by a fillet border. The script is Mamluk *naskh* with diacritical and auxiliary points. The translation runs as follows:

1. (There) has renewed this *sabil*, *musalla* and *mihrab*, the poor
2. Slave of Allah Shahin, the Superintendent of the two sacred
3. Harams, in the reign of our master the Sultan al-Malik
4. al-Ashraf Barsbai—may God perpetuate his royalty—At the time of
5. The month of Ramadan the venerated, (in the) year eight hundred and thirty-two (June 1429).

The question remains when and by whom the *musalla* and the *mihrab* were constructed. The inference from the discrepancy between the two inscriptions is that it was some time between 613-832/1216-1429, and Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 273) does indeed give both a precise date and the name of the governor then ruling Jerusalem and Hebron. He writes that 'the Amir Balwi al-Zahiri, the inspector of the two Noble Sanctuaries (*al-haramain al-sharifain*) and the deputy of the Sultanate, who has constructed the *mihrab* and the *mastaba* located under the big fenced tree facing Bab al-Nazir, one of the gates to al-Aqsa mosque, in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijja 795/October-November 1393 ...' Al-'Arif (1947: 81) reiterated this information, whereas Taha (1988: 57) wrongly locates it close to Bab al-Ghawanim (see also cat. no. 55).

The third inscription (C) is Ottoman, and it too marks a restoration. The plaque is marble, measuring 60cm by 60cm. It has a chamfered edge, and is set into the wall above the arch between the two inscriptions described above. It contains four lines written in Ottoman *naskh*. The script is medium-sized, fine and attenuated; it is highly condensed with diacritical and auxiliary points. The translation reads:

1. (There) has ordered the restoration of this blessed *sabil* after it had fallen into ruin and disfunction
- 2.—the charitable, the dignified Wazir, the venerated Chancellor, His Excellency Bairam
3. Pasha, the Governor of Egypt the protected. It has been repaired under the direction of the Prince of the Noble Emirs, His Excellency
4. Muhammad Pasha, the Governor of al-Quds al-Sharif, in Dhu 'l-Hijja in the year 1037 (August 1628).

The fourth panel (D) commemorates yet another restoration. It is of stone and is to be found above the *mihrab* niche. Its octagonal shape is without parallel in Jerusalem. It is recessed, and set within a rectangular frame measuring 58cm wide by 42cm high, with chamfered edges to east and west. The plaque is damaged and is set at an angle and is therefore either not in its original position or is very inferior work. A fillet divides the octagon into two cartouches, each of which has a single line of Arabic text written in Ottoman *nashk*. The script is fine and slender, with diacritical marks and a few auxiliary points. The translation is as follows:

1. In His Name, Allah who is high above all, [this] gracious *mihrab* which is saved from any deficit
2. I have dated (the chronogram) '(He) has constructed a building by order of Yusuf Pasha' in the year (blank).

Van Berchem (1925: 102) tentatively read the last word of the first line as *muhasi*, but realised that it had no meaning. The preferred reading here is accordingly *muhasha* ('free of any deficit'). Van Berchem correctly gave the chronogram as 1061/1651.

Founder and restorers

The founder of the cistern was al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, the son of al-Malik al-'Adil who was himself the brother of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi. Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa contributed so much to the architecture of Jerusalem and to the Haram in particular that Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 100) concluded that 'of all the former rulers, the two who did the most charitable acts in the Aqsa Mosque and in the Maqam al-Khalil (the Great Mosque of Hebron) are al-Mu'azzam 'Isa and after him al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala'un'. Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa began his architectural work while he was Governor, continuing his projects after he had become Sultan (615-624/1218-27). Mujir al-Din (1973 1: 158, 402-3, 2: 19, 22, 28, 30, 34, 42, 104) listed most of the relevant monuments although some were omitted. Wiet (1949: 36), in the general index of the van Berchem corpus of Jerusalem Arabic inscriptions, gave the numbers of the inscriptions attributed to al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. (For further reading, see among others Burgoyne 1976; Walls and Abu'l Hajj 1980; Rosen-Ayalon 1985: 65-72; Rosen-Ayalon 1990: 306-14).

It is possible to identify the personalities connected with the construction and continuing care of the *sabil*. Muhammad ibn 'Urwa al-Mausili was one of the *khawass* (leaders) of the period of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. He lived first in Jerusalem and then, after the walls of Jerusalem had been breached, moved to Damascus where, again according to Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 146), he died and was buried. In addition to Muhammad ibn 'Urwa al-Mausili,

four other rulers contributed to the restorations of the *sabil*, *mihrab* and *mastaba*. The first of these was al-Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbai (825-41/1422-37), who (according to Mujir al-Din 1973 2: 96) donated a huge Qur'an to the mosque of al-Aqsa. He set up a *waqf* to provide for the reciter and a servant in which he stipulated that the *shaikh* of al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya should be the reciter, and appointed al-Shaikh Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Qutlubugha as a reader. Van Berchem (1925: 139) published the inscription concerning the renovation of a cistern in Jerusalem by Barsba'i. Burgoyne (1987: 542) studied the cistern under the name of 'the well of Ibrahim al-Rumi' (see also cat. no. 26). Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 274) mentions three men bearing the name 'Shahin' who acted as Superintendent of the two Harams in the time of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbai (825-841/1422-37). But given the year of the *sabil*'s restoratio, it is clear that the relevant man was Shahin al-Shuja'i.

Bairam Pasha was the vizier of Egypt and the patron of the *khalwa* named after him on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. For his work in Jerusalem, see cat. no. 34. For the biography of Muhammad Pasha, who was governor of Jerusalem in 1037/1628, see cat. no. 35. Finally, Yusuf Pasha, who was responsible for the restoration of the *mihrab*—according to his *waqf* document registered in Jerusalem Sijill 145: 324 dated 14 Jumada I 1061/5 May 1651—was at one stage governor of Aleppo and then governor of Jerusalem in 1061/1651. The *waqfiyya* states that Yusuf Pasha donated 95 *ghirsh asadi* (gold coins). The yearly interest on that sum, which amounted to 14 and one-third *ghirsh*, was to be allocated to:

2 reciters in the Dome of the Rock (each at 4 <i>ghirsh</i>)	8
Oil to illuminate the cave of the Dome of the Rock	2
For the persons in charge of lighting the lamp	1
The surplus (for the Administrator of the <i>waqf</i>)	3.33
Total	14.33

Endowment

The record in Sijill 13: 248, discussed under cat. no. 34, suggests that an unspecified portion of the money donated by Bairam Pasha and sent to Jerusalem was allocated to the restoration of Sabil Sha'lan. This accords with the stipulation made by Bairam that the money he had made *waqf* should be spent on repairing any Haram cistern in need of renovation. The information contained in the *sijill* further suggests that following its restoration, Sabil Sha'lan was included among the institutions of the Haram which were to be financed and maintained from Haram income. This can be deduced from Sijill 168: 5 dated 8 Jumada II 1098/21 April 1687, which informs the reader that the *qadi* assigned to Shaikh Muhammad ibn Mustafa al-Ghudiyya the office of *al-siqayya* (water supplier) for Sabil Bairam Pasha. Shaikh Muhammad replaced Shaikh Ibrahim, the son of the deceased Shaikh Sulaiman ibn Sha'lan. He was to be allocated one *'uthmani* for the ropes and buckets, and one *'uthmani* for himself per day, which were to be paid out of the income of the 'Noble *waqf*'. It is interesting to note that at this date, in the later 17th century, the *sabil* bore the name of Shaikh Ibrahim. The father of Shaikh Ibrahim, Shaikh Sulaiman ibn Sha'lan, features in another record in Sijill 123: 397 where we learn that he had been appointed as a daily reciter of the Qur'an in the porticoes of Bab al-Nazir at a rate of five *ghirsh* annually.

Architecture

A rectangular bay, measuring 1.7m wide by 2m long and 2.17m in height, dominates the western façade of the *sabil*. It consists of four pointed arches whose span to west and east is 2m, while to south and north it is 1.04m. The arches are carried on four piers. The two outer supports are square (70cm by 70cm), and those towards the interior have been integrated and concealed from the outside by the northern and southern walls of the *sabil* chamber, probably when it was restored. The masonry of the bay is finely dressed and has thin joints, contrary to that of the *sabil* chamber. This would indicate that the two types of masonry probably belong to different phases of construction, with the bay belonging to the earlier building phase. The main western arch of the bay is decorated with the three inscriptions described above (A-C). The central plaque (C) is placed directly above the arch, and the other two are to the north and south of the arch respectively. A stone cornice projects to act as a frame marking the summit of the bay. The ground level in front of the arches is that of the most recent level of the Haram esplanade; it has at some point been raised, for the height of the piers is only 1.1m from ground to the springing of the arch. Most of the area of the two esplanades of the Haram was paved during the Mamluk period (see Qubbat al-Nabi, cat. no. 10). The rise in level could thus be taken to imply that the bay is pre-Mamluk, or, in other words, Ayyubid—presumably dating from the year 614/1216-7. But the implicit purpose of the bay and the layout of the three inscriptions tend to weaken this surmise. The locations of the inscriptions on the Haram have been chosen with considerable care, and most, if not all, are at a focal point. If it is right to see the bay as Ayyubid, it is odd that the Ayyubid plaque is not in the central position which is now occupied by the Ottoman inscription. It seems more likely, therefore, that this bay forms a second phase in the building of the *sabil* and that it was thus presumably built (or rebuilt) during the Mamluk period, with the two inscriptions—the Mamluk to the south of the arch and the Ayyubid to the north—set so as to balance each other. The Ottoman slab has been added in the centre. The function of the bay even as a secondary phase of construction is still not entirely clear. The ceiling below the roof of the bay has been recently lowered by 31cm in order to accommodate a modern electrical refrigerator for water. The bay, expressed on the exterior as flat-roofed, has a cross vault in the interior.

At the back of the bay, where it abuts the *sabil* chamber, there is a recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch. The upper part of the niche, the arched apex, is now hidden, for it is blocked by the bay described above. The central area of the niche consists of a blocked-up window measuring 64cm by 90cm, and below it there are two thick stone slabs with a hole 6cm in diameter pierced through each. The lower part of the niche consists of a rectangular stone dais measuring 2m long by 90cm wide and 1.41m in height from the floor. The upper part of this dais was designed for use as a basin to hold water, and there are two circular apertures 21cm in diameter in the stone cover, one in the centre and one to the south. It was the original intention that a third aperture would be cut to the north. It seems most likely that water was first drawn from the cistern and then poured into the upper basin; from here it would run through the two small holes into another trough which would serve as the dispenser. If this hypothesis is correct, the recessed niche with its three parts (the arch, and the upper and lower troughs) is the oldest part of the structure of the *sabil*. This would mean that it could date from the Ayyubid period.

The three external walls of Sabil Sha'lan to the north,

the south, and the east are similar. They are constructed of various sizes of square and rectangular stones that are roughly dressed. The masonry joints are so inaccurate that they are occasionally filled with rubble (*daqshum*), which is a sign of both low quality and shortage of funds. The building in this respect would resemble domestic architecture more than a public monument with a long history. The ground around the walls is uneven, with a considerable degree of change in level. As usual, the masonry of the lower courses is larger than that of those above. There are two windows in the northern and southern sides with an identical measurement of 78cm wide by 1.4m high. The lintels, jambs and sills of the windows have been finely cut and project slightly from the wall. The windows are now fitted with modern iron bars. The northern wall shows the various phases of the building both through the alignment of the courses and through the fabric itself. The four stages of development are clearly differentiated—the earlier phases have already been mentioned above, namely the recessed arch, and the bay. The chamber of the *sabil* is the third phase, and the fourth and final stage is represented by the *mihrab*. Three stone steps 70cm in height lead up to the door of the chamber, which measures 76cm wide by 1.67m in height. Simple in form, the door has projecting jambs and a lintel made up of three jogged blocks. A heavy ovolo and fillet moulding in stone creates a cornice which runs around the top of the four sides of the building, marking the change to dome level. A single-course stone parapet is raised above the cornice on the east and west sides in order to divert the rainwater.

The shallow ribbed saucer dome, which resembles an umbrella in form, is set on a circular drum one course high surmounted by a roll moulding. The dome is carved in stone and, instead of the usual finial, a stone ball is set at its apex. The style of the dome is unusual. It is the only incidence of its type in the Haram or in the Old City of Jerusalem as a whole. It is western in style and was built probably in the second half of the 19th century, when western styles of architecture were followed in Jerusalem instead of traditional ones. It is hoped that there may be photographic evidence yet to be discovered which would support this tentative date.

The interior of the *sabil* chamber is rectangular in plan, made up in the main of a square area covered by the dome and a rectangular recess which is surmounted by a pointed arch. This area resembles a small *iwān* of 1m in depth. The mouth of the cistern is in the middle of the room at floor level. The room is paved in white dressed flagstones, and both the cistern-mouth and the floor are now covered by a modern rug. The sills of the windows to south and north contain basins to hold water, and there is a third one (now blocked) to the west. The later basin once provided the outer trough to the west with water. These three basins—or at least the two that still exist to the south and north—were most probably added during the last restoration of the *sabil* in 1037/1628. At this time it would seem that Sabil Sha'lan was converted from a 'one-window' or trough type to a 'three-window' type of fountain, like Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48), and Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 18). The interior four walls and the saucer dome have all recently been plastered and whitewashed. Inside, the dome rises directly above the walls without any apparent drum, despite its exterior expression, for here it is carried on four pendentives.

The *mihrab* abuts the north-eastern corner of the *sabil* chamber to the south of the *mastaba*. It is built of the same dressed masonry as the majority of the external *mihrabs* on the Haram and takes the form of a rectangular block measuring

1.36m wide by 2.1m high by 87cm deep. The concave niche measures 68cm wide by 1.3m high by 45cm deep, and is undecorated. The apex is in a form of a shell niche and it is surmounted by a pointed arch. The second stone of the arch on the east is poorly finished. The inscription plaque (described above), which records the restoration of the *mihrab* by Yusuf Pasha, is set directly above the arch. A projecting frame with a chamfered moulding marks the apex. The upper part of the southern side of the *mihrab* has a sloping roof to prevent any retention of water.

The *mastaba* of Sabil Sha'lan lies to the north of the fountain itself, and is reached either by way of two stone steps to the east, or by a stairway of eight steps to the west, the difference being an indication of the degree of change in ground level. The *mastaba* is bordered by eight concrete blocks linked by two levels of simple iron piping, which were probably laid in place by the Supreme Muslim Council in the first half of this century, and it is paved by a recent stone pavement except on the east, north and

west, where a strip about 1m wide has been left unpaved. A large tree grows in the western section of the *mastaba*, and this accords with descriptions by various travellers of the prayer platforms on the Haram (see cat. no. 55, under Identification). Only Sabil Sha'lan and Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8) have both a *mihrab* and a *mastaba* attached to them. Although it is not a general rule, many of the *sabils* on the Haram were constructed near a *mastaba* with a *mihrab* attached to them. Examples of this practice are: Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2); Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 18); Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48); and Sabil Qa'itbai (887/1482). Although there is no record of why this should be, it is reasonable to suppose that a group of people gathered for a lengthy period of recitation, contemplation or instruction would benefit from being close to a source of drinking water.

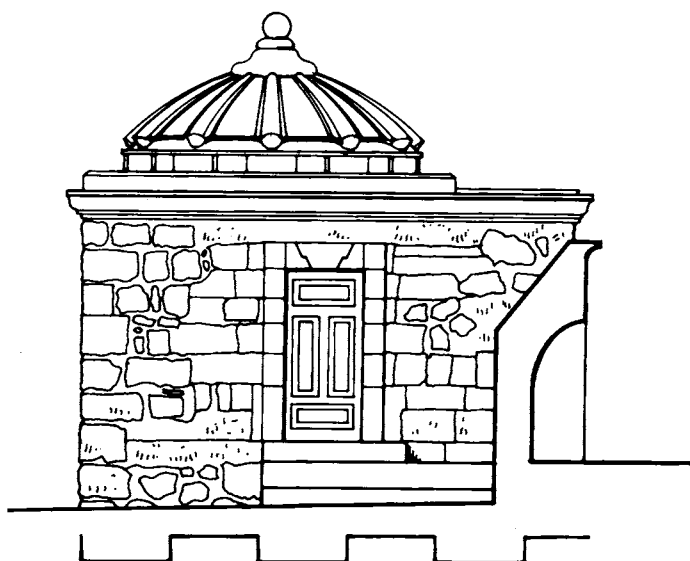


Fig. 36.1 Sabil Sha'lan, east elevation.

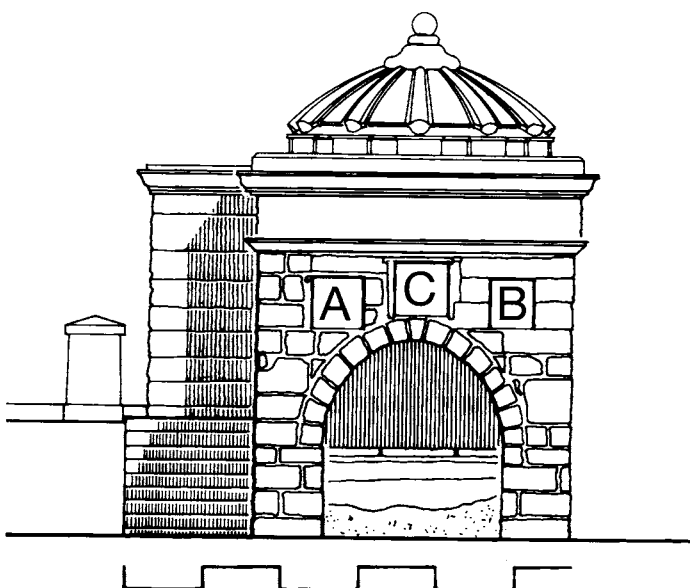


Fig. 36.2 Sabil Sha'lan, west elevation.

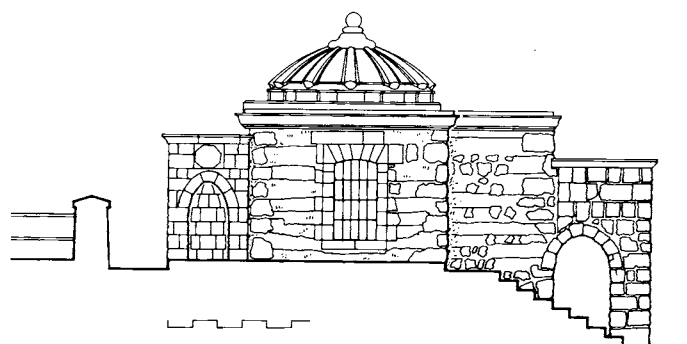


Fig. 36.3 Sabil Sha'lan, north elevation.

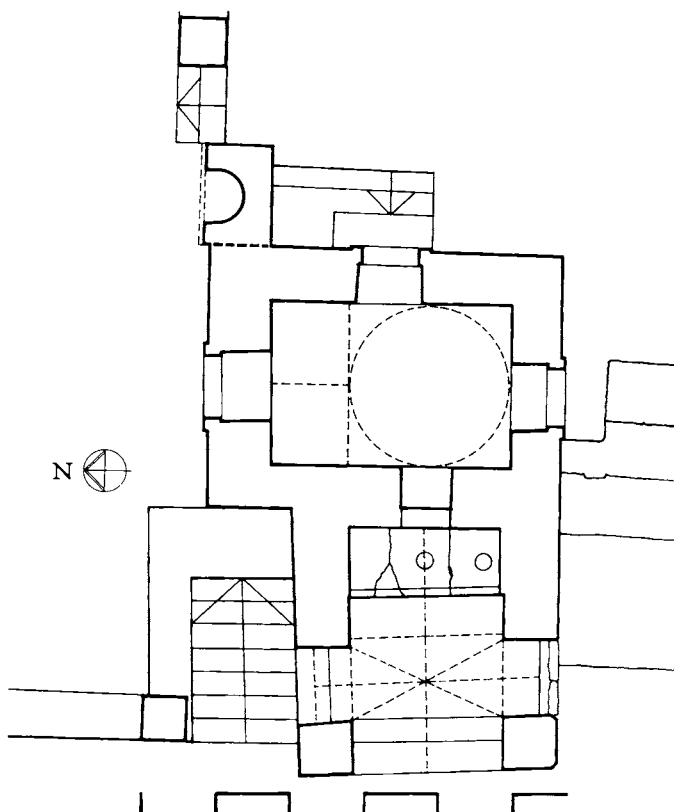
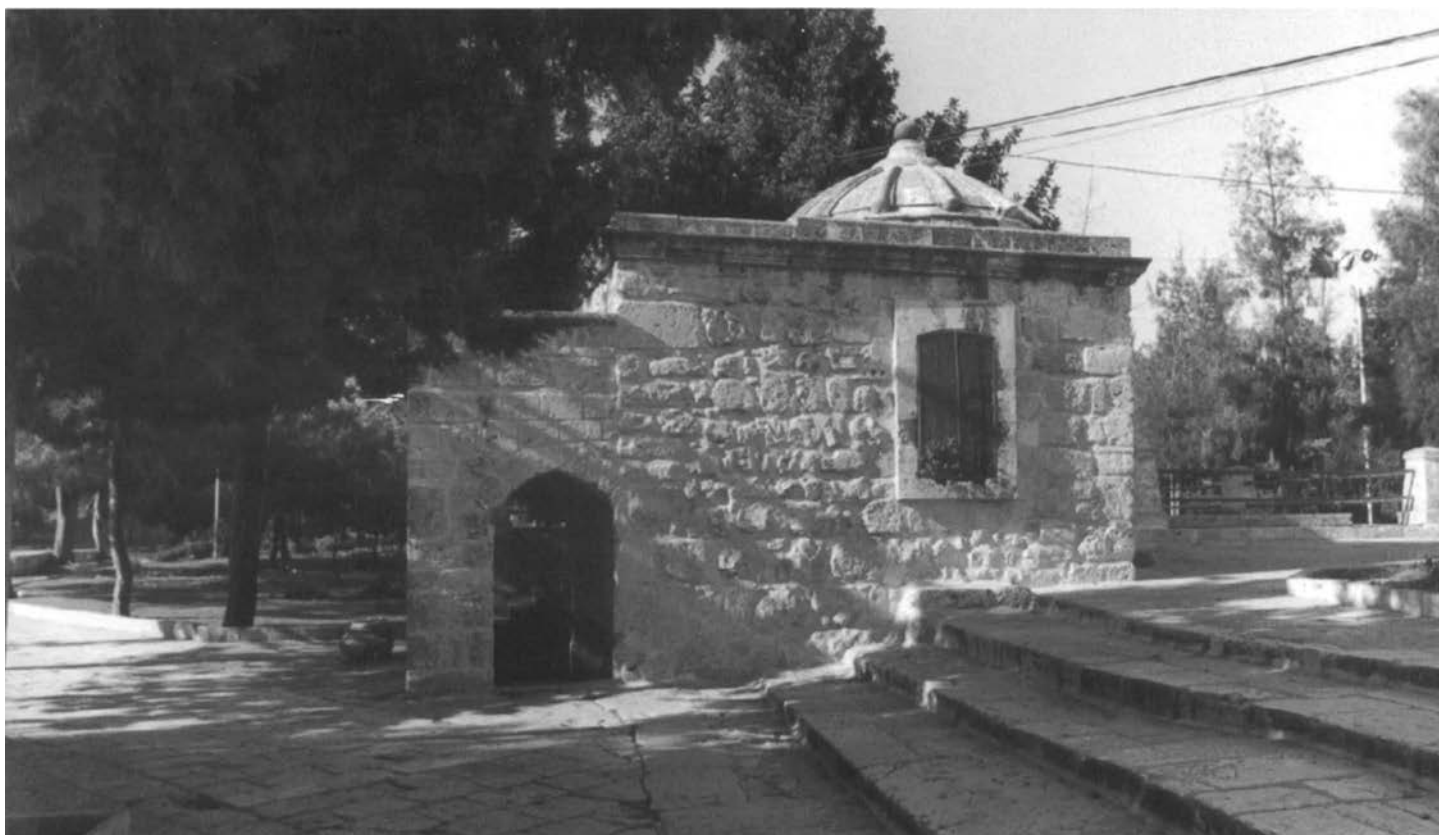
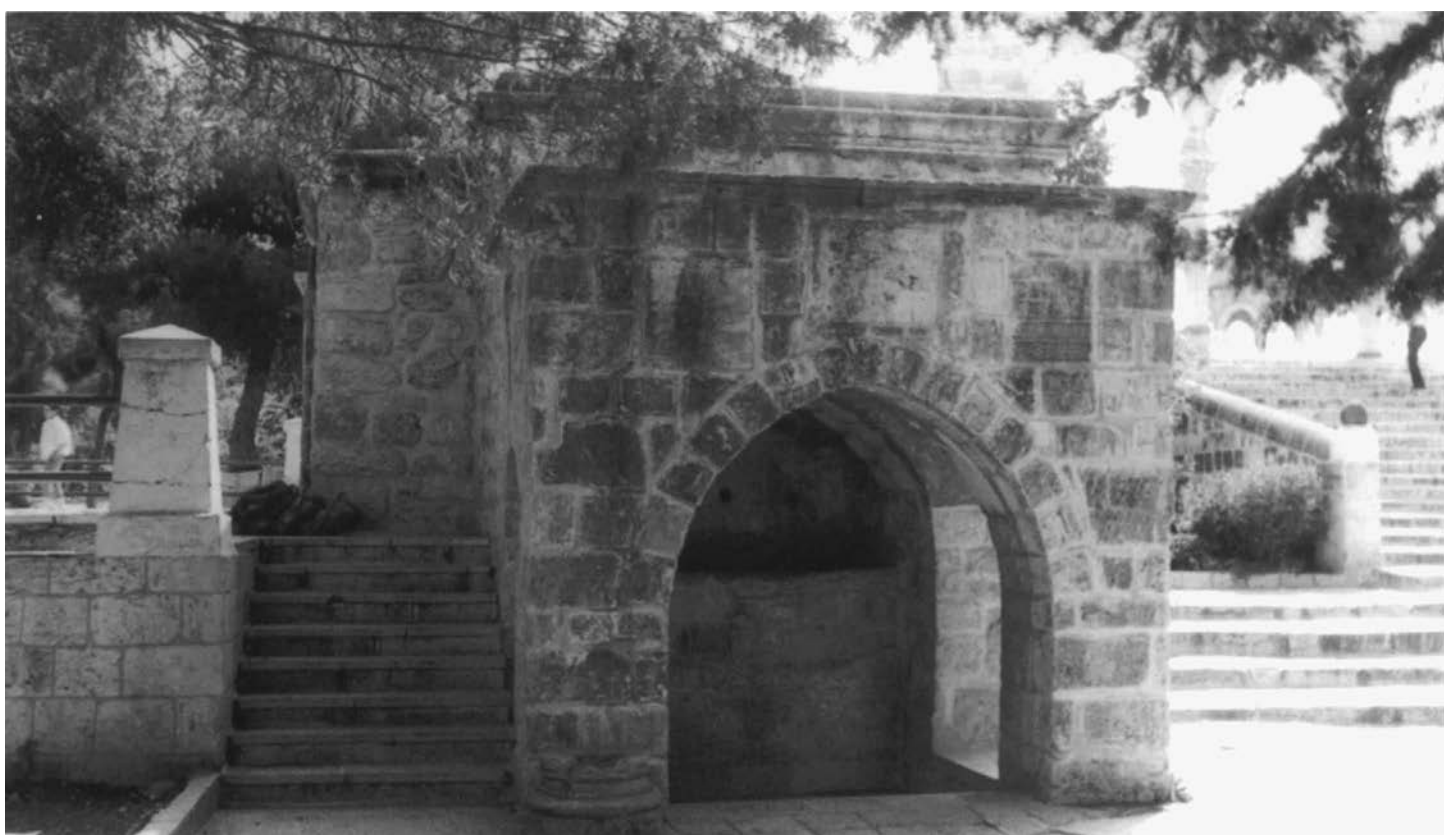


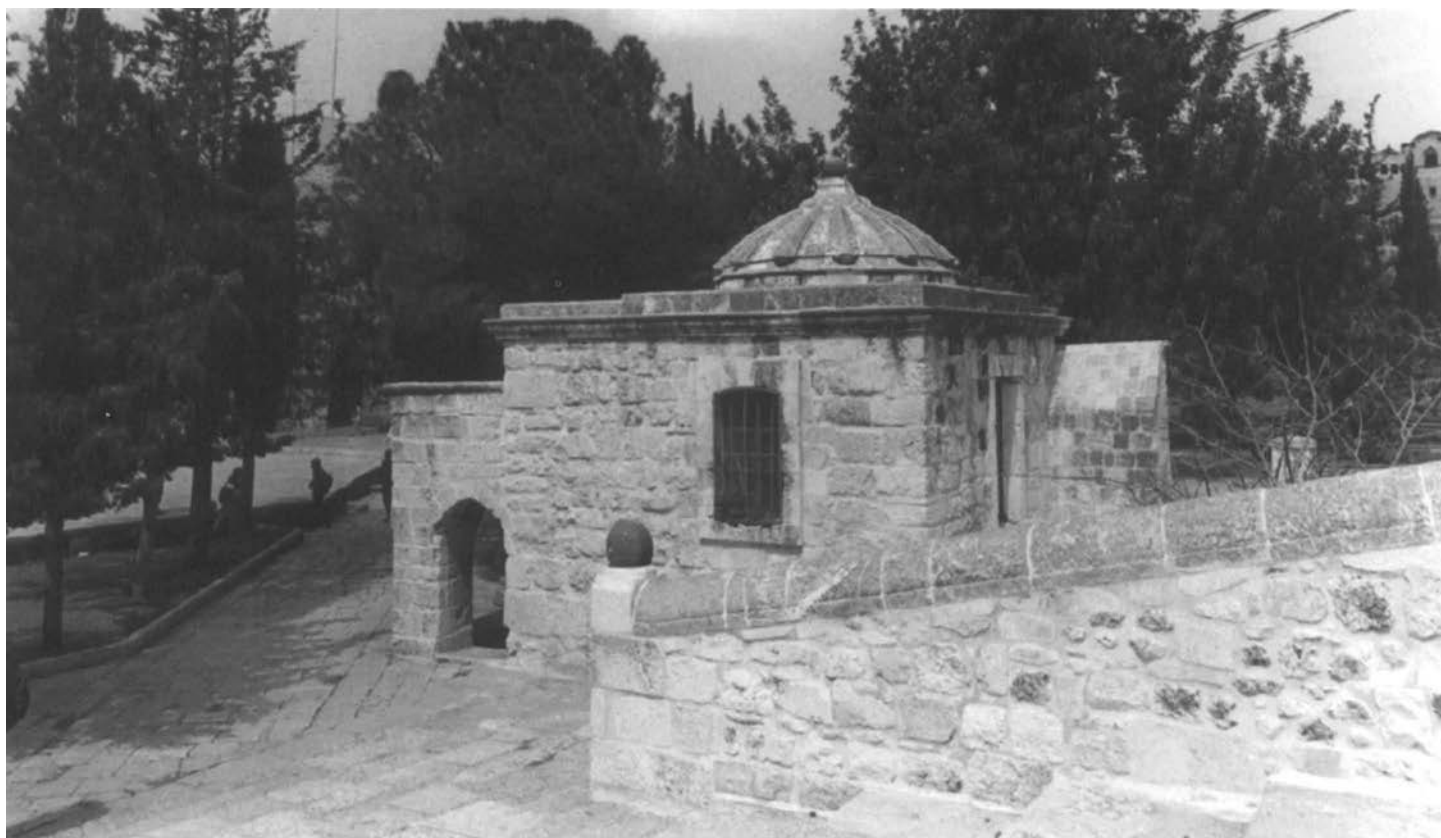
Fig. 36.4 Sabil Sha'lan, ground plan.



Pl. 36.1 Sabil Sha'lan, south elevation with stairs leading to terrace.



Pl. 36.2 Sabil Sha'lan, main façade.



Pl. 36.3 Sabil Sha'lan and *mastaba*, general view.



Pl. 36.4 Sabil Sha'lan, side view, east elevation.



Pl. 36.5 Sabil Sha'lan, *mihrab*.



Pl. 36.7 Sabil Sha'lan, inscription on *mihrab*.



Pl. 36.6 Sabil Sha'lan niche, with basin abutting chamber of the *sabil*.



Pl. 36.8 Sabil Sha'lan, roof.



Pl. 36.9 Sabil Sha'lan, north elevation.

37 MIHRAB 'ALI PASHA

Name: Mihrab¹ 'Ali Pasha**Endowment:** None known**Date:** 1047/1637-8**Variant of name:** None known²**Modern name:** Mihrab 'Ali Pasha**Location**

The *mihrab* is to be found to the west of the Haram platform, about 10m north east of Bab al-Qattanin, between the west wall of the Haram and the Dome of the Rock esplanade.

Function: There can be no doubt that the *mihrab* was constructed with a dual purpose in mind. The first, as the inscription states, was to commemorate the founder, 'Ali Pasha. The second was to adorn the Haram with another monument, which would also serve a religious purpose. The *mihrab* itself is not sacred in Islam, but it fulfils an important function in acting as a guide for the faithful, pointing towards the direction of Mecca.

Site and brief description (fig. 37.1, pls. 37.1-37.3, col. pl. LV)

The *mihrab* is a single-unit, stone-built structure, situated on the southern side of a rectangular stone eponymous *mastaba*, known as the 'Mastabat Mihrab 'Ali Pasha'. The *mastaba* is surrounded on all four sides by open ground.

History**Identification**

The *mihrab* is securely dated to the Ottoman period by virtue of an inscription panel which contains the name of the founder and the date of construction.

Date

The date of the *mihrab* is repeated, and is given in two different ways. It appears numerically at the end of the inscription as 1047/1636-7, and it appears again by means of computation of the numerical value of the letters of the last phrase.³ The plaque is rectangular in shape, and is made of marble, set in a slightly recessed, chamfered panel; it measures 80cm by 25cm. The inscription is in two lines of Ottoman *naskhi* script, written in the form of Arabic poetry. The script is set in two rectangular cartouches divided by a perpendicular fillet moulding into four equal parts. At the beginning and end of both horizontal and

vertical fillets, there is a small quarter-rosette of two 'petals'. Thus, at the top and bottom of the vertical, central fillet, where two sections meet, a half-rosette is formed. The full rosette, which has eight 'petals', is created at the centre of the plaque, where the various fillets cross. The script is elegant, crisply carved, and well-proportioned with diacritical and auxiliary points, with unfilled spaces between the letters. It must have been designed by a master calligrapher.

The inscription has been studied and published by van Berchem (1925: 191). The Arabic version is to be found in Cat. Appendix 2 (no. 37). The translation reads as follows:

[The *mihrab*] was built by 'Ali Pasha, who is acknowledged in good deeds—an excellent *mihrab*—They dated [it] (the chronogram). Through it, 'Ali is commemorated (in the year) 1047 (1637-8).

Founder

Nothing is revealed in the inscription about the founder. However, his title 'Pasha' implies that he was the governor of Jerusalem in 1047(1637-8).

Endowment

None is known. It would not be surprising if no *waqfiyya* existed for the upkeep of the *mihrab*, since its function is straightforward. The fact that it is located within the Haram precinct reduces the likelihood of any *waqfiyya* having been established because funds from the *waqf* of the Haram al-Sharif would be used to finance its upkeep or any necessary restoration. The question arises, however, as to how easy it was to obtain permission to erect a structure on the Haram? The records of the *sijills* suggest that there was no hard and fast rule that covered all structures. In one case (Sijill 77: 243), when 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master builder of the Haram al-Sharif and the city of Jerusalem, sought to build a cell in which to keep his building tools, he had first to convince the *qadi* of Jerusalem of its importance for his work before he was granted permission. (See also Chapter 36 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud, under the Ibn Nammar family). For more complicated structures, such as the two *khalwas* of Ahmad Pasha (cat. nos. 22, 23), a legal authorisation (*fatwa*) was needed from a prominent scholar living outside Jerusalem before permission could be granted to build them (for more details see cat. no. 22, under Identification and Sijill 79: 312). In another case (Sijill 79: 574), permission to open two windows in the Dome of the Rock was granted following official approval gained from the authority at Istanbul. (For further details, see Chapter 36 under the heading 'Ottoman repairs on the Haram in the 16th Century').

Architecture

The *mihrab* is reached by means of steps in the middle of the eastern, northern, and western sides of the level *mastaba* platform. There are three stone steps at each side, rising 70cm from the ground to the level of the *mihrab*. The elevation of the *mastaba* dais is made up of three courses of stonework, and it is paved in fine white stone slabs, the largest of which measures 66cm by 80cm. The slabs resemble those of the rest of the pavement of the Haram precinct, which have now weathered to grey. The paving scheme of the *mastaba* is divided into two sections by an axial line of flagstones which leads from the steps at the northern end of the *mastaba* to a point in front of the *mihrab*. The *mastaba* platform is

¹ For an overview of the *mihrabs* of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period with regard to number, type, location and significance, see Chapter 36 under the heading 'Mihrabs'.

² As far as I know, there is no other name currently in circulation for the monument. However, most of the local populace refer to it with reference to its site rather than by a specific name. For example, it is described as 'the *mihrab* opposite Bab al-Qattanin'. When the Department of Islamic Archaeology and the British School of Archaeology began their survey of the Mamluk and Ottoman sites, this was found to be the case for most of the monuments of Jerusalem. Most were known by the names of the families who currently occupied them rather than by their historical or founder's name.

³ The phrase is *bihi 'Ali yudkhir*, which by *abjad* can be computed to equal 1047.

not protected by a stone barrier and measures 7m by 11.6m.

The *mihrab* is a concave (*mujawwaf*) niche cut into a rectangular wall, which is built of high-quality stone.⁴ The niche, which measures 1.04cm wide by 49cm deep by 2.3m high, is surmounted by a pointed arch built of alternating *ablaq* stonework. The use of coloured stone and the form of the arch are the most distinctive features of the *mihrab*. The stones vary in colour from white to grey, red and black. The *mihrab* is expressed externally by a simple three-faceted façade surrounding the convex niche, which projects beyond the south edge of the *mastaba*. Evidence of recent repair can be seen in the repointing of the coursing of the *mihrab*.

Features

As already stated, undoubtedly the *mihrab* was intended to fulfil a dual function. The first, as the inscription states, was to

⁴ See Chapter 36, n. 64.

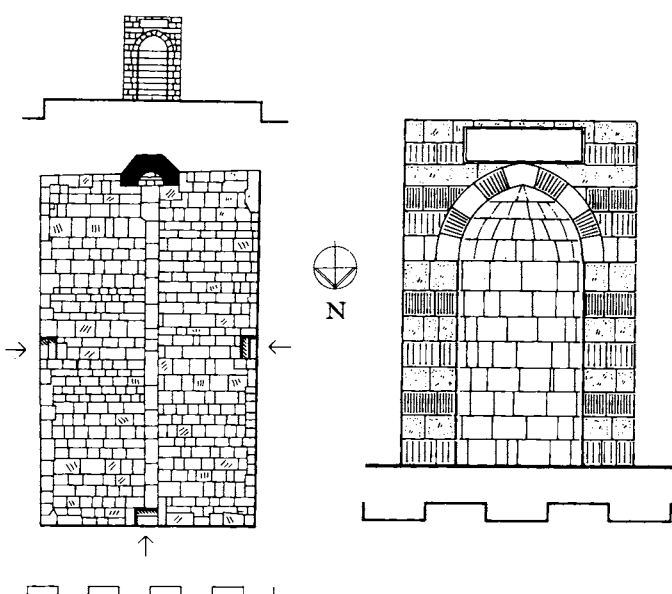


Fig. 37.1 Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, plan and elevation.

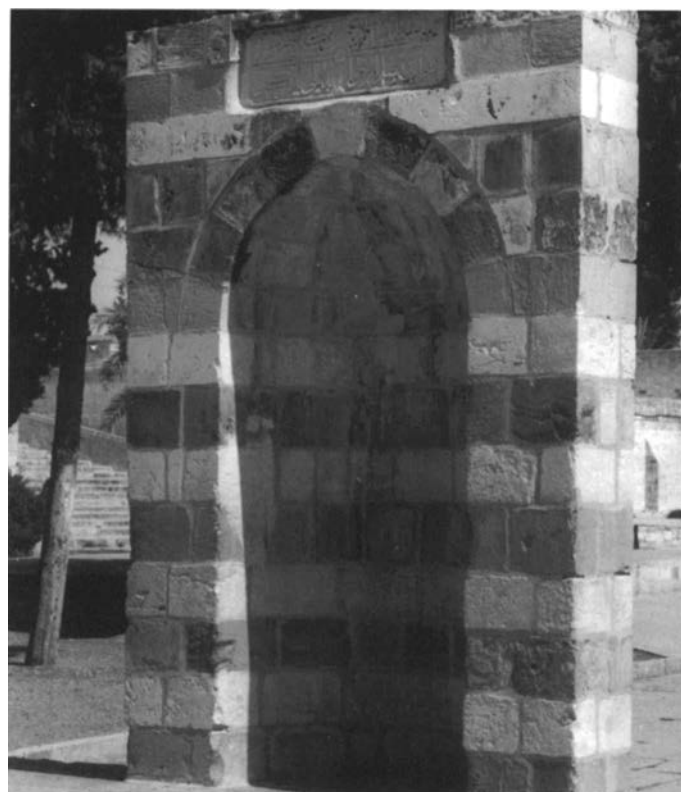


Pl. 37.1 Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, general view.

commemorate the founder, 'Ali Pasha. The second was to adorn the Haram with another monument, which could also serve a religious purpose. The *mihrab* itself is not sacred to Muslims but the direction of Mecca is of paramount importance in prayer and the *mihrab* has been developed to the extent that it can be either an integral or a separate element in Islamic architecture. In Jerusalem this development began in the early period although the earliest extant example dates only to the Mamluk period.⁵ The practice continued to flourish in the Ottoman period when *mihrabs*, although normally found integrated with other architectural elements,⁶ are on occasion found in free-standing form, like the one under discussion.

⁵ Mujir al-Din 1973; Burgoyne 1987. Examples of these are Mihrab Da'ud and Mihrab Jarkas.

⁶ Examples of this type include Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (cat. no. 50), Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10) and Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39).



Pl. 37.2 Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, close-up view of *mihrab*.



Pl. 37.3 Mihrab 'Ali Pasha, rear view.

38 QUBBAT YUSUF

Name: Qubbat Yusuf (Dome of Yusuf)

Date: Muharram 1092/January-February 1681

Endowment: None known, see below

Variants of name: Qubbat Yusuf ibn Ayyub (Salah al-Din), Qubbat Yusuf Agha

Modern name: Qubbat Yusuf

Location

Qubbat Yusuf is to be found on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, in the western sector of the middle of the southern area.

Site and brief description (figs. 38.1-38.5, pls. 38.1-38.7, col. pls. LVII, LXIII)

Qubbat Yusuf is a single-unit, free-standing structure. It is to be found between the *minbar* (pulpit) of Burhan al-Din (740/1388) and al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya (604/1210-11) at the western edge of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock, facing the south-western façade of the Dome of the Rock.

The building, which is commemorative, is rectangular in plan, and its dome is supported on three pointed, open arches and a solid back wall. This southern wall is embellished with elaborate carved masonry ornament.

History

Identification

Two foundation inscriptions securely place the dome within the Ottoman period. The first is written in Arabic and the second in Ottoman Turkish. A third monumental inscription dates from the Ayyubid period, and is located in secondary use on the interior (that is the north-facing) elevation of the southern wall. The latter inscription has misled some scholars into identifying the building with Salah al-Din Yusuf al-Ayyubi (see below).

Date

Shafi'i *et al.* (1971 2: 34), Rogers (1973: 268-9), Drory (1980 10: 57), Gauthier-Van Berchem and Ory (1982: 67) and Najm *et al.* (1983: 99) believed that the dome was constructed at the time of Salah al-Din in 587/1191, and renovated in 1092/1681 by the Ottoman Yusuf Agha. Rogers is the only one who raised the possibility that it might have been built by Yusuf Agha. The reason for these scholars' belief was probably the Ayyubid foundation inscription. All three inscription panels were published by van Berchem (1925: nos. 150, 151: 23-36). The earliest Ayyubid plaque is dated 587/1191, and it records the rebuilding of a wall and the bridging of a ditch (*hafr al-khandaq*) by Salah al-Din. It is clear that this cannot refer to the construction of the domed building and must be in secondary use, as van Berchem himself recognised, followed by Rosen-Ayalon (1990: 305). There is thus no reason to believe that the dome was constructed in the Ayyubid period; the confusion seems to have been caused by the fact that the panel was in secondary use and had been listed (correctly) under the Ayyubid section by van Berchem, and this fact was then taken to refer to the building as a whole rather than to the plaque alone.

The other two panels are Ottoman; they give the date of Qubbat Yusuf as Muharram 1092/January-February 1681. The two later marble panels are placed in the spandrels of the pointed arch facing north. The first, to the west of the arch, is square, 50cm by 50cm, and is written in Ottoman Turkish. The inscription is arranged in five lines of Ottoman *naskh* in relief. The script is slender with diacritical points. The translation runs as follows:

The Superintendent 'Ali Agha has built this (edifice)—that the reward should all fall on Yusuf Agha! On seeing it, the oracle pronounced its date: 'It was finished in one thousand and ninety-two' (Muharram of the year 1092/January-February 1681 is specified in the second plaque).

Van Berchem (1925: 32, n. 1) indicated that the fourth line is not a chronogram as first seems to be the case, because the sum of the numerical values of the letters is only 835. Perhaps the strangest part of the inscription is that it gives 'Ali the epithet 'Agha', which should have been applied only to governors or other high-ranking officials. 'Ali, on the other hand, to judge by the inscription, was only 'the superintendent (*nazir*)' acting on behalf of Yusuf Agha. 'Ali was thought by van Berchem to have been the Superintendent of the Haram, which might have warranted him being called *agha*, but further information has been uncovered which indicates that he was probably *mi'mar al-masjid al-sharif* (builder of the Noble Mosque) and that his full name was 'Ali ibn Nammar (see below).

The second plaque is to the east of the arch; it measures 50cm wide by 40cm high. It is also of marble, and shares the same layout and style as the Turkish panel although it is written in Arabic. The translation is as follows:

1. (There) has built this (dome) out of godliness (piety) on behalf of Yusuf,
2. the Agha of the Abode of Supreme Felicity (Istanbul), through his perfect godliness (piety).
3. We are presented with it in the phrasing (chronogram) 'Regarding its construction
4. 'Ali has built it (the dome) but the reward for it returns to Yusuf'.
5. Muharram of the year 1092.¹

It is clear from the text of these two plaques that the dome was built in the Ottoman period, for the repeated use of the word *bina* (construction) in both the Arabic and Turkish inscriptions with no mention of a restoration or repair, unlike in many other buildings in the Ottoman period, underlines that point. Rosen-Ayalon (1990: 307) knew of only one inscription in addition to the Ayyubid text; she had difficulties in dating the dome because she recognised several post-Crusader features, which she did not specify, but still believed that the building could be either late or immediately post-Ayyubid. It is true that a first inspection gives the impression that many elements are Crusader, but a more careful analysis shows that there is in fact only one area which is original, unadulterated Crusader work, and this is the two columns and capitals located on either side of the blind central niche of the south wall. The other 'Crusader' elements, as van Berchem already pointed out (1925: 34), are merely pastiches. The presence of Crusader elements in Islamic architecture in Jerusalem in general, and more particularly in Ayyubid and Ottoman architecture, is an undisputed fact but it alone is not enough to date the monuments in which they occur as being Crusader, especially if they have foundation inscriptions which give a different date. If one adds to the presence of the inscription further information regarding the founder and the master builder,

¹ Dr Christine Woodhead translates this panel as:
Superintendent 'Ali Ağa
When[Hâtîf?] saw it he gave the chronogram
It was completed in 1092.
Muharrem 1092.

as is the case for Qubbat Yusuf, there can be no doubt about its Ottoman date. Indeed, in my opinion Qubbat Yusuf must be seen as a commemorative monument. The presence of so many reused elements can easily be explained not only by the fact that recycling material saves both time and money, but also because the beauty of the stonework was appreciated by successive patrons and builders. In the Ottoman period there seems to have been an additional reason for re-using material in newly constructed buildings—a lack of quarrying. Hundreds of pages in the Jerusalem *sijills* were perused that record various proceedings in the city, but not one of them contains a mention of stone being quarried or newly cut. There are on the contrary, many references in the *sijills* (see Chapter 36 under the heading Stones) to dismantling older structures or to selling the masonry from a ruined building.

Founder

Information on the founder has been published to only a limited extent. Everything that has appeared is derived from the two foundation inscriptions described above, supplemented by material found in a further two inscriptions concerning a second domed building (cat. no. 39) constructed by the same patron. The only information, then, that can be gleaned from these is the name of the patron—Yusuf—and that he was Agha of Istanbul, identified by van Berchem (1925: 32) as a eunuch of the imperial palace. But his relationship to Jerusalem is not made clear. However, while searching in the *sijills* for an endowment document for the two domes in or around the year of the construction, a record (Sijill 183: 225) was discovered which gives information about the founder² and the builder. It reports that Yusuf Agha had made over two plots of land outside (*bi zahir*) Jerusalem as *waqf*. The plots were bought by his legal agent, al-Hajj 'Ali. Yusuf Agha dedicated these plots as a cemetery for the burial of Muslims. The *waqfiyya* is dated Dhu 'l-Hijja 1091/December 1680–January 1681—that is, just a few months before the construction of the two domes. In the *waqfiyya* a series of epithets for Yusuf Agha are mentioned, from which it is possible to infer that he was Governor of Jerusalem, although this is never directly stated, for his titles are identical to those used for the city's governors, such as *mu'tamad al-muluk wa 'l-salatin*, and *mu'taman al-daula al-'aliyya al-'uthmaniyya*. From the same document it appears that al-Hajj 'Ali was the recent caretaker of the *waqf* of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosque, as well as the *waqf* of the Great Mosque at Hebron. In addition, we learn from a separate record (Sijill 183: 226) that al-Hajj 'Ali was the master builder of the Noble Mosque (*mi'mar al-masjid al-sharif*) and that his full name was 'Ali ibn Nammar. This is a fascinating piece of information, for we know that 'Ali was the brother of 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem and the Haram in the late 16th century and the early years of the 17th century (see cat. no. 22). He thus belonged to the most famous family of builders in Jerusalem in the

Ottoman period. This would explain the relationship between al-Hajj 'Ali and Yusuf Agha.

Purpose of the Building

Neither the foundation inscription nor the *sijill*, nor indeed any other historical source, reveal anything about the function of the building. Since the structure is relatively small and similar in principle to many commemorative domes scattered over the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock, it is probably correct to see it too as commemorative. The question remains as to what event or personality was to be commemorated. Most probably Yusuf Agha wanted to be remembered for his good deeds in the Haram al-Sharif—this at least is the impression given by the emphasis in the inscription that any reward should go to the founder. Van Berchem (1925: 34–6) commented that the re-use by Yusuf Agha of the Ayyubid inscription slab was intended to add prestige to the new building by making a connection with Yusuf Salah al-Din, the great sultan who liberated Jerusalem from the infidel Frank, and thus gaining additional divine blessing on both it and—by extension—on himself. Van Berchem further hypothesised that he would not be surprised if Qubbat Yusuf became in due course known as 'the dome of the patriarch Joseph' in the same way that, a little to the north, the dome of a *wazir* called Sulaiman had become known as the Dome of Solomon (van Berchem 1925: 35).

Architecture

The dome, which has a shallow profile, is carried on three pointed arches that face towards the west, north and east respectively, and on a solid wall to the south. The arches are similar in height and span, and the spaces between them have been left open. The voussoirs of the northern arch are a type of chevron, while those to the west and east are undecorated and form a simple arch, springing from a corbel block to the south. The corbel is decorated with a large trefoil motif similar to a *fleur de lys*. A tie-beam connects the arches at the level of their springing. The arches are supported by columns, one at the north-western and one at the north-eastern corner, and by the solid rear wall to the south. The shafts of the white marble columns are cylindrical, each measuring 1.93m in height, and with a radius of 55cm. The capitals are fairly simple—over a concave collar, they swell to form a shallow cushion which supports a square abacus. The bases are square, with a torus moulding and apophyge. In order to strengthen the joints, a metal band has been placed around the junction at the top and bottom of each column. These were added in the early 1970s by the Aqsa Restoration Committee, at the same time as similar bands were placed round the shafts of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), Qubbat al-Arwah (cat. no. 30) and Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31). These replaced copper bands, which were probably added as a precaution against collapse or after damage by one of the many local earthquakes. The spandrels of the arch to the north contain the two inscription panels described above. Those to the west and east are without decoration. The dome sits directly on the upper part of the structure with no intervening drum; it is ribbed and covered with lead sheeting to protect it from the elements. It culminates in an elaborate stone finial, now sadly broken, made up of two sections separated by a roll moulding. The lower part is pyramidal in shape while the upper section, part of which is missing, consists of an oval held within four bands that surround it to form the base of a stem that must once have held the finial. The finial, like the majority on the Haram, faced south-north—that is, in the direction of Mecca. The lead sheeting and the finial were renewed as recently as 1997 by the Aqsa Restoration Committee.

² There is another record (Sijill 145: 243) which concerns the appointment of al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq ibn Jama'a to the *waqf* of Yusuf Agha in return for the payment of one *ghirsh* (gold coin) per year. Unfortunately this was the only detail given, and it is dated 1061/1650–1. This makes it unlikely that it belongs to our Yusuf Agha as patron of the two domes—but may refer rather to another Yusuf Agha altogether. Another possibility is that Yusuf Agha associated with the date Muharram 1092/January–February 1681 was in fact renovating the two domed structures rather than building them from scratch. It remains puzzling that Yusuf should have instructed 'Ali to build or repair two domes in the Haram in the same year.

The building is rectangular; it measures 2.38m wide by 3.24m long and is raised 11cm above the level of the terrace by means of a square stone platform which measures 2.36m by 2.36m. The platform is paved with rectangular coloured marble and stone slabs of various size, the biggest being 70cm by 120cm whereas the smallest measures 18cm by 21cm. Access is equally possible from the west, north or east. The southern wall is solid and measures 88cm wide, 2.38m long and 3.2m high; the exterior is constructed of dressed masonry. The interior façade of the south wall is divided into two main horizontal sections. The lower part is probably built of a number of stone courses, but it is not possible to see them, for they are obscured by the large Ayyubid inscription panel which measures 1.87m wide by 97cm high. It is this that bears the name of Salah al-Din, and commemorates the construction of a wall and bridge over the ditch in 587/1191 (van Berchem 1925: 23-31). A recessed frame moulding separates the inscription plaque and the upper part of the wall, which consists of a rectangular recessed blind niche surmounted by two pointed arches with different profiles, designed probably for contrast. The niche is backed by a single slab of white marble framed by red marble blocks. In all it measures 95cm by 69cm. The voussoirs of the inner arch are gadrooned and are supported by two identical slender columns which are partly integrated into the masonry of the southern wall. The shafts of the columns are also of white marble; they are 49cm in height, and their capitals are formed of two levels of broad one-lobed leaves below ram's horn volutes. A small part of the base is visible in addition to the roll moulding separating it from the shaft.

The tympanum of the arch is filled with a carved concave scallop-shell with fourteen gently curving ribs radiating from a central five-petalled rosette which is flanked by volutes. The motif still has traces of green and blue paint, which may have been added at the time of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm in 1898.² The gadrooned inner arch is flanked by the outer chevron arch supported by two columns. The extrados of the chevron arch is framed by a narrow moulding decorated with a repeat leaf-motif, probably based on the Classical egg-and-dart moulding. At the intrados of the arch it is possible to make out a trace of blue-painted decoration in the form of a floral motif of arabesque design, though it too appears to be late.

The shaft of the eastern column which supports the outer chevron arch is constructed of three segments of stone of different height; it is broken and part of it has been lost. A roll moulding separates the shaft, capital and base of the column to the west. This west column is similar in layout although it is made up of only two segments. Directly below the roll moulding on the upper fragment of the shafts there is a narrow concave band with an intermittent circular pattern. The bases are square and undecorated but their tops have been reduced to match the shafts. The capitals are decorated with volutes flanked by alternating foliate and geometrical leaf motifs. A rectangular panel is set into the wall to either side of the niche to east and west. These are flanked by the outer columns which support the outer chevron arch, and by attached columns to each side of the inner recess to the rear. The attached columns are identical to those supporting the outer chevron arch. The panel is made up of two sections; the lower part is red and undecorated, whereas the decoration of the upper part is made up of two motifs arranged in a way reminiscent of *muqarnas* panels. Below there are two tiers of a series of five lancet panels,

while above there is a reversed scallop-shell composed of three broad concave ribs to each side of a central, closely fluted section.

The small dome rests directly on the four façades, the transition zone being realised by means of four corner pendentives without an intermediary drum. The inner saucer of the dome is decorated with a series of thirty-eight radiating ribs which curve away from the central depression in a whorl pattern. Round this central device runs a concentric, incised band of thirteen zig-zags which is surrounded in turn by intersecting concave-sided stars of irregular form, with thirteen points in all reaching to the edges of the dome. The dome is plastered and coated with a yellow wash.

Features

The description of the architectural features of Qubbat Yusuf underlines the fact that its construction uses different types of decorative and architectural elements. These can be divided into three categories—the first includes purely Islamic features, such as the small *muqarnas* niches, the inscription panels, the decoration of the dome and the arabesque floral ornamentation. The second category is represented by the chevron arches and the gadrooned arch and these, although originally Crusader, were adopted and used throughout the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods to such a degree that they became integral parts of the architecture of these dynasties. The third category consists of the true Crusader elements, represented by the two small columns with their capitals situated on either side of the blind panel. The decorative scheme of the south wall is indeed reminiscent of a jigsaw puzzle. It brings to mind the computing 'cut and paste' command, for it contains elements of all three categories. The Crusader elements are no more dominant than any of the others, however, and this may explain why Buschhausen (1978) made no mention of these features in his book, although he studied the Crusader elements in the *minbar* of Burhan al-Din, which is just a few metres from Qubbat Yusuf. Van Berchem (1925: 34 and n. 3) was the first scholar to draw attention to the differences in this hotch-potch of material and he noticed the much more carefully matched re-used Crusader material in Sulaiman's *sabils* (cat. nos. 4-9).

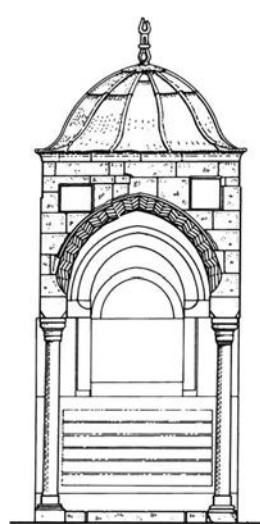


Fig. 38.1 Qubbat Yusuf, north elevation.



Fig. 38.2 Qubbat Yusuf, partial elevation, south wall.

² For a discussion of evidence of the painting undertaken at this time, see D. Myres, Chapter 34, 'Restorations carried out on Masjid Mahd-'Isa (The Cradle of Jesus) during the Ottoman period' in this book.

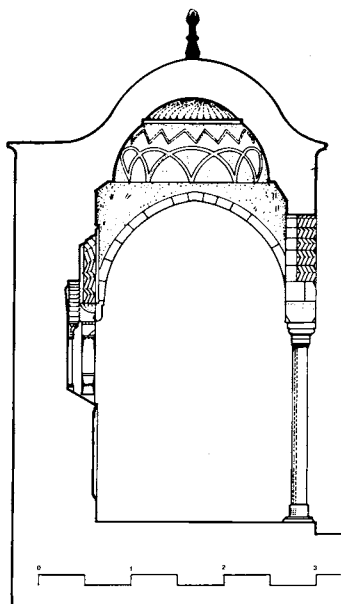


Fig. 38.3 Qubbat Yusuf, south-north section.

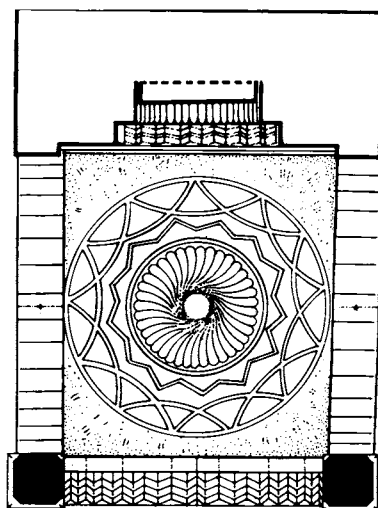


Fig. 38.4 Qubbat Yusuf, roof plan.

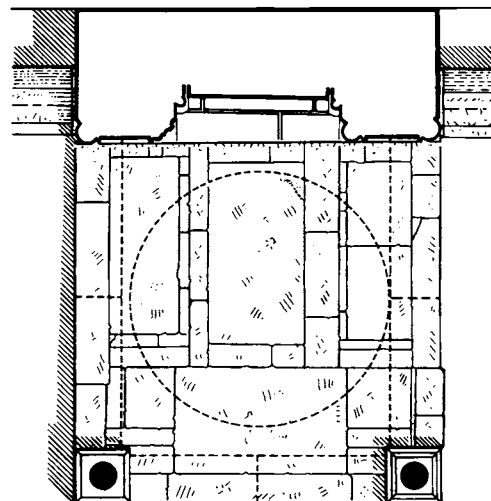


Fig. 38.5 Qubbat Yusuf, ground plan.



Pl. 38.1 Qubbat Yusuf, inner dome.



Pl. 38.3 Qubbat Yusuf, west side panel.



Pl. 38.4 Qubbat Yusuf, east side panel.



Pl. 38.2 Qubbat Yusuf, detail of hood.



Pl. 38.5 Qubbat Yusuf, general view from front.



Pl. 38.6 Qubbat Yusuf, general side view.



Pl. 38.7 Qubbat Yusuf, west side panel detail.

39 QUBBAT YUSUF AGHA

Name: Qubbat Yusuf Agha

Date: 1092/1681

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Qubbat Yusuf Agha, and Maktab al-Tadhakir (the Ticket Office)

Location

The *qubba* is located within the Haram al-Sharif to the southwest of the precinct, and lies between al-Aqsa mosque and the Islamic Museum, about 30m southeast of the Bab al-Maghariba (the Moroccan Gate).

Site and brief description (figs. 39.1-39.4, pls. 39.1-39.4)

Qubbat Yusuf stands alone and as isolated as any similar structure within the Haram, in the middle of the western enclosure of al-Aqsa mosque. To the north, the *qubba* faces the Mastaba and Mihrab al-Sanaubar (the Niche of the Pine), to the west the entrance of the Islamic Museum, to the south Jami' al-Nisa (The Women's Mosque) and to the east, the western wall of al-Aqsa mosque. It is a single-unit structure, square in plan and built of high-grade stone. The sides to north, west and east were originally open but have now been enclosed; the southern wall, which contains a *mihrab*, was always enclosed. The dome has a shallow, almost flat profile, and rests directly on the four walls. The monument has undergone many changes and additions, the latest being its conversion for use as a ticket office for the visitors to the Haram.

History

Identification

The *qubba* is identified by two foundation inscriptions, which provide both the date and the names of the patron and the builder. There is another inscription but unfortunately this has so far proved impossible to decipher.

Date

The date is given as 1092/1681 in the two foundation inscriptions, which were published by van Berchem (1925: 192). The first panel is of marble; it is rectangular in shape and measures 24cm by 50cm. The panel was originally located on the west side of the northern arch, but it has since been moved to the eastern elevation and is now set into the north side of the eastern arch. It consists of two lines of Arabic, arranged in two cartouches separated by a fillet. The text is written in Ottoman *naskhi* script, which is here left in relief; it is slender with diacritical points. The translation reads as follows:

This construction of Yusuf has enjoyed the reward
(of Allah) which fulfils your needs.
'Ali is he who built it for him (Yusuf) that its date
might satisfy you.

The second panel, which was also originally set into the northern façade, was also moved in the same way as the first panel described above. It is now on the south side of the east arch, and consists of four lines of Arabic written in the same style as the first plaque, though with no frame or cartouches. It is again of marble and is square, measuring 50cm by 50cm. The translation runs as follows:

The reward of its construction belongs to Yusuf Agha (of the) *dar al-sa'd* (Constantinople), who has the highest rank.

O you respectful one, date it ... it is (the dome) founded for Yusuf by al-Hajj 'Ali (in the) year 1092 (1681).

Van Berchem read the second line as *dhat al-ma'ali*, explaining that it was difficult to reach. To get a clear view he would have had to climb a ladder, and he added '*ce petit texte m'a paru trop insignifiant pour en valoir la peine*' (1925: 193). The plaque is now more accessible and it is clear that it should be read as *dhi'l-qadr al-'Ali* and therefore this adjective should not be attached to Constantinople, as van Berchem considered to be the case, but rather to Yusuf Agha himself.

Founder

For details see cat. no. 38.

Later periods

During the last two decades the monument has undergone many changes, the most important of which was the addition of a heavy stone arch in front of the northern façade, supported on two piers. This stone portico, which is in the form of an *ivan*, has been constructed with a pointed arch. Its function is unclear, but as a consequence, the two inscriptions have been relocated to the eastern elevation. In addition to the new portico, the other three arches, which were originally open, have been enclosed by sheets of aluminium and glass; a small hinged opening forms a window in the northern façade, and there is a door opening in the east side. The majority of these changes were made in the early 1970s when the monument was adapted by the Restoration Committee of al-Aqsa Mosque at the request of the Auqaf Authority to serve as a ticket office.

Architecture

The northern façade is the main one. Although in detail it closely resembles the western and eastern elevations, it is marked out as the most important by the two inscription panels discussed above, although these have recently been relocated. It takes the form, as do the other façades, of a pointed arch and is constructed of high-grade white stone. The arch is carried on a corbelled springing from two supporting piers that are square in plan. Unfortunately the original arch is now concealed by the new arch of the portico. The four façades of the building are crowned by a dome. This is shallow in profile and rests directly on the four walls. It is covered by small stone slabs in the customary Jerusalem fashion of the period. The western, eastern and southern elevations have the same appearance as the original northern wall, with the exception that the elevation to the south is completely closed by masonry of the same quality as the rest of the building. There are three simple terracotta spouts at the top of the building, two to the south and one to the east of the northern elevation. Recent iron tie-beams with a circular head strengthen the walls of the building.

Access to the interior is now from the east instead of the original northern entrance since this wall is now completely closed except for the small hinged opening through which tickets can be sold. The interior, raised by 20cm from the esplanade ground level, is very simple. It is a square area (3.4m by 3.5m), paved with new flagstones. The arches of the exterior are also expressed in the interior. Three of them were originally open, as explained above, but all four walls are now blocked. The arches

rest on two piers attached to both the northern and southern walls. There are four triangular pendentives which spring from the inner corners, and which form the inner zone of transition in order to convert the square plan to an octagon on which to rest the dome. The interior of the dome is coated in plaster.

The *mihrab* is placed in the centre of the south wall. It measures 70cm wide by 40cm deep by 180cm high and is constructed from a block of almost rectangular white stone. The simple *mihrab* niche, which has a slightly pointed arch, has no form of decoration either in the way of column or decorative motif. One course above the apex of the *mihrab* there is a square panel measuring 70cm by 85cm with an inscription. Unfortunately the condition of this plaque is so bad that so far it has proved impossible to decipher.

Features

The study of the two domes of Yusuf Agha raises many questions, for some of which it is impossible to provide a complete answer. The first point is that the two domes have as many similarities as they have differences. They share the same patron, builder, date, and also the same reason for their construction, for both are commemorative monuments. In addition, they both have two new, purpose-cut foundation inscriptions as well as incorporating an older, re-used one. The first question, then, is why there should have been a *pair* of foundation inscriptions in each case, when the information contained in them is fundamentally the same. Perhaps the plaques were duplicated primarily for decorative reasons. To my knowledge, these two small domed buildings are the only monuments in Jerusalem which have two inscriptions with the same date and contents.

Despite these similarities, however, the two monuments are remarkably different with regard to size and decoration. Qubbat Yusuf Agha, discussed here (cat. no. 39) and located within the Haram esplanade, is bigger and heavier than Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) on the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The decorative scheme of Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) is extraordinarily lavish in comparison to that of Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39), which is essentially plain with no cladding or any decorative features. The result is that we have two contradictory approaches—one is over-simple and the other over-complicated—both for the same patron and by the same builder. It is reasonable to ask why, and to speculate on which dome was the earlier in date. Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38) was built in Muharram 1092/January-February 1681; the month in which Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39) was erected is not included in the inscription. If Qubbat Yusuf is the earlier of the two, which is possible, it is perhaps surprising that the same quality of decoration was not at least maintained for Qubbat Yusuf Agha, if not surpassed. The answer most probably lies in two factors—the availability of building material, and the skill of the craftsmen. Both from the *sijills* and the material evidence of some Ottoman monuments, it would appear that many of the building materials (stone, capitals, shafts, and even the marble itself) are in secondary use. The *sijills* (see Chapter 37 under Stones) contain many records concerning the sale and purchase of secondary material. It is probable that a certain amount of old material was available for the first monument, Qubbat Yusuf (cat. no. 38), which allowed it to be richly decorated; while for the second there were no comparable fragments available and therefore it was built in a more simple style, representative of local building technique. It is also possible that the location has something to do with the difference. The added aura of sanctity of the upper level, which is closer in

proximity to the Sakhra, could also account for more money being spent on this small building, which was dedicated in the sacred month of Muharram. Van Berchem followed a similar argument in his suggestion already mentioned that the inclusion of the Ayyubid plaque added prestige to the commission.

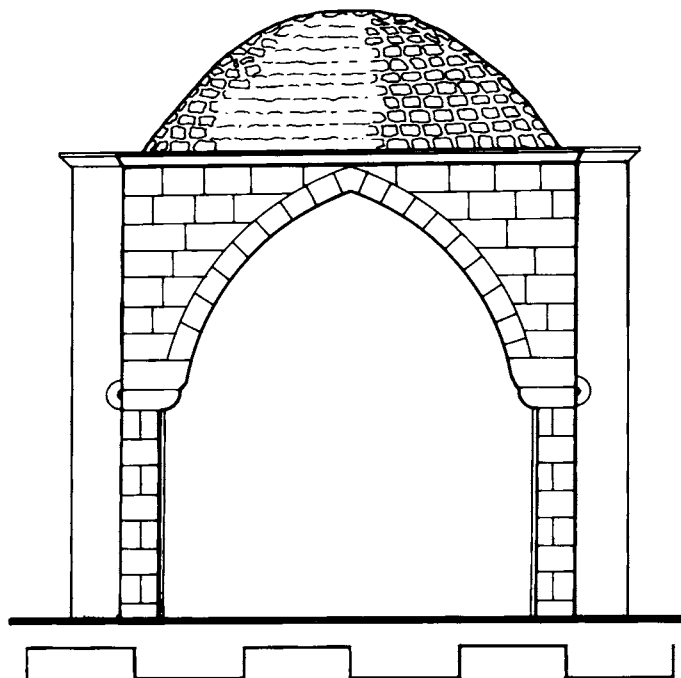


Fig. 39.1 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, elevation.

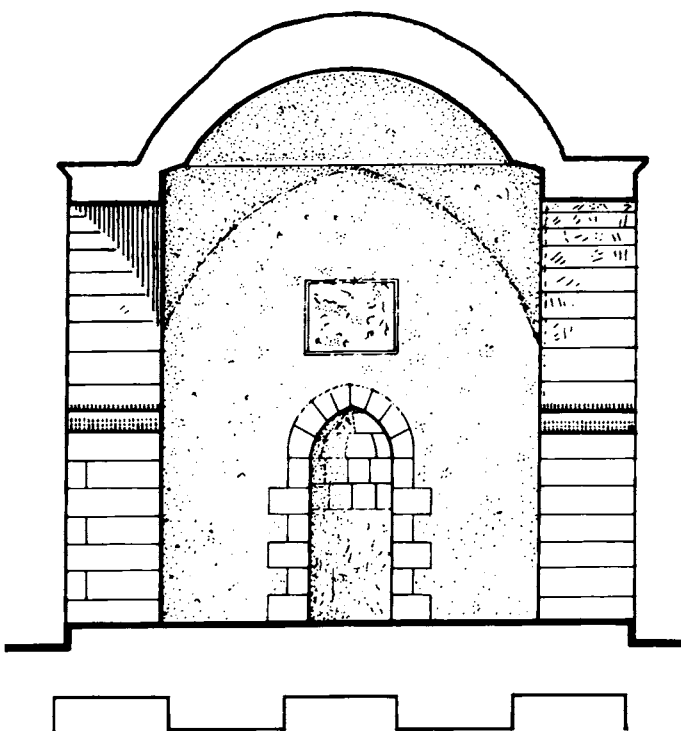


Fig. 39.2 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, section.

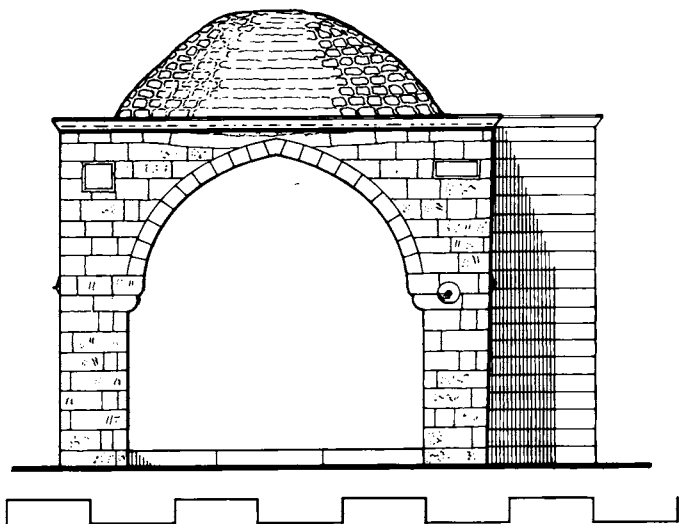


Fig. 39.3 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, east side elevation.

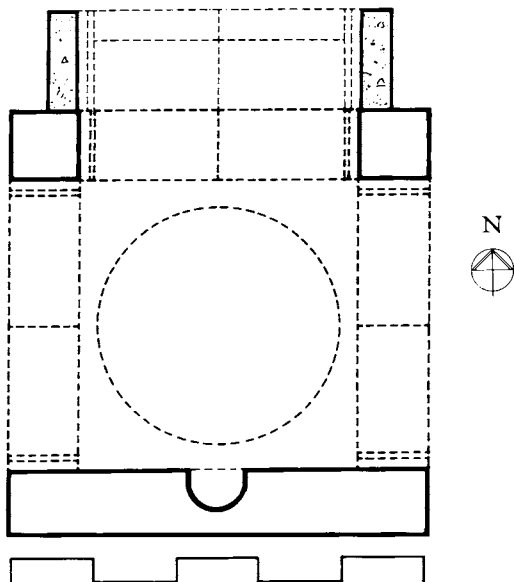
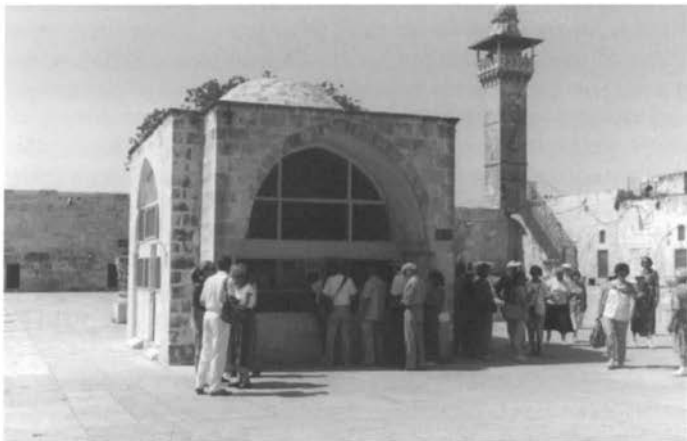


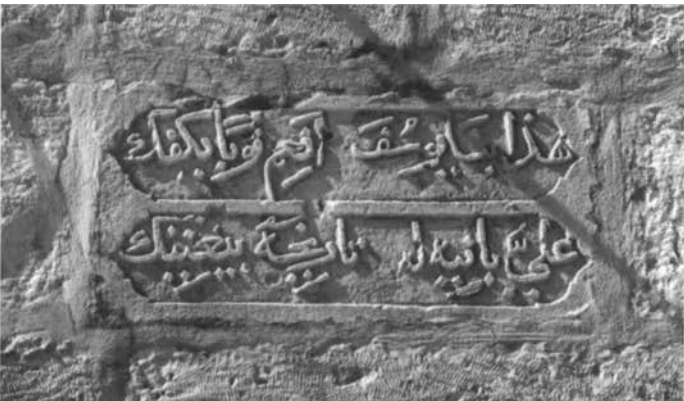
Fig. 39.4 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, ground plan.



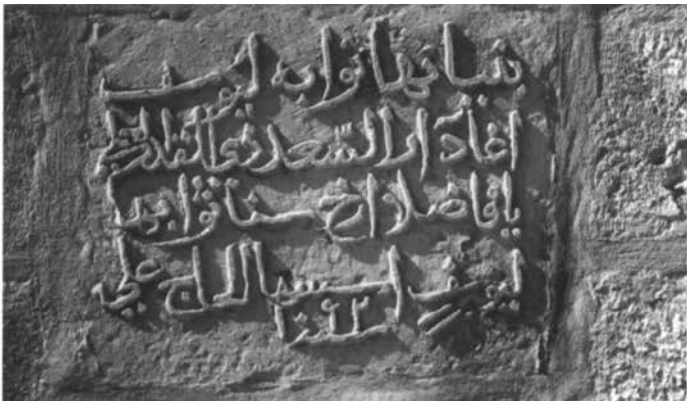
Pl. 39.1 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, general view with Aqsa Mosque in background.



Pl. 39.2 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, with Al-Fakhriyya Minaret in background.



Pl. 39.3 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, inscription.



Pl. 39.4 Qubbat Yusuf Agha, inscription.

40 SABIL AL-SHURBAJI

Name: Sabil 'Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji

Date: 1097/1686

Endowment: 1097/1686

Variant of name: Masjid al-Shurbaji

Modern name: Masjid al-Shurbaji

Location

The *sabil* is to be found at the junction of the two main streets that run north-south, at the southern end of the inner square of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud). Its situation can be seen as deliberately high-profile since it is on the main thoroughfare for travellers within the walled city of Jerusalem, as they went about their business.

Site and brief description (figs. 40.1-40.4, pls. 40.1-40.3)

The *sabil* is situated at the north-west corner of Tariq al-Wad. The site is flanked to the east by the street, to the north by the square which leads to the Damascus Gate, and to the west and south by shops.

The *sabil* is a simple structure, consisting of a single room, almost square in plan and covered by a shallow dome. A door in the eastern wall gives access to the interior. Two windows with grilles were opened in the north wall to allow water to be distributed to thirsty passers-by.

At some unknown point in time, the building stopped functioning as a public fountain and was no longer used. Then in 1389/1969, converted into a mosque (*masjid*), according to al-Shaikh 'Ali Najm, the first *khadim* and recent *imam* of the mosque, and to Auqaf file no. 52. At present, the daily prayers are recited in the building, once at noon and once in the afternoon (*al-zuhr* and *al-'asr*).

History

Identification

By the virtue of the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 187: 515-17) and the unpublished foundation inscription, it is possible to say with certainty that the monument dates to the Ottoman period.

Date

A foundation inscription has been preserved; it is to be found above the two windows on the northern façade. It is written in a simple *naskhi* script cut into the marble plaque. Despite its present poor condition, it is possible to read the date and the original function of the structure. The inscription has three lines, written in an Arabic poetic style. It reads as follows:

'Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji built the *sabil* so that thirsty people might drink, hoping through this deed for reward, blessing and charity from Allah the Glorious. Beloved respectful one, set out to date it, and say (it is) a drink from Paradise or a spring.

The date of construction is written underneath the third line of the inscription in numerals as 1097/1685-6. In addition, if the alphabetical letters of the second half of the last line of the inscription (the chronogram *wa qul sharaban min salsabilan au mu'in*) are computed according to their numerical value, the same date will be found. The date of the *waqfiyya* also corresponds to the date mentioned above.

The Waqf Document

The original *waqfiyya* is found in the Jerusalem *sijills*; its date is given as the beginning of Dhu 'l-Hijja 1097/19-28 September 1686. The *waqfiyya* is of considerable importance in view of the fact that it is the sole available source discovered so far relating to the building. It is a standard document and is made up of a foreword, the main text (which gives a description of the building), the terms of the endowment, facts concerning the personnel, the purpose of the construction, and so on, and finally a relatively long epilogue. The reason for the construction of the building is of particular interest.

Purpose of Construction

The founder made the *sabil*¹ a *waqf*, in his wish for the blessings of almighty Allah, for the good of all the people of Allah, with no conditions attached, for the benefit of anyone—whether departing or arriving, from the city or from the semi-desert, old or young, strong or weak, man or woman—all of these people were permitted to drink from his *sabil*.

Description of the Building

The structure, described as a complete, stone-built shop, is stated as being situated in the protectorate (*mahmiyya*) of Jerusalem the Noble, in the area of the Damascus Gate (Bab al-'Amud). In order to ensure that the *sabil* was built to a suitable standard, the donor specified that the building should be erected, that the floor should be paved with stone and flagstones, and that it should be plastered with lime; and he also ordered a new wooden door with a new iron lock. He also arranged for the supply of a fine basin for water, made of new marble and coloured stone. The basin faced the high street (*al-shari' al-a'zam*) to the north and this façade was provided with two new windows with grilles separated by a jamb. In addition, a brass bowl with an iron chain was attached to the basin by order of the donor so that people could obtain water from the basin through the grilles of the two windows.

Endowment

The *waqf* document specifies three and a half shops as properties to provide income for the *sabil*. They are listed as follows:

Item	ghirsh annually
(1) The whole shop built of stone and abutting the <i>sabil</i> ; its door to the east, facing the public road.	12
(2) The whole stone shop situated in the Bab al-'Amud district, bounded to the south by a passable road, to the east by another road, to the north by an open space, and to the west by the shop belonging to the donor.	8
(3) The whole <i>hasil</i> (storehouse) located opposite the blessed <i>sabil</i> , which contains a cistern to collect water.	4
(4) A half-share (12 <i>qirat</i> out of 24) of the stone shop located in the same district, shared equally by the <i>waqf</i> of the Dome of the Rock. The shop is flanked to the south by the coffee-shop owned by the donor, to the east by the basin of the soap factory (<i>haud al-masbana</i>), to the north by the same soap factory and to the west by the public road.	1.5
Total income annually	25.5

¹ Al-'Asali (1989: 112) suggests in error that 'Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji founded both a *sabil* and a mosque at the same time. The *waqfiyya* makes it clear that only a *sabil* was in question.

Personnel and Maintenance

Two persons were appointed to maintain the *sabil*, each with specific duties; these were:

Item	ghirsh annually
(1) Shaikh ‘Ali ibn Shu‘ib, as care-taker of the <i>waqf</i> of the <i>sabil</i> ; in addition he was entrusted with the following duties: he was to clean out the basin and to sweep the floor of the <i>sabil</i> , to open and to close the building, and to illuminate the <i>sabil</i> during the months of Ramadan and Sha‘ban. ²	6
(2) Al-Hajj Ibrahim ibn al-Hajj Husain, as a water carrier, to bring water to the <i>sabil</i> in summer and winter.	18
(3) The donor allocated one <i>ghirsh</i> annually to buy oil for the lighting, and one half- <i>ghirsh</i> for repairs.	1.5
Total expenses annually	25.5

Sijill 271: 59 published by al-‘Asali (1989: 114) states that at the beginning of Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 1204/13-22 July 1790, the *qadi* appointed Mustafa Beg ibn Murad Agha and Ahmad Beg ibn ‘Abd al-Karim Beg to the supervision of the *sabil* of ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji. Both men were appointed to replace their fathers, who were mentioned in Sijill 271: 59 in accordance with a legal document dated 1172/1758-9. It is interesting to notice that the two and half shops specified in the *waqfiyya* were by that time used as dwelling houses, and that three *uqiyya* (weight) of wheat were assigned to the *waqf* from the Takiyya Khassaki Sultan.

Recent Period

When the post of caretaker was vacant in 1373/1953,³ the *qadi* of Jerusalem decided on 19 Muharram/28 September to allocate the management of the *sabil* endowment (Auqaf File 52: 54) to the Director of the Auqaf Administration. Early in 1374/1954, the following year, the *qadi* dismissed a case presented by Ibrahim ibn Darwish al-Bannan, the last caretaker, against the Director of the Jerusalem Auqaf Administration. Darwish al-Bannan had claimed his right to the half-position of *al-tauliyya* (caretaker).

Although the *sabil* and its property have been the responsibility of the Auqaf Administration since 1373/1953, it appears that the *sabil* continued to be unused and neglected until early in 1380/1960. Attempts to use the *sabil* and its façade to exhibit merchandise were rejected in response to serious objections from neighbours, despite the fact that the Auqaf Department was in favour of leasing it out (Auqaf File 52: 172, 173). However, as a result of these attempts, the mayor (Arabic *muhafiz*) of Jerusalem issued strict instructions to the Chief Qadi, the President of the Supreme Muslim Council, that on the one

hand the *status quo* of the *sabil* should be maintained, and on the other that necessary repairs should be undertaken in order to enhance its condition. In consequence, the old door, which had three windows, was replaced by a new one of wood. The *sabil* was, in addition, provided with electricity in 1386/1966. Additional fencing to prevent dirt from accumulating inside the recess was provided by the Auqaf Authority in 1406/1985.

Founder

Although three *waqfiyyas* mentioning the donor have now been discovered in the *sijills* in addition to Sijill 187: 515-17, mentioned above, information on the career and life of ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji is still relatively limited. The first of these, in Sijill 187: 136-7, dated Ramadan 1096/August 1685, records that ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji, the son of Mustafa, had endowed two shops located in the Jewish quarter for the benefit of the *mu’adhdhins* in the Noble Dome of the Rock. The second, in Sijill 187: 191-2 is dated Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1096/October-November 1685, and states that ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shurbaji, the son of Mustafa, had freed his white slave named Hasan, and that he had made as *waqf* for Hasan’s benefit during his lifetime the whole house located in Bab al-Hitta neighbourhood, and, after him, for the benefit of his children, both male and female. In the event that the descendants of Hasan died out, the *waqf* was to be for the benefit of the mosques of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa, and if this was impossible then it should go to the Muslim poor. The final *waqf* (Sijill 187: 464), dated the beginning of Shawwal 1097/21 August 1686, comprises the complete oil press which produced *siraj* (sesame oil) in Jerusalem the Noble at Bab al-‘Amud (Damascus Gate), and the arcade in which to tether the animals (*dawabb*). The benefit of these properties was to be devoted to the poor who were resident in the *riwaq* of Shaikh Mansur.⁴ The *riwaq* is described as being located in al-Masjid al-Aqsa near the western staircase (the north-western colonnade) which leads to the platform of the Noble Rock. To judge from the information in the *waqfiyyas*, the donor must have been a very wealthy man to be able to donate the endowments. However, his titles would indicate that he did not occupy an official position in the city.

Architecture

The north façade faces the end of the inner square of Bab al-‘Amud. It is the main façade and is made up of a simple recess with a pointed arch, which is decorated with a splay moulding around the extrados constructed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs. At the rear of the recess, two windows, also constructed of *ablaq* masonry and provided with grilles, are surmounted by a rectangular marble plaque in the middle of the tympanum of the arch which contains the foundation inscription. A diaper-work moulding extends across the façade one course above the pointed arch, and terminates at the end of the eastern façade. There the stone-faced dome rises directly from the roof. It is finished by a new brass crescent finial. The main façade retains its original 1097/1686 form except for the recently-added signs to guide visitors to historic sites in the city. The signs are placed on either side of the springing of the arch, to the right (west) of the

² The *waqfiyya* does not explain where the lanterns were to be hung, but most probably they were to be located outside the building in the niche of the arch as at Sabil al-Khalidi (cat. no. 44). The reason for the specific instruction was in order to provide light for the *sabil* so that worshippers had access to water before and after prayers at night and at dawn.

³ The post of caretaker was shared, at that time, equally between Darwish al-Bannan, who died in 1370/1950, and Yahya al-Shihabi, who fled to Egypt in 1368/1948 (Auqaf file 52: 1, 10).

⁴ The *riwaq* no longer exists but its location can be deduced from Sijill 166: 224 and from traces of the piers which used to support it to the east and which are still visible in the western wall of the esplanade of the Dome of the Rock in the area between Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31) and the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21).

spandrel, and above the dome.

The east façade is plain, facing onto the street called Tariq al-Wad. A simple entrance opens in the centre to give access to the interior. Above the lintel of the door, a small rectangular window provides light. In contrast to the north façade, this eastern side is composed of simple, high-quality masonry which consists in the main of approximately square stones laid in regular courses. Recently, these courses have been painted with a yellow lustre paint, and the joints of the stones have been picked out in thick black, which has given the whole façade a new and rather peculiar appearance.

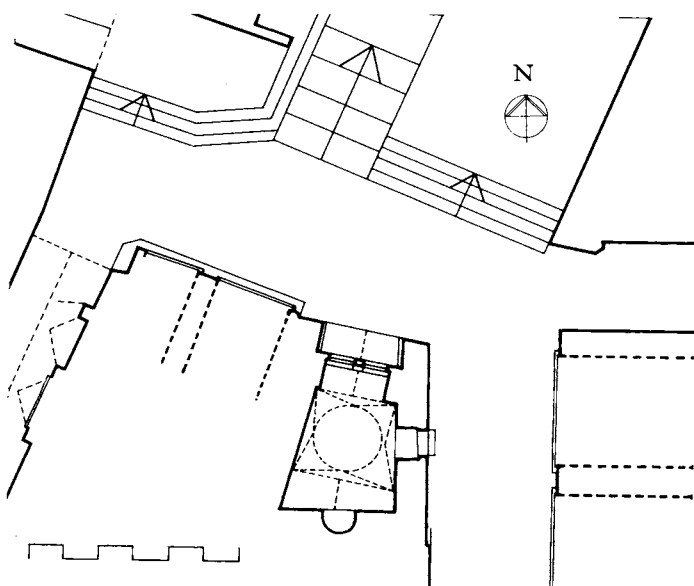


Fig. 40.1 Sabil Shurbaji, plan of location (Courtesy Department of Islamic Archaeology).

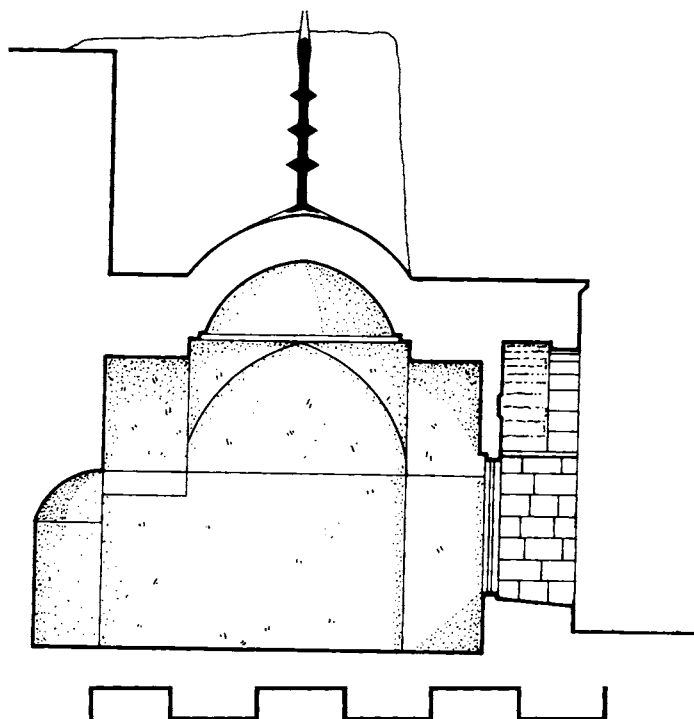


Fig. 40.3 Sabil Shurbaji, section (Courtesy Department of Islamic Archaeology).

Interior

A single step leads to a low entrance door. The single chamber is square in shape, and its paved floor is concealed under a modern rug. A new *mihrab* has been set in the southern wall, presumably when the *sabil* was converted into a mosque in 1389/1969. The four walls of the room, including the *mihrab* niche, are covered with red flagstones to a height of 2.06m, the rest of the walls and the dome being plastered with mortar. The dome rises directly from the western and eastern walls; from the south and north, it is raised on two small pointed arches. The shallow dome is carried on four pendentives.

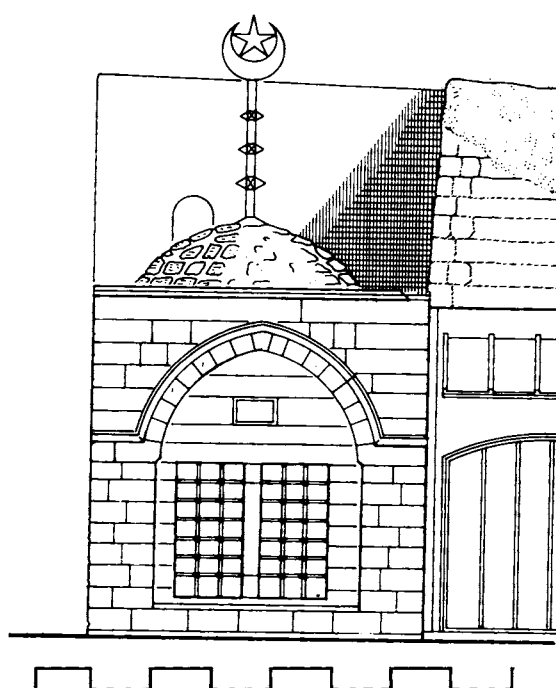


Fig. 40.2 Sabil Shurbaji, elevation (Courtesy Department of Islamic Archaeology).

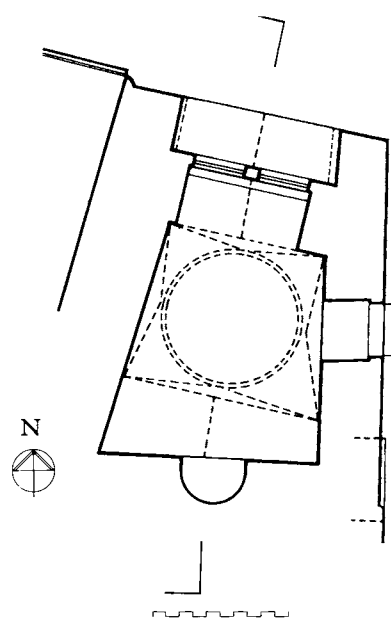


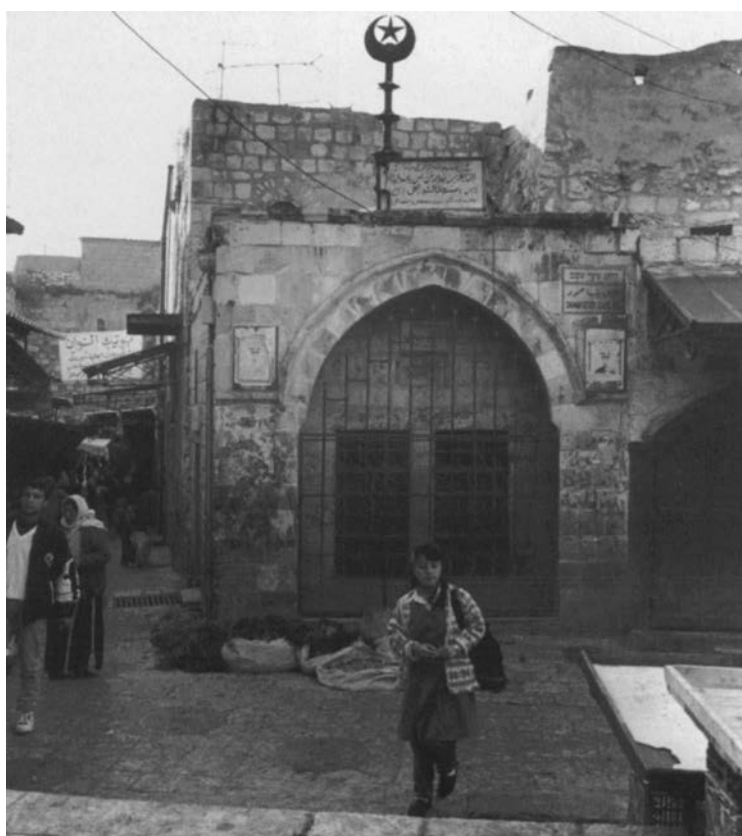
Fig. 40.4 Sabil Shurbaji, ground plan (Courtesy Department of Islamic Archaeology).



Pl. 40.1 Sabil Shurbaji, side view.



Pl. 40.2 Sabil Shurbaji, front and side views.



Pl. 40.3 Sabil Shurbaji, front view.

41 ODAT ARSLAN PASHA

Name: Odat (chamber) Arslan Pasha

Date: 1109/1697 (restored)

Endowment: 1109/1697

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Markaz Shurtat al-Haram (Haram Police Station)

Location

Odat Arslan is located in the western section of the north side of the Dome of the Rock terrace, between Hujra Muhammad Agha to the east (cat. no. 20) and al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24) to the west.

Site and brief description (figs. 41.1–41.2, pls. 41.1–41.6)

Odat Arslan consists of two parts. The lower storey contains two square chambers, the same as the current arrangement of the upper level. The room to the east is covered by a hemispherical dome while that to the west is covered by a cross vault built some time after 1279/1862. A portico with two domed bays stands in front of the domed chamber. The *oda* is used today as an office for the Haram police.

History

Odat Arslan, like most of the other cells on the Haram, lacks any particular published historical account. A fair amount of its early history is contained within the *waqfiyya* lodged in the Jerusalem *sijills* and confirms its Ottoman date. A good, small plan of the upper storey is to be found in the map drawn by Powell in 1862. The plan is important because it shows the layout of the western chamber at a time before renovations were completed. As the general architectural design of the *oda* is similar to that of Hujrat Muhammad Agha (dating to 996/1588—cat. no. 20), it is tempting to date this *oda* also to the early decades of the 17th century. But the discovery of the *waqfiyya* makes it more reasonable to put the date of this *oda* forward to the last decade of the century.

Identification

The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 198: 109) reports that ‘the above-mentioned *waqf* (discussed below) was established by the donor for the benefit of the chamber (*oda*) whose construction has been renewed by the founder on the northern section of the Masjid al-Aqsa the Noble, abutting the chamber made *waqf* by Ahmad Pasha’. Since all the other *khalwas* (see cat. nos. 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, and 24) on the northern side of the terrace have been convincingly identified, and since this *oda* abuts the Junbalatiyya (cat. no. 24)—also specified by the *sijill* as being constructed and named by Ahmad Pasha—the identification seems to be secure.

Date

The renovation of the *oda* is not dated, but on the basis of the *waqfiyya* one may assume that it was carried out shortly before 1109/1697.

Founder

The original founder of the cell is not known, but the person responsible for its rebuilding—as stated in Sijill 198: 109—was al-Hajj Arslan Pasha. He was one of the rulers of Jerusalem and Palestine in the late 17th century. He was governor of Jerusalem,

Nablus, and Gaza and is named in the *sijill* as also being the *amir* of the Syrian pilgrimage (*amir al-hajj al-Shami*).

Endowments

The *waqfiyya* states that ‘at the council of the religious court, al-Hajj Arslan Pasha, being fully competent, has certified that he has made as *waqf* the whole house built in Jerusalem the Noble that is situated in the Jewish quarter. It is known widely by the name *dar al-balat*. The house contains chambers, latrines, and utilities (*marafiq*). It is bordered to the south by the passable road, to the east by the public road, to the north by the house of Ibrahim al-Nasrani, and to the west by the house of Ibn al-Nabulsi.’

Arslan had stipulated that the inspector of the *waqf* should lease this house, and from the income of the rent, the amount of which was unspecified, he was to maintain the building whenever the need arose, and the surplus was to be allocated to the reader (*shaikh*) of the lesson (*al-dars*) in the *oda* (chamber) that had been built by the donor. The reader (*qari*) had to recite the Qur’an, the normal petitions, the prayers to the Prophet, and to invoke Allah. The merit of all this was to be dedicated to the donor.

For the duration of his lifetime, Arslan had appointed al-Shaikh ‘Isa al-Kurdi to be the reader in the chamber and he made it a condition that after ‘Isa the position was to be given to whoever was qualified and deserved it.

Architecture

Exterior

The exterior of the southern façade resembles the southern façade of the Hujrat Muhammad Agha (996/1588, cat. no. 20). Both the layout and the architectural elements of the two-bayed portico are similar although there are minor differences, such as the finish of the interior of the small domes of the portico, which (unlike those of Hujrat Muhammad Agha) are without ribs, and the span of the arches, which is larger by 15cm. The dais supporting the portico also has different dimensions, being 6.06m long by 2.14m deep by 83cm high. Alterations to the structure, which took place some time after 1862, can be identified, based partly on the Haram map drawn by Powell and partly on the evidence visible in the building as it is today.

First, the western window in the southern façade has been enlarged and converted into a door which measures 80cm wide by 1.7m high and now gives access to the interior, as the original door has been blocked (see below). Second, the open arch in the entrance of the vestibule has been blocked with stones, leaving space for a door that gives onto the interior of the western part of the upper section. A projecting denticulated cornice finishes off the top of the building; immediately below it is a shallower frame which encloses the upper part of the façade.

The north elevation remains unchanged. It is a solid wall built of regular courses of masonry apart from five window openings and a door. Three of the five windows are identical. These are in the upper part of the elevation and are fitted with iron grilles. Each is surmounted by a slab lintel and above there is an ‘eye-brow’ arch. A door is placed at the west end of the elevation, to give access to interior of the lower part of the *oda*; it measures 78cm wide by 1.69m high. It too is surmounted by a slab lintel and above it there is a relieving arch. Next to the door to the east are two rectangular windows, each measuring 80cm wide by 1.2m high. As usual, they are protected by an iron grille and wire mesh.

The eastern elevation is constructed of undecorated

masonry. It has a door (78cm wide by 1.67m high) which is surmounted by a slab lintel with an 'eye-brow' arch of three voussoirs above. The arch has recently been reinforced with iron and concrete. At the level of the seventh course below the summit of the building, there is a small slit window. A plain stone course serves as a frame for the eastern and western elevations, projecting forward slightly, in place of the more customary stone cornice. The western elevation is obscured by al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, which it abuts.

Interior

The interior of the upper storey of the cell consists at present of two chambers. The principal one is to the east. It is square in plan, and is paved with good quality, large marble slabs of grey and red of different sizes, some of which measure 1m by 56cm. The chamber has four windows, two in the north wall and two in the south wall. Each window measures 76cm wide by 1.2m high by 90cm deep and the openings begin only 29cm above the level of the floor. Each is surmounted by a semicircular arch and scallop. However, as already stated, the western window in the south wall has been enlarged and converted into a door to give access to the interior, after the original door in the west wall was blocked. A shallow concave *mihrab* niche is located in the centre of the south wall (shown on the plan as M), flanked by the door and the eastern window. The niche measures 70cm wide by 1.86m high by 29cm deep and does not appear on Powell's map of 1862.¹ The

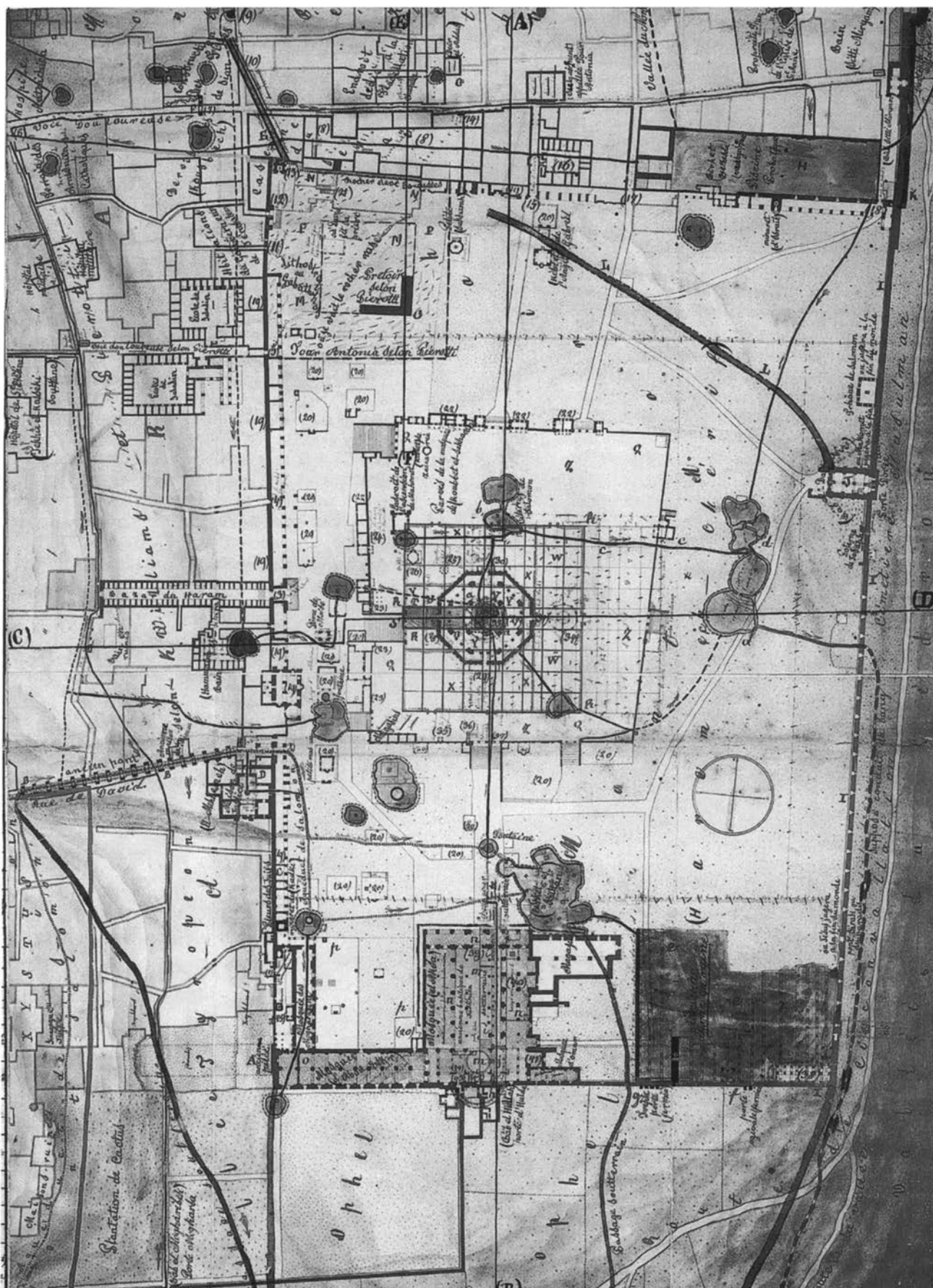
scallop at the apex of the *mihrab* is pointed and clumsily finished, so it was probably inserted some time after 1862 when modifications took place in both chambers, but in particular in the one to the east. The eastern wall is constructed in the form of a blind pointed arch which is pierced by two blind niches. The first of these measures 1.4m wide by 1.64m high by 38cm deep and has a further recess at its centre in the form of another, smaller niche measuring 29cm wide by 54cm high by 30cm deep. The second niche is located to the north of the first and measures 32cm wide by 37cm high by 33cm deep. From the interior, the dome has the appearance of being shallow and rests directly on the four walls and on four pendentives at the corners of the chamber. Both dome and walls have been plastered recently.

The second chamber of the upper storey of the cell is now also square in plan. It has a modern paved floor and is covered by a folded cross vault with a small saucer dome at the centre. Only one rectangular window (88cm wide by 1.5m high by 73cm deep) illuminates the chamber and access is by the newly opened door in the south wall. Before 1862, according to Powell's plan of the Haram, the layout of the chamber was completely different. It was made up of two rectangular parts divided and separated by a wall running from east to west, and the northern part was closed completely apart from a door opening to the north of the western wall of the main chamber. The second of the two areas was an open vestibule, leading to the interior of the main chamber. The interior of the lower part of Odat Arslan Pasha is very simple. It consists of two identical square chambers; each is covered by a cross vault and has a single window and door which have been described above.

¹ See cat. no. 24 al-Khalwa al-Junbalatiyya, note 1.



Pl. 41.1 Odat Arslan Pasha, main, south façade.



Pl.41.2 Pierotti's map of the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem of 1862 (Photograph © Palestine Exploration Fund, London).

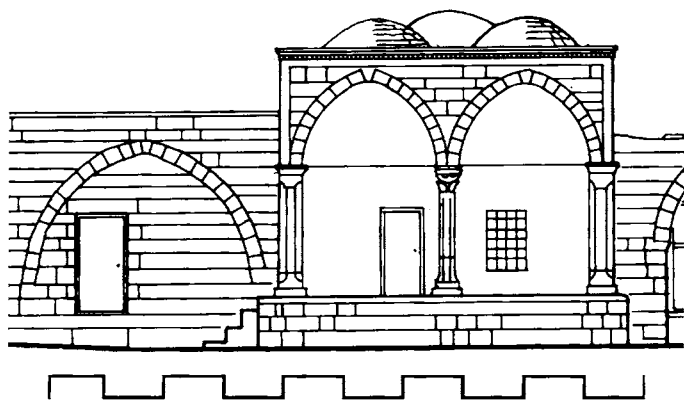


Fig. 41.1 Odat Arslan Pasha, elevation.

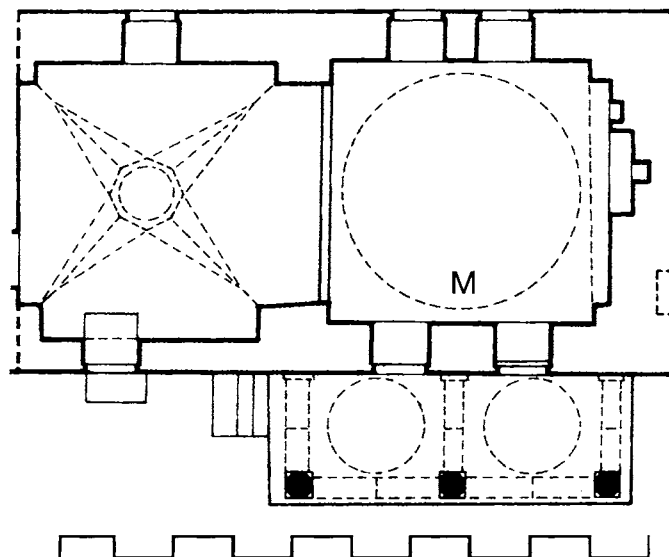


Fig. 41.2 Odat Arslan Pasha, plan.



Pl. 41.3 Odat Arslan Pasha, side view of porch.



Pl. 41.5 Odat Arslan Pasha, north façade, side view.



Pl. 41.4 Odat Arslan Pasha, front view.



Pl. 41.6 Odat Arslan Pasha, north façade.



Pl. 41.7 Odat Arslan Pasha, column.

42 KURSI SULAIMAN

Name: Kursi Sulaiman (The Chair or Throne of Solomon).

This is an odd name for a building. The word *kursi* in Arabic means 'seat' or 'throne' and it is possible that the name relates to the spur of rock against which the building is erected. In any event, the concept of *kursi* in the context of the name Sulaiman reflects the status of the biblical King Solomon (Sulaiman), son of King David (al-Nabi Da'ud) within the history of Jerusalem. Detailed information on this status as contained in Muslim literature is to be found in Mujir al-Din (1973 1: 117-45).

The building is made up of two parts. The western section is a typical Ottoman mosque; the section to the east contains a large stone cenotaph, which could be considered as a *maqam*. The name may relate to its function; see below.

Date: Undated. Probably after 1017/1608-9

Endowment: See below

Variant of name: Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 93) called it the 'Maqam (place of) Sulaiman', in addition to 'Kursi Sulaiman'

Modern name: Kursi Sulaiman, Dar al-Hadith

Location

The building is situated at the eastern border of the Haram between Bab al-Asbat and Bab al-Rahma wa 'l-Tauba (The Golden Gate).

Function

The Kursi Sulaiman building can be interpreted as a commemorative monument built to honour the Prophet Sulaiman, son of Da'ud (see below under purpose of the building). Since 1403/1982-3 the building has been used as a *Dar al-Hadith* (Centre for the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad).

Site and brief description (figs. 42.1-42.6, pls. 42.1-42.7)

The building is in a relatively remote area to the northeast of the Haram esplanade. The eastern wall of the building is shared with the eastern wall of the Haram, and this part of the wall, which extends from the north-eastern to the south-eastern corners of the Haram, also serves as part of the eastern wall of the Old City of Jerusalem. The other three sides of the building are surrounded by open ground partially planted with trees. It is a single unit-structure of rectangular shape divided on the interior into two sections. The first of these is made up of two square bays. Each is surmounted by a hemispherical dome. The southern bay houses a *mihrab* niche. The second part is a rectangular hall which accommodates a remarkably large cenotaph.

History

Identification¹

In Sijill 89: 84, which includes the proceedings for the year

¹ It should be emphasised that the identification relates to the standing structure which is located in the eastern part of the Haram, which has been identified as Kursi Sulaiman since the early 17th century. There are references to Kursi Sulaiman as a place (*maudi*) rather than as a separate building in some Islamic sources before the Crusaders as well as in later periods up to the end of the 16th century. Elad (1995: 82-7, 89, 90, 92-3) gathered the available information and discussed in detail the possible association of the location of Kursi Sulaiman with the still-existing Qubbat Sulaiman. He refutes van Berchem's proposed location for the Kursi Sulaiman in the eastern section of the Haram during the early period, that is before the 17th century.

1017/1608-9, it is reported that 'Musa ibn Abi 'l-Nasr al-Barq' had been appointed to the 'half-post of service to the tomb of our lord Sulaiman, the prayers of Allah be upon him, which is located inside the wall of al-Masjid al-Aqsa the Noble.' He was to receive 'one-half 'uthmani every day in addition to what is assigned (to this position) from the money coming yearly from Istanbul.' No further details are given with respect to the location, but since the appointment refers specifically to a tomb (*qabr*) and not to a *maqam*, this would probably imply that at that time there was no edifice over the tomb itself.

Al-'Ayyashi (al-'Asali 1992: 212) refers to Kursi Sulaiman under the name 'the Dome of Sulaiman's Throne' (*Qubbat 'Arsh Sulaiman*) in the record of his visit to Jerusalem in 1074/1663-4. He reported that 'near the gate of the mosque which lies next to the valley, there is a place said to be the Dome of Sulaiman's Throne. It is one of the shrines. One of the scholars said that requests (made there) are answered (by God). It is close to Bab Hitta.' The report of al-'Ayyashi is puzzling, for it contains both positive and negative information. On the negative side, it is noticeable that al-'Ayyashi writes in indirect speech, which means he did not see the place personally, but rather repeated what he heard. Secondly, it is not clear from his account if he is indicating a structure or a site. And finally the information that the monument is 'close to Bab Hitta' recalls the earlier traditions which locate it and identify it with the Qubbat Sulaiman described by Mujir al-Din (1971 1: 123). It is worth underlining, however, that al-'Ayyashi explicitly places the site at the east wall of the Haram in the location of the structure now under discussion. Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 93)² gives a little more information on the structure itself. He writes 'In the line of buildings falls also the Shrine of Solomon and his Throne, which are connected with the wall of the fortress, having two high domes and seven windows.'³ Here is the Throne of Solomon. I have listed these shrines after the shrine of Maryam's cave. These are located on the eastern sides of the Haram esplanade.' Kursi Sulaiman is also mentioned by al-Nabulsi who visited it in 1101-5/1690-4 (al-'Asali 1992: 263); he said 'Hence we went to the place which is called Kursi Sulaiman—peace be upon him—at the rear (*mu'khar*) of the mosque from the east; we entered it and there we prayed and we appealed to the exalted God. In the building there is a well-planned dome. Inside (it) a large solid rock that looks like a tomb adjoins the wall ... someone mentioned to us that Solomon the Prophet of God—peace be upon him—was buried there.' Elad (1995: 92) apparently did not know of the accounts of either al-'Ayyashi or Evliya Çelebi because he thought al-Nabulsi was the first Muslim writer to mention Kursi Sulaiman as being located at the eastern Haram wall. He commented (1992: 93) on the description by al-Nabulsi, saying that it required closer study, for the traveller had 'copied entire fragments (without so much as mentioning it) from the description given by the 15th-century Mujir al-Din of Qubbat Sulayman in the north-west Haram.' Elad went further, asserting that there is no original information in al-Nabulsi's description. It seems, however, that al-Nabulsi's description is authentic for, according to his statement, he visited the site and although his description is very concise

² Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1980: 71) also mentions the 'Kursi of Solomon' inside the Aqsa Mosque but here he refers to a seat. He said 'There is also the Seat of Solomon and the chair for the preacher.' However, as Stephan (1980: 71) noted, no existing dais, platform or seat in Masjid al-Aqsa carries the name of Solomon.

³ There are today nine windows (see above).

from the architectural point of view, it is correct and corresponds to today's structure—apart from one element. Al-Nabulsi mentions one 'well-planned' dome and today the monument is roofed by two hemispherical domes. It is impossible to know whether al-Nabulsi was being imprecise or whether the monument was changed after al-Nabulsi's visit. The layout of the building gives no clue, but the similarity to the layout of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35) and Zawiya As'adiyya (whose *waqf* is dated 20 Muharram 1033/13 November 1623) on the Mount of Olives might suggest that the former option is the most likely. At the time of al-Qayati, who visited the Haram in 1302/1884-5 (al-'Asali 1992: 325), Kursi Sulaiman was still considered to be one of the places of *ziyara*.⁴

Date

The building of Kursi Sulaiman is undated. There is an inscription panel inside the monument to the west of the tomb but this implies the purpose of the building rather than giving its date. The slab is rectangular and of marble. The inscription, which is unpublished, is made up of four lines of Arabic and is written in *naskhi* script, set in rectangular cartouches. The script is relatively thick and has diacritical and a few auxiliary points. The first two lines of the script have been recently painted with black paint. The text is a citation from the Qur'an, Sura XXVII: 30-3. The translation according to 'Ali (1946: 985) runs as follows:

1. It is from Solomon, and is (as follows): In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be you not arrogant against me
2. But come to me in submission (to the true religion). She said: You chiefs advise me in my affair,
3. No affair have I decided except in your presence. They said we are endued with
4. Strength and given to vehement war. But the command is with you, so consider what you will command.

Purpose of the building

The layout of Kursi Sulaiman gives the impression that it was built initially to serve as a *masjid* (cf. the *masjid* of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya, cat. no. 35). It is however better to consider the building as a commemorative shrine, for it has a huge stone tomb, and is built close to two important sites which were included among the places to be visited by Muslim pilgrims—the Place of al-Sirat and Bab al-Tauba and Bab al-Rahma (The Gate of Repentance and the Gate of Mercy, or Golden Gate). The Qur'anic verses which are inscribed on the panel mentioned above can be interpreted as a reference to the function of the building. The verses narrate part of the communication that took place between the Prophet Sulaiman (Solomon) and Queen Bilqis (the Queen of Sheba). In these lines Solomon invites Bilqis and her people—who were pagans—to embrace the true and universal religion of Unity, of which Muslims consider themselves the true inheritors. Muslims thus feel that they have the right to honour the Prophets of God who are mentioned in the Qur'an and who were associated with Islamic traditions. As the Prophet Solomon,⁵ to whom God granted among other valuable gifts both knowledge

and judgment, is mentioned seventeen times in the Qur'an, and because Solomon is associated with building projects in the Haram (Temple) area, it is understandable that a commemorative shrine named after Solomon the Prophet should be found within the Haram precinct, more especially since it was probably erected during a period which saw a growing interest in Jerusalem as a place for *ziyara*. In fact the building of this monument is a revival, for an earlier monument bore the same name but was located by and associated with the Dome of Sulaiman.

Architecture

Exterior

The Façades

There are three façades to the building, the fourth being subsumed within the Haram wall, which is also the city wall, and all are built of regular courses of masonry. The stones, which are identical in height but vary in width from 20cm to 50cm and are either square or rectangular, are carefully dressed in white and black. The lintels and the arches of the façades are built at a uniform height, and they are consistently cut, dressed and arranged, giving the exterior of the building a coherent appearance as if it belongs to a single phase of construction, with the exception of the south-east corner (see below).

The north façade is the main one, for here the entrance door is to be found; it is preceded by a square paved courtyard measuring 10m wide by 10.5m long. The pavement is constructed of fine white stone slabs which have weathered, like most of those used in the area of the Haram, to grey. The paving scheme is divided into four sections by four axial lines which run from south to north, each line measuring between 40-44cm in width.

The doorway is off-centre. It measures 1.1m wide and 2m high, and is surmounted by a slab lintel formed by a single stone of considerable size—1.75m wide and 28cm high. A relieving arch made up of three plain stones has been placed over the door lintel. The entrance is fitted on the outside by an iron grille made in two halves, each with four vertical and eleven horizontal bars. The grille is original, but it was not custom-made for the building because its individual bars are both taller and broader than the entrance; the result is that the bars are fixed to the surface of the lintel and the jambs, rather than set into the framework as is more normally the case. There is another iron door fitted to the jambs on the inside. The door is flanked to either side by a rectangular window. East of the eastern window there is a further, third window. These all share the same measurement, namely 1.1m wide and 1.8m high, and they have the same kind of lintel as the door. However, here the shallow relieving arches leave a small aperture above each lintel, giving the impression that each window or 'eye' is surmounted by an 'eyebrow'. The bottom of the windows is raised 20cm above the level of the paved ground. All three windows of the north façade are fitted with a simple iron grille and have iron shutters; while the shutters are recent, the grilles seem to be traditional.

Four courses up, and set directly above the lintel of the door, there is a rectangular recessed panel. The panel has a chamfered frame, and measures 75cm wide and 50cm high. A recently inscribed slab with Qur'an XVII:1 is now fitted into this panel, although ten years ago it was vacant. It is not known if there was once an original inscription which was subsequently

⁴ Any follower of the Bahara Shi'a sect of India visiting the holy places on the Haram is still keen to include Kursi Sulaiman in the itinerary.

⁵ For further details regarding the position held by Solomon within Islam see Hirschberg (1978: 108).

lost, or if it had been the original intention to have one and this was never achieved. A rectangular slit window measuring 25cm wide and 90cm high opens above the recessed panel. The slit window is topped by a small ogival arch surmounted in turn by a carved trefoil device. A slightly projecting cornice extends around the top of all three façades acting as a frame to the whole building and marking its upper limits. Two hemispherical domes rest directly over the west part of the building; they are covered by a skin of small flat stones. The eastern part of the roof is flat and is covered with stone slabs similar to those on the domes; both have been recently repointed. A wall of large rusticated stones of varying size and quality has been built recently over part of the join of the north wall of Kursi Sulaiman. It is not recorded when this was built, but it is possible that it is the work of the Supreme Muslim Council after the earthquake of 1927.

The western façade is the longest one, measuring 13.25m in length but sharing the same height (5.6m) as the other façades. It is divided into two halves by a central buttress measuring 1.12m wide and 5.4m in height. Two windows of identical design, similar to those of the north façade, are placed in each half-section. The relieving arches above the lintels of the southern window in each half-section are however different, for they are made up of two stones only, the first being longer than the second. Two identical slit windows resembling the one found in the north façade are set in the centre of each half-section. Part of the cornice which runs around the top of the building is missing in the southern part of the western façade, which resembles the western façade of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35).

The south elevation is a solid undecorated wall with the exception of three rectangular windows and one in the form of a single slit. The western and central windows are identical in form to those flanking the door in the north façade. The eastern window differs from them in that it has a stone lintel (*'atab sinaf*) probably rebuilt recently at the same time as the south-eastern corner of this elevation. The reason for this assumption is the presence of a crack, the recent shape of the lintel, and the fact that the stones of the corner do not match the rest of the building.

The eastern elevation is a solid wall and constitutes a small section of the eastern wall of the Old City of Jerusalem as well as the wall of the Hararm (see above: "Site and brief description").

Interior

The interior of the building is rectangular in plan. It is divided into two sections by two pointed arches. The arches, which run from north to south, are supported by a central rectangular pier 1.2m by 80cm, and by the walls from which they spring.

The first section consists of a rectangular prayer chamber divided into two square bays by a pointed arch whose opening runs from east to west. The arch is supported by the central pier and by the western wall. Each square bay is covered by a shallow dome and lacks any intermediary drum. The domes rest directly on a circle achieved by a transitional zone of four large pendentives at the corners of each square bay. In all there are twelve windows in this section. Four of the windows, two in each bay, are opened in the upper part of the walls; they are identical, undecorated and rectangular and on the exterior are expressed as slits. The remaining eight windows—four to each bay—are also identical. They begin at a height of only 20cm above the floor level and are surmounted by arches with a slightly pointed profile. Some of the stones in these arches are clumsily finished, and this

may indicate that these arches as well as the interior walls were originally plastered and probably only recently stripped. There are thick black lines of repointing between the courses of the walls, and the two domes have been recently replastered.

A concave *mihrab*, 1m wide and 50cm deep, occupies the middle of the south *qibla* wall in the southern bay, and is flanked by a window to each side. The *mihrab* niche is surrounded by a rectangular block measuring 1.4m wide and 2.6m long, which is built of finely dressed stones. A stucco cornice made up of small, simple painted *muqarnas* niches, which are partly dilapidated, crowns the rectangular block. These niches are decorated by a curved foliage motif. The *mihrab* niche is surmounted by a pointed arch. The hood of the *mihrab* is decorated by four scalloped ribs decorated with carved stucco. Three of the original seven ribs are missing.

[Editorial note: The stucco carving is similar but not identical in the four ribs, and they vary with regard to their state of preservation. The technical expertise demonstrated by their design is high—the designer had to work to take account of the curvature of the hood. The only other example known in Jerusalem is the dome of the Sabil Qa'itbai, where the swell of the dome is matched to the forms of the motif and is 'quintessentially Egyptian in style' (see Burgoyne 1987: 609). The decoration of the ribs of the *mihrab* is, however, not Egyptian in style but ultimately derived from Timurid design. They are filled with an interlocking chain of split palmettes reminiscent of, for example, an illuminated page from a *Diwan* of Qasim, dated 863/145-60, or a double-page painting from the *Horoscope* of Iskandar-Sultan ibn 'Umar Shaikh, dated 22 Dhu 'l-Hijja 813/18 April 1411, ff. 18b-19a, illustrated in Lentz and Lowry 1989: 248, cat. no. 139; 145-7, cat. no. 36. The motif was also widely used in textiles (Lentz and Lowry 1989: 218). SA]

The second section of the interior of Kursi Sulaiman is rectangular in plan, as already mentioned, and is situated to the east of the first section. Two identical windows are set in this part, the first to the north and the second to the south. This area is covered by a barrel vault which rests on the two arches on the west on one hand, and on the wall on the east on the other. The vault is plastered and accommodates an extraordinary stone cenotaph which measures 9.5m long by 7m wide and 2m high. Originally the cenotaph was probably a huge single stone; its facing of stones on the north, west and south probably dates to when the building was first erected. The inscription plaque (mentioned above) is fixed to the western side of the cenotaph. There are two cylindrical stone finials (50cm in diameter) on the top of the southern and the northern ends of the cenotaph, and it is all covered by a green pall in the customary way.

Summary

The founder of the building of Kursi Sulaiman is unknown, as are the founders of other commemorative buildings erected in Jerusalem during the Ottoman period. The size and the design of the structure involved a complicated building process. It is unlikely therefore that the building was built by a group of local workmen or ordinary citizens. Whoever initiated the construction must have been either an influential administrator or a man of some financial standing. The question of who built it must thus remain open owing to lack of information. None has yet emerged from the Jerusalem *sijills* but it is always possible something may yet surface either in the Holy City or in Istanbul. There is certainly the hint, quoted from the *sijills* and discussed above, which indicates that it was included in the *waqf* of al-Aqsa as

being one of the institutions which benefitted from the annual sum (*al-surra*) sent to Jerusalem from the Ottoman capital. As to the date of construction, the only suggestion so far has been made by Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1990: no. 195), who thought that the building was erected in the 11th/17th century but gave no supporting evidence for such a date. There are indeed three indications that point to this being the correct date. The first is the similarity of the layout of the prayer chamber with the layout of al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya which is securely dated to 1043/1633-4 (cat. no. 35) and to al-Zawiya al-As'adiyya which was made *waqf* on 20 Muharram 1033/13 November 1623; the second is that the

building of Kursi Sulaiman, located on the eastern wall of the Haram, is mentioned first in the records of 11th/17th-century Muslim travellers; and finally, it is not mentioned in the itinerary of the mid-16th century guide book for the Muslim pilgrim to Jerusalem compiled by Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Khadr al-Rumi. Nasir al-Din says (Elad 1995: 165) that '... the Muslim continues to Qubbat Sulaiman, called "The Chair of Solomon" (Kursi Sulaiman). There, after the prayers and the reading of al-Fatih, the Muslim must put his hand on the Rock that is within the building with the dome.'

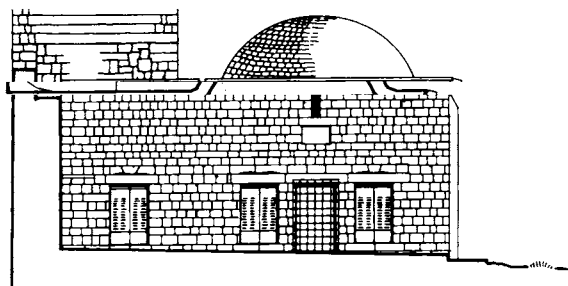


Fig. 42.1 Kursi Sulaiman, north elevation.

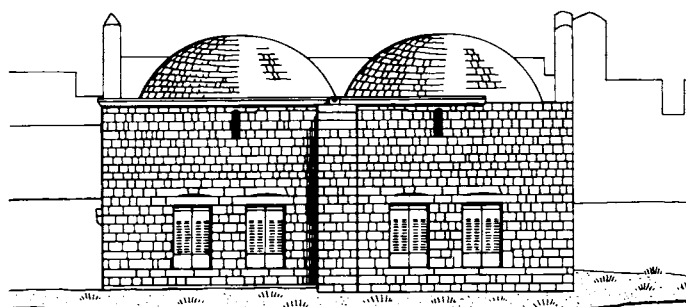


Fig. 42.2 Kursi Sulaiman, west elevation.

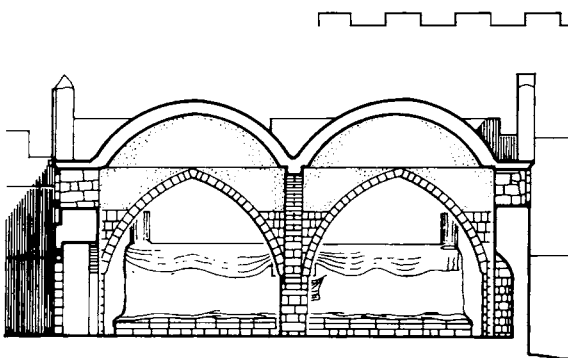


Fig. 42.3 Kursi Sulaiman, north-south section.

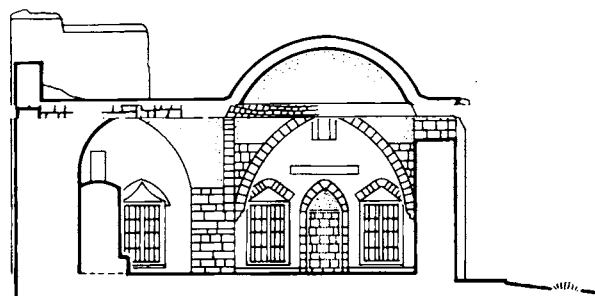


Fig. 42.4 Kursi Sulaiman, west-east section.

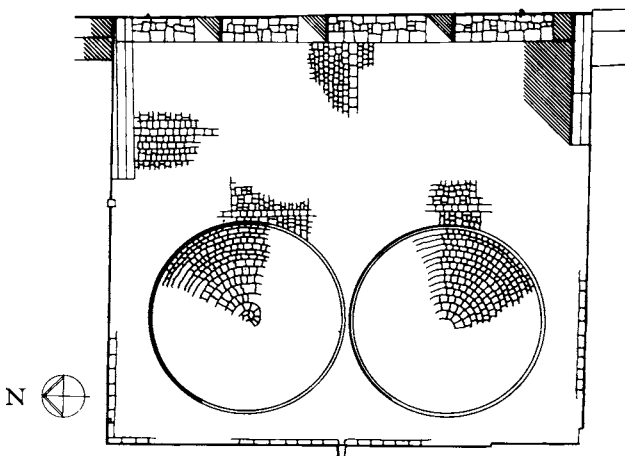


Fig. 42.5 Kursi Sulaiman, roof plan.

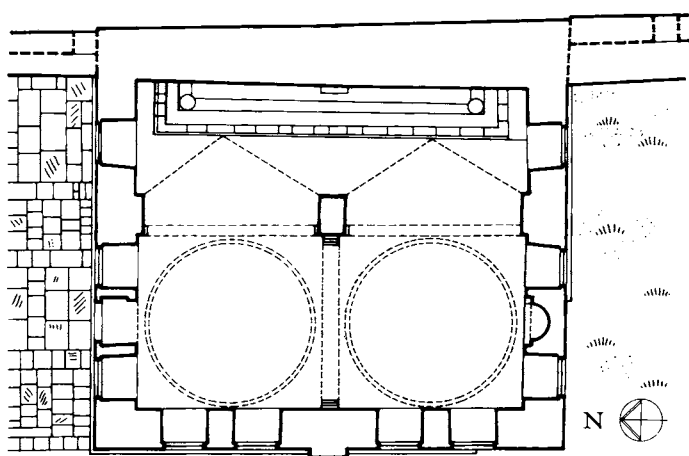
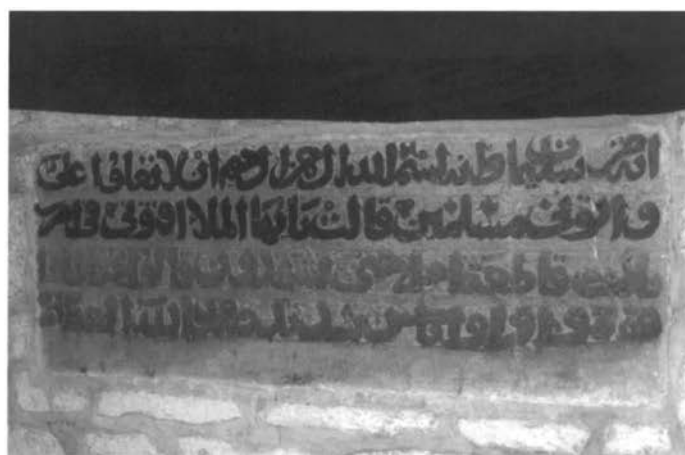


Fig. 42.6 Kursi Sulaiman, ground plan.



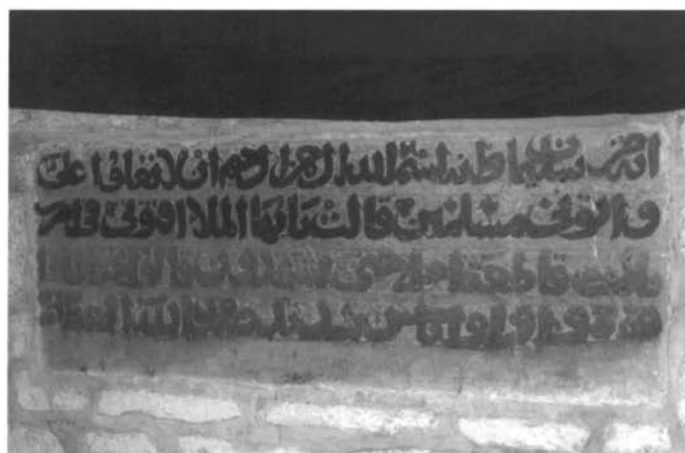
Pl. 42.1 Kursi Sulaiman, general view of north and west façades.



Pl. 42.4 Kursi Sulaiman, south façade.



Pl. 42.2 Kursi Sulaiman, interior view with *mihrab*.



Pl. 42.5 Kursi Sulaiman, inscription on cenotaph.



Pl. 42.3 Kursi Sulaiman, *mihrab*.



Pl. 42.6 Kursi Sulaiman, detail of moulded hood of *mihrab*.



Pl. 42.7 Kursi Sulaiman, general view of interior.

43 AL-ZAWIYA AL-MUHAMMADIYYA (MASJID AL-NABI)

Name: Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya

Date: 1112/1700-1

Endowment: 1139/1726-7

Variants of name: Various names have been given to this monument. 'Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin'¹ is the first, appearing in the foundation inscription dated 1112/1700-1. The name is a reference to the Prophet and may have led to some confusion, since there are two other individuals who both had a close association with the monument, both of whom were also named Muhammad. The first was Muhammad, governor of Jerusalem in 1122/1700. The information is contained in the foundation inscription where he is named as the founder of the monument (see below). The second Muhammad is al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili, who used the *qubba* for meditation and instruction and endowed it with a *waqf* (see below). Despite the later association of these two men with the *qubba*, the fact that the reference in the title is both to *al-Hadi* and *al-Amin* (a combination of epithets commonly given to the Prophet Muhammad) points to an initial intention to make a link with the Prophet himself rather than with his two namesakes. The real confusion seems to lie with the identification of the *qubba* rather than with the attribution 'Muhammadiyya'² ('of Muhammad'), since there is another well-known monument which has borne a similar name for a long time—the Qubbat al-Nabi (the Dome of the Prophet Muhammad, cat. no.10). The name Qubbat al-Hadi al-Amin seems to have been in limited circulation. It was mentioned only in passing by van Berchem (1925: 194) and Taha (1990: 21). It has been replaced (probably to avoid confusion) by the second name given to the *qubba*, 'al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya'.³ This variant of the name is mentioned four times in the *waqfiyya* of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili. The *waqfiyya* is dated 1139/1726-7 (Sijill 188: 244ff) and has been published by al-Husaini and Abu 'l-Lail (1979: 23, 33, 36, 43). The name 'al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya' is the preferred one here, for it reflects the function of the monument at the time of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili (see below). 'Qubbat Bakh Bakh' is yet another name given to this monument by 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini, who died in 1224/1809 (1985 2: 152), and by al-Husaini and Abu 'l-Lail (1979: 11). This name is used again in some contemporary references, but without any explanation being given: al-'Asali (1982: 41); Najm *et al.* (1983: 379); and Taha (1990: 21). According to Ibn al-Murajja (1995: 144), followed by al-Suyuti (1982 1: 200) and Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 20), 'Bakh Bakh' is a name given to the rock once identified with the place (*maudi*) of

al-Khadr. However, according to Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 21) the location of the rock is not related to the site of the monument under discussion, but rather to the place known today as 'Zawiyat al-Khadr' located below Qubbat al-Khadr. At the time of Mujir al-Din (900/1494) the place was called 'al-Maqam al-Khadr' (see Qubbat al-Khadr cat. no. 31). The question which is therefore raised is whether it was a mistake on the part of 'Abd al-Latif al-Husaini when he associated the name 'Bakh Bakh' with al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. Most probably he was merely passing on the current tradition. To be more specific, it seems that the tradition at the time of al-Husaini had already shifted the site of the rock 'Bakh Bakh' from the Maqam (Zawiyat) al-Khadr to the site of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. This would explain why Shafi'i *et al.* (1971: 32); Najm *et al.* (1978: 379) and Taha (1990: 21) identify the site with the *musalla* (place of prayer) of al-Khadr; the *maqam* (place) of al-Khadr, and the *qubbat* or *sakhrat* (dome or rock) Bakh Bakh. The length of time between Mujir al-Din and al-Husaini (almost three centuries) may add credence to this proposition, for the time span is enough for such a change in tradition to take place and, indeed, it is one to which the Haram area is accustomed. A second reason is to be found in the biography of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili written by al-Husaini (1985 2: 146-8). Here it is possible to detect the strong effect al-Khadr had on the life and character of al-Shaikh Muhammad—it is clear that al-Shaikh Muhammad himself attributed his authority and knowledge to the support and influence of al-Khadr.

The name 'Masjid al-Nabi' (the Mosque of the Prophet) is more recent; the term *Moschee des Propheten* was first used by Schick (1887: 25) in the late 19th century, and later mentioned again by van Berchem (1925: 194-5); it has been taken up by such contemporary writers as Burgoyne (1976: no. 145), al-Husaini (1977: 21), Walls and Abu 'l-Hajj (1980: 18), Najm *et al.* (1983: 379), Taha (1990: 21), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1992: no. 96) and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 3: 89). Although this name is thus the one most widely used in contemporary references, it has no historical basis and it seems to be the result of a misunderstanding. It is clear that it was the intention first of van Berchem (1925: 193) and then of Walls and Abu 'l-Hajj (1980: 18) to be more specific by calling the building the 'Aedicule of the Magistrate Muhammad'. Van Berchem (1925: 195) mentioned 'Kursi Muhammad' (the Throne of Muhammad) as yet another name used by Wilson (1866: 36) with a reference to Catherwood. Finally, al-'Arif (1947: 78) and Taha (1990: 21) both called the building 'Qubbat al-Shaikh al-Khalili' (the Dome of the Shaikh al-Khalili).

Modern name: Masjid al-Nabi (The Mosque of the Prophet); Qubbat al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili (The Dome of the Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili).

Location

Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya is located in the north-west section of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock.

Site and brief description (figs. 43.1-43.4, pls. 43.1-43.5)

Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya is a free-standing monument situated between Qubbat al-Mi'raj (the Dome of the Ascension) and the north-west colonnade. Its western elevation lies 12m from the western border of the terrace. The *zawiya* is constructed in two parts: a rectangular underground vault encloses a natural irregular rock, and over it a square-domed chamber is supported by four huge pointed arches. The site is used today as an office for

¹ *Al-Hadi* means 'the guiding' and *al-Amin* means 'the honest'; both are epithets of the Prophet Muhammad. However, used singly, the titles *al-Hadi* and *al-Amin* were also used by the 'Abbasid caliphs.

² In the Islamic Museum of al-Haram al-Sharif there is a Qur'an manuscript (no.169) dated 1116/1704 which is dedicated to Qubbat al-Muhammadiyya. The manuscript was one of the seven copies of the Holy Qur'an in the collection of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili and is mentioned in his *waqfiyya*; see al-Husaini and Abu 'l-Lail (1979: 22).

³ Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 44) mentions another *zawiya* bearing the same name, located outside the Haram. It was a *waqf* of Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Nasiri of 751/1350. Al-'Asali (1982: 353) reports that it is 'dilapidated' but in fact it no longer exists. See also Cat. no. 29.

al-Aqsa Restoration Committee. Some ten years ago, in 1983, it used to house the Dar al-Hadith (The House of the Traditions of the Prophet).

History

Identification

The present structure of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya is identified by a foundation inscription (see below), and the identification to the Ottoman period is frequently and explicitly mentioned in the *waqf* document of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili as stated above.

Date

The fifth line of the foundation inscription takes the form of a chronogram. Its numerical value is 1112/1700-1. The panel on which the inscription appears is of marble and is to be found above the lintel of the entrance. It is 50cm wide and 60cm high, and it is set back about 5cm. The script is composed of five lines of Arabic, each within a rectangular cartouche. The script is a slender, rounded *naskh*. There are ample diacritical points, with a few auxiliary signs. Van Berchem (1925: 194) published the text; for its full Arabic wording see no. 43 in Cat. Appendix 2. The translation, which was not attempted by van Berchem, runs as follows:

1. Fortunate was the Dome of al-Hadi al-Amin when it was restored after its disappearance
2. by [Muhammad], the governor of Jerusalem who constructed in it [Jerusalem] cisterns for the Muslims.
3. His countless charities in al-Aqsa Mosque were also noteworthy to those who saw [them].
4. Muhammad [the governor] has the wish (for paradise). Its chronogram [is]:
5. We said: 'Enter into it, in peace and security' (*qulna: udkhuluha bi-salamin aminin*).

The first line makes little sense, unless it can be interpreted as the intention of the writer to say that there had once been a dome named after the Prophet Muhammad (al-Hadi al-Amin) on the site, and that the dome had since disappeared. The construction or restoration (see below) of the dome by the Muhammad, Governor of Jerusalem was 'fortunate' (*tal' sa'd*). Van Berchem (1925: 194), who published but could make only partial sense of the inscription, considered it to be a text commemorating a restoration. The question that arises, however, is how it could have been a question of restoration when the original monument had disappeared (*ba'd al-khifa*). It is moreover clear from the style and type of the present structure's masonry that if it was indeed a matter of 'restoration' then it was a major work rather than just a consolidation or minor repair. The building must be seen as a new structure even though it is not identified specifically as such in the inscription, as was customary. Because of this, the text and date are here considered as references to a primary construction rather than as referring to the restoration of an extant edifice. The verb in the second line ('*ammara*') is also problematic for it has two meanings in Arabic; the first is 'to restore or repair', the second 'to build or construct'. The chronogram after the word 'we said' (*qulna*) is a quotation from Qur'an XV: 46.

Founder

According to the inscription, the founder of the present structure was Muhammad, who was governor of the city of Jerusalem in the year 1112/1700-1.

Endowment

The *waqfiyya* of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili is found in Sijill 188: 244ff, dated the beginning of Sha'ban 1139/24 March 1727. It is a long document of about seven thousand and two hundred words. As it has been published by al-Husaini and Abu 'l-Lail (1979: 15-46), it is enough for our purposes if comments here are confined to the information related directly to al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. First the *waqfiyya* states that al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili donated all the books of his well-stocked library to the foundation. The names and the authors of these are listed in the *waqfiyya*. Al-'Arif estimated that the books must have numbered some seven thousand items (Husaini and Abu 'l-Lail 1979: 22-33). In addition to his library, al-Shaikh Muhammad donated the following estate as a *waqf*—a soap-factory at Bab al-'Amud, Jerusalem; the ground floor of the weaving factory adjacent to the soap-factory; the vineyard opposite Herod's Gate, Jerusalem; the vegetable garden (*hakura*) close to Herod's Gate; the vineyard of al-Maghazin, Jerusalem; the income from the olive trees located at the site at al-Yusuifiyya, Bab al-Maghariba, Jerusalem; two vegetable gardens (*hakura*) at Bab al-Maghariba (no specific names are mentioned); the vineyard at the site of al-Baq'a, Jerusalem; the vacant space (*khulu*) over al-Madrasa al-Baladiyya, Jerusalem; the vacant space (*khulu*) over Suq al-Qattanin, Jerusalem; the vacant space (*khulu*) of al-Jib village, *waqf* of Sultan Inal, outside Jerusalem; the garden at Jaffa seaport (*iskila*); the large shop (*hasil*)⁴ close to the property of the inheritance of Murad Agha, Jaffa; the large shop (*hasil*) and the house built by the donor (al-Shaikh al-Khalili) at Jaffa close to the site where there was once a coffee-shop; the two floors with a wooden (*khashb*) and cane (*qasab*) ceiling at Nabi Musa, Jericho; and the two-storeyed house as well as the kitchen, *haush*, *iwan* and dependencies which were constructed by the donor at Hebron.

Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili stipulated that the beneficiaries of this *waqf* were to be himself while he was alive, and after his death his sons and the sons of his sons. In the event that the line of his descendants died out, the *waqf* should serve al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. The *waqfiyya* states that '... if they (the descendants of al-Shaikh Muhammad) became extinct, the *waqf* shall be for (the benefit of) al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, well-known on the platform of the Sacred Rock, and for the pious Shafi'i theologians.' The *waqfiyya* further states '... if they (the family of the Shaikh) become extinct, the *waqf* shall be for al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya situated in al-Aqsa Mosque on the platform of the Rock, in order to serve its interests and requirements, and for the poor and for those close by (*mujawirin*).' In the event of the descendants of the Shaikh Muhammad being alive and administering the *waqf* according to the terms specified in the document, it was a condition that the caretaker (*mutawalli*) of the *waqf* should repair the *zawiya* whenever it was in need of restoration. From the income of the *waqf*, the caretaker had in addition to spend the sum of 20 *piastres* (*sic*—the total in fact should be twenty-one—see below) per year on the *zawiya*. That sum was to be allotted as follows:

⁴ The word *hasil* has two meanings: either a large shop, or a storeroom. Here the meaning is of a large shop (Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 31).

1. Salary for al-Hajj Muhammad the son of Jum'a, and for his son after him, for servicing al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya	7
2. Mats for the floor of the <i>zawiya</i>	4
3. <i>Sawadid</i> (posts) for the trellis of the grapevine which covered the main entrance and the south wall of the <i>zawiya</i>	2
4. Oil for illumination in the month of Ramadan and other months	6
5. Oil lamps (<i>qanadil</i>)	2
Total	21

The purpose of the building

It is difficult to infer from the inscription what was the initial impulse behind the construction of the building. It is, however, obvious from both the *waqfiyya* and the biography of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili that the edifice was used so exclusively by al-Shaikh al-Khalili some time after its construction that it was attributed to him. Al-Shaikh Muhammad used the building as a place for retreat and *dhikr*. This justified the reference to it as a *zawiya* in the *waqfiyya*. In accordance with the practice of serving *sufis*, the building also provided accommodation for various religious classes which were led mainly by al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili. The subjects studied were the Traditions of the Prophet (*hadith*), preaching (*wa'iz*) and Qur'anic commentary (*tafsir*).

Architecture

The eastern façade is the main one. Its width is 9.9m and its height is 4m; it is built of fine, white, rectangular dressed stones of different sizes, some of which measure up to 30cm by 20cm. To the north of this façade is the door which gives access to the interior of the *zawiya*. The door measures 94cm in width and 1.83m in height and is surmounted by a slab lintel. It is raised above the ground level of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock by means of a simple sill, 5cm in height. The recessed inscription plaque (see above) is set one course directly above the lintel of the door. A further four courses of masonry continue beyond the plaque to the top of the façade. Two rectangular openings which form a double window are found to the south of the door, each measuring 82cm in width and 1.41m in height. They are today fitted with simple iron grilles which are not of recent date and are most probably original. The windows are surmounted by lintels of the same quality and at the same level as the lintel above the door, but they begin 45cm from ground level. The masonry of the façade appears to be homogeneous except at the top of the south-eastern corner which shows a change in the size of stones, and as a result the lines of the pointing are also broken. It seems also that there was a window between the door and the north corner of the building, for the line of the masonry courses is again broken and the stones are of a different size. It is unusual that the upper part of all four faces was not finished with the customary projecting stone cornice, whose purpose was to protect them from rainwater. There are, however, two simple terracotta spouts which project slightly and direct the water collected on the roof away from the building. The first is at the top of the south part of the eastern façade, and the second is on the western corner of the south elevation. It appears that a third spout was once to be found to the north of this façade, for the masonry shows the black discolouration which is the result of chemical reaction. The other three elevations to the north, the west and the south are built in the same way and with the same features as the eastern façade. The only exception is the fenestration which is here centred and

consists of two separate windows instead of the double window found in the eastern façade. All the windows in the building share a similar design and measurement. The shallow hemispherical dome rests directly on the roof of the *zawiya*. Both the roof and the dome are covered by small flagstones. The dome is finished by an unusual short stone finial resembling the one on Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48); both were presumably once taller before being damaged.

Interior

The interior of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya consists of a single-domed chamber which is rectangular in plan with internal measurements of 6.9m wide by 8.1m long; the wall is 90cm thick. The ground of the chamber is at the same level as the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. It is mostly paved with large slabs (the biggest being 44cm by 140cm, while the smallest measures 26cm by 45cm) of dressed flagstones, which show a crisp sawcut edge and thus probably belong to a recent restoration. The chamber is covered by a hemispherical dome which sits on four huge, pointed arches. The arches spring from four square bases a mere 75-80 cm above the floor level. The massiveness of the arches allied to the low springing-points and the thickness of the walls combine to make the interior appear heavy and relatively small, especially if it is compared to the exterior. Why the masonry is so massive is hard to suggest, for the dome is comparatively shallow and modest in size. The recess of the northern arch is deeper than that of the other three, and it gives the impression of a small, narrow *ivan*. It is further marked out by having a low skewed recess cut at the point of the springing. Four pendentives at the four corners serve as a transitional zone for the dome. The lowest level of these pendentives is built of stone, the rest being constructed of a mixture of lime and mortar in the same way as the interior of the dome and the intrados of the four arches. As already described, there are eight windows in all—one double window in the east side, and two windows in each of the other three. The windows in the south side flank a simple undecorated concave *mihrab* situated at the centre of the wall. It is built of stone and has a semicircular arch and fluted semi-dome. The *mihrab* measures 73cm in width, 38cm in depth and 1.88m in height. In the walls to the west and north, a blind recess is flanked to either side by the two windows, and each is surmounted by an arch.

The Underground Vault

The underground vault is located directly beneath the domed chamber. Al-'Arif (1947: 79) referred to this place as a 'cavern' (*kahf*). The area is not mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili nor is there any hint in his biography that it was used as a place of retreat. It is here described as an 'underground vault' because of its architectural features and for lack of a precise definition.

The underground vault is reached through a rectangular opening measuring 94cm wide by 3m long found in the floor of the chamber at the south-eastern end. This opening leads to a staircase built in two sections. The first part is made up of eight steps and runs southwards; the second part consists of fourteen steps and runs westwards. The interior of the vault is rectangular in shape and measures 6.8m in width, c. 8m in length and 4m in height. It is covered by a cross vault supported on four piers springing directly from the corners of the area. The floor is uneven because part of it is still made up of the natural rock, which reaches a height of some 1.5m by 3m long. The rest of the floor is covered with flagstones. The walls of the vault and the roof

are plastered. It is interesting to note that even the rock has received a coating of plaster and this must have occurred some time ago, for the consistency of the plaster is thick, smooth and composed mainly of lime. More recent plaster usually contains a high percentage of concrete and sand. The walls of the vault are solid except to the south, where there are two slit recesses. The south one was probably used as a gutter to guide the rainwater from the roof of the chamber and the platform of the Dome of the Rock to this vault when it was used as a cistern. The western recess is blind. There is a *mihrab* in the vaulted chamber, with a decorated panel placed next to it against the wall that supports the second part of the lower level. The *mihrab* is slightly concave, and its apex is surmounted by a small, white marble arch, whose span is shorter than its radii. The arch, which was certainly once part of a larger decorative scheme, is in secondary use. It is carried on relatively massive marble cylindrical columns that lack either capital or base. To the east of the arch, a carved panel has been joined to it haphazardly; it is supported by the column of the arch to one side and by another similar column to the other side. Its main decoration is a carved shell surrounded by a band of reel volutes. The fragments are in the Crusader style, in particular the arch which to some extent resembles the one still *in situ* over the entrance of the cave below the Dome of the Rock, and another one found in the small *mihrab* located to the west of the main

mihrab of al-Masjid al-Aqsa.

Conclusion

It seems probable that some sort of structure occupied the site some time before the building of the present al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. Unfortunately, the sources are silent as to its nature and the inscription panel reveals nothing about its inception (*ansha*). Since the inscription panel clearly states that Muhammad the Governor constructed cisterns in the Haram, and because the form of the underground vault fits such a function, it is tempting to speculate that the vault (at the beginning at least) acted as one of these cisterns. Later, the cistern would have fallen into disuse, and the tradition connecting al-Khadr and al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Khalili, who used to live in the building, probably gained wide acceptance. Later still the traditional place of al-Khadr seems to have lost its importance, doubtless at first through neglect; it was then put to use as a storage place for the mosque from the time of Mujir al-Din (900/1494). It is perhaps as a result of these circumstances that tradition has moved the place of al-Khadr from a position near the north-west colonnade to this site. The addition of the *mihrab*, the elaborate lower level and the iron balustrade would have served to enhance the site, and to make it suitable for *ziyara* (visitation, pilgrimage).



Fig. 43.1 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, general view with main entrance.

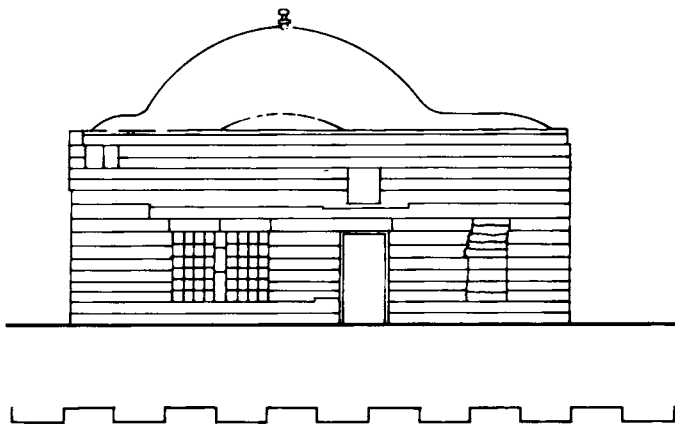


Fig. 43.1 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, elevation.

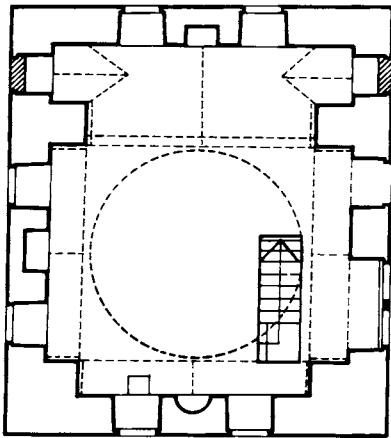


Fig. 43.2 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, ground plan.

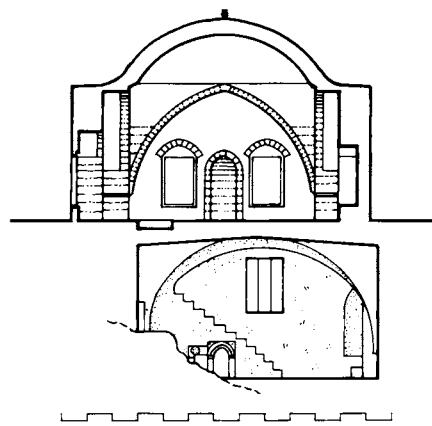


Fig. 43.3 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, section.

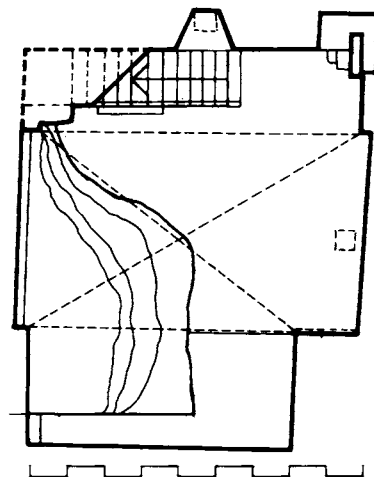


Fig. 43.4 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, basement plan.



Pl. 43.2 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, side view.



Pl. 43.4 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, interior with staircase.



Pl. 43.3 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, Crusader *spolia*.



Pl. 43.5 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, Crusader *spolia*.

44 SABIL AL-KHALIDI

Name: Sabil Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi

Date: 1125/1713

Endowment: Beginning of Rajab 1125/24 July 1713

Variants of name: Sabil Daraj al-'Ain, Sabil Khatt (Street) Da'ud

Modern name: Sabil Daraj al-'Ain

Location

The *sabil* is located to the north of Tariq Bab al-Silsila immediately east of its junction with the stepped street (Daraj al-'Ain) leading up from Tariq al-Wad.

Site and brief description (figs. 44.1–44.2, pls. 44.1–44.4)

Sabil al-Khalidi is situated in an area which, by long tradition, has been associated with a number of architectural projects. A series of archaeological excavations undertaken from 1967 onwards below the present level of the street of Bab al-Silsila and below the western wall of the Haram have revealed traces of structures dating from the Roman to the late Mamluk periods. In the Ottoman period a series of dwelling houses were built on both sides of the street, and apparently in particular above Mamluk monuments. The site is still flanked to the west by the street called Daraj al-'Ain, and to the south by the main thoroughfare of Bab al-Silsila; when it was constructed in 1125/1713, it was bordered to the north by an unrecorded building then used as a stable, and to the east by a shop and by the house of the donor. The door to the *sabil* is in the western façade, opposite the eastern elevation of al-Turba al-Jaliqiyya which dates to 707/1307. The *sabil* is a simple structure. It consists of a single room that is almost square in plan and is covered by a barrel vault. A door in the western wall gives access to the interior. Two window openings with simple grilles in the south wall once allowed water to be distributed to thirsty passers-by. Some time ago the *sabil* ceased to operate, and it now does not function as a public fountain but is used as a storage place by the Khalidi family. A plan to reconstitute it as a working fountain is under consideration.

History

Identification

The *sabil* can be identified with certainty as dating to the Ottoman period by virtue of an unpublished *waqfiyya*¹ (Sijill 208:105), first identified as such by Natsheh (1980: 20). Al-'Asali (1982: 283) followed Natsheh in listing the *sabil* as Ottoman.

Date

No foundation inscription for the *sabil* survives, but a recessed panel measuring 30cm wide and 30cm high still exists in the south wall of the fountain and can be presumed to have once contained a plaque with a commemorative inscription. The *waqfiyya* implies that shortly before its date—which is at the beginning of Rajab 1125/24 July 1713—a shop owned by one Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi had been converted into a public fountain and furnished with a marble trough. The tentative 16th-century date given to the fountain ten years ago (Natsheh

1980: 20) has thus since proved to be incorrect.

Founder

The *waqf* document (Sijill 208: 105) gives the name of the founder as *mafkar al-'ulama' wa'l-mudarris al-'Azam* Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi, son of the deceased Khalil Efendi al-Khalidi. Both the family name and the laudatory titles of the founder and his father make it obvious that Muhammad San'allah was one of the prominent citizens of Jerusalem in his era. The founder belonged to a leading Palestinian family whose roots date back—according to the *waqfiyya*—to the first years of Islam and to a Companion of the Prophet, Khalid ibn al-Walid. The Khalidi family exercised a vital role in the public and intellectual life of Palestine and Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, and its members have held many important positions, particularly in later Ottoman times.²

The Waqf Document

Two original *waqfiyyas* of relevance are found in the Jerusalem *sijills*; the first (Sijill 208:105) concerns the *sabil*, where its date is given as the beginning of Rajab 1125/24 July 1713. The second document relates to the estates of Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi which he made a *waqf*; it is dated the middle of Dhu 'l-Hijja 1136/4 September 1724. Both *waqfiyyas* are of considerable importance, as they contain the only information relating to the fountain discovered so far. The *waqfiyya* concerning the *sabil* is a short one, consisting of some three hundred and twenty words. It includes all the most essential information, such as a description of the building and its boundaries, the terms of the endowment, details concerning the personnel and their duties, the purpose of the construction and other details. The second *waqfiyya* (Sijill 218: 470) is longer, containing about two thousand five hundred words. As already stated, it is concerned with the whole estate of Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi. It is necessary here only to report on the information related directly to the *sabil*.

Purpose of Construction

The founder made the *sabil* a *waqf* 'explicitly and sincerely for the countenance of almighty Allah, in his wish for the great rewards. The *sayyids* (gentlemen), and all people (*nas*)—whether arriving early or in a hurry (*al-sayyad wa'l-warid wa'l-ba'dir wa'l-hadir*), resident or non-resident—are permitted to drink from this fountain' (Sijill 208: 105).

Description of the Building

The building is described in the document as 'the whole shop situated in al-Quds al-Sharif in Da'ud Street, bordered by the public road to the south onto which open the two windows of the *sabil*, by a *waqf* shop belonging to the sons of al-Ja'uni to the east, by a stable belonging to Muhammad son of Sa'd al-Din to the north, and by the road which leads to the Gate of Bab al-Qattanin to the west, in which there is the door of the *sabil*.' The description still bears a remarkable similarity to the current position of the *sabil* (see above).

Endowment

Various estates are specified in the *waqfiyya* (Sijill 218: 470) of Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi as an endowment to provide income for the maintenance of the estates of the *waqf* itself, and

¹ I am deeply grateful to Miss Haifa' al-Khalidi for providing me with a copy of the *waqfiyya* for the *sabil* (Sijill 208: 105) and with another copy of the *waqfiyya* of Shaikh San'allah al-Khalidi (Sijill 218: 470ff).

² For more details of the biography of this family in the late Ottoman period see Manna' (1986: 132–56).

for the running costs of the *sabil*, among many other donations and assignments. The estates were scattered in different parts of the Old City of Jerusalem. The list is made up of twelve houses, five shops, one vegetable garden, and of shares of varying percentages in three houses, two vegetable gardens, a shop, a soap-factory, a bakery, and the vault of the big 'roaster', where nuts and coffee beans were toasted. All these estates were fully described and registered in the *sijills* in seven *waqf* documents of various dates. The first is dated 18 Shawwal 1123/29 November 1711 and the last is dated 12 Shawwal 1136/4 July 1724.

Personnel and maintenance

From the income provided by the *waqf* already mentioned, the caretaker had to allocate the money needed to pay the cost of the water, the copper cups and their tinning (*tabyid*), and the repair of the *sabil* whenever it was in need of restoration (Sijill 218, 470). In addition to this, the caretaker had to appoint two persons, each with specific terms and duties, to maintain the *sabil*. The first was a water-carrier who was to be paid two Egyptian coins per day to provide the *sabil* with water continuously—and if he needed more money the caretaker was to give it to him 'without any hindrance' (Sijill 208: 105). The second employee was given the job of serving and illuminating the *sabil* for seven Egyptian coins per month (Sijill 218: 470). He had to open the *sabil* each morning and close it in the evening (Sijill 208: 105); he also had to illuminate it by hanging oil lanterns outside the building above the recessed niche every night (Sijill 218: 470) between sunset (*maghrib*) and evening (*'isha*). The donor also allocated eight Egyptian coins per month to buy oil for the lighting of the *sabil* (Sijills 208: 105; 218: 470).

Architecture

The southern façade is the main one. It consists of a simple recess measuring 70cm in depth and 1.9m in width, and once contained a trough which is now missing. The recess is surmounted by a pointed arch set in a rectangular stone block. The arch springs from the two sides of the block, and is constructed of red, black, and yellow stones. A moulding frames the extrados of the voussoirs and extends to the point from which the arch springs where it turns to run horizontally to the edge of the *sabil*. The section to the east is missing. The inner face of the moulding is formed of a reel carving of octahedral geometrical shapes. The arch moulding is inlaid with four small square *tesserae* of blue faience at the point of the springing and on the haunch. At the rear of the recess, two identical rectangular windows, each measuring 58cm wide and 1.15m high, are built of *ablaq* masonry. The windows are provided with simple grilles, and surmounted by a slab lintel. The course that is set directly above the lintel is decorated by a carving in relief, with a five-pointed star suspended from the centre. A recessed panel that was presumably intended to hold a monumental inscription is placed at the centre of the tympanum of the arch. The uppermost stone in both the east and the west sides of the upper course of the rectangular wall is decorated by an incised geometrical pattern.

[Editorial note: Although at first sight identical, these two stones vary slightly. In both, the centre is in the form of a star, one with eight points, the other with twelve. In each, the 'points' of the stars are negative spaces, cut between the ribs which are left in reserve to mark the lines of the pattern. These interstices are deeply recessed, the sides of each space being cut at an angle to

derive maximum benefit from the effect of light and shade. From this central motif, the design in each example radiates outwards. The stone with the eight-pointed star develops into an octagon, as might be expected, formed of two intersecting squares; this is set within a circular frame. The space between this circle and the corner of the outer square frame is filled by three ribs, which form another star.

As already explained, the motif of the stone with the twelve-pointed star also develops outwards from the centre. In this pattern, there are three 'layers' of irregular lozenge-shaped spaces between the ribs. The tips of these lozenges touch the framing circular inner frame. In this pattern, the gap between the circumference of the circle and the square outer frame is treated in the same way as the first stone, with ribs forming small subsidiary stars.

The similarities and differences between the two decorated stones, which are probably the work of a single skilled craftsman, produce for the viewer a pleasing exercise in contemplation. SA]

The west elevation faces onto the street called Tariq Daraj al-'Ain. It is an elevation of plain masonry constructed of a different type of stones to those of the recessed arch panel of the southern façade, in that they are large, very roughly dressed, and are irregularly arranged. This indicates firstly that the recessed panel is the principal addition built by Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi when he converted the shop to a *sabil*, and secondly that it is probable that the stones of the western elevation belong to an earlier structure, for they resemble the fabric of the eastern elevation of al-Turba al-Jaliqiyya which dates to 707/1307 (see Burgoyne 1987: 187). A door opens in the lower part of this elevation. It has been reduced in size at some time recently and now measures 78cm wide and 1.3m high. The uppermost courses of the stones are concealed by a later vault spanning the street of Daraj al-'Ain. The similarity of the masonry between the western elevation of the *sabil* and the rest of the wall that extends to the north points to the fact that both belong to the same structure. This must have been built before the vault and the recessed panel of the *sabil* and probably dates to the late Mamluk period.

The interior of Sabil al-Khalidi is a rectangular room measuring 1.75m wide by 2.8m long, and is flanked to the north and east by unrecorded structures described briefly in the *waqf* document and probably constructed at the same time. The room is covered by a cross vault and it is now filled with unused belongings.

Features

Sabil al-Khalidi is of the double-window type, identical in most of its architectural features to Sabil al-Shurbaji which dates to 1097/1685 (cat. no. 40). It is also similar from the point of view of the way it was run and its location in a main thoroughfare for the majority of people coming and going in the Old City. As already shown, two main phases of construction contributed to the building. The first was the establishment of the shop and the building adjoining it; this probably took place in the Mamluk period. The second is the erection of the recessed arch panel which was undertaken by the donor Muhammad San'allah al-Khalidi in 1125/1713 or shortly before; between these two phases the vault spanning the street of Daraj al-'Ain must have been constructed.

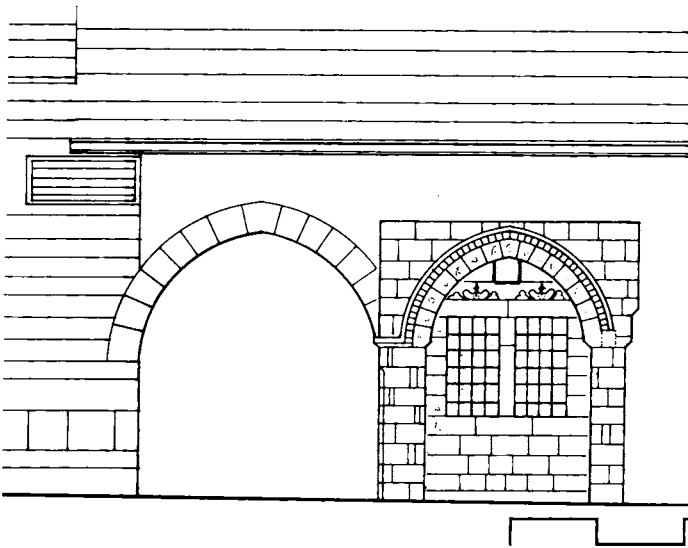


Fig. 44.1 Sabil al-Khalidi, elevation.

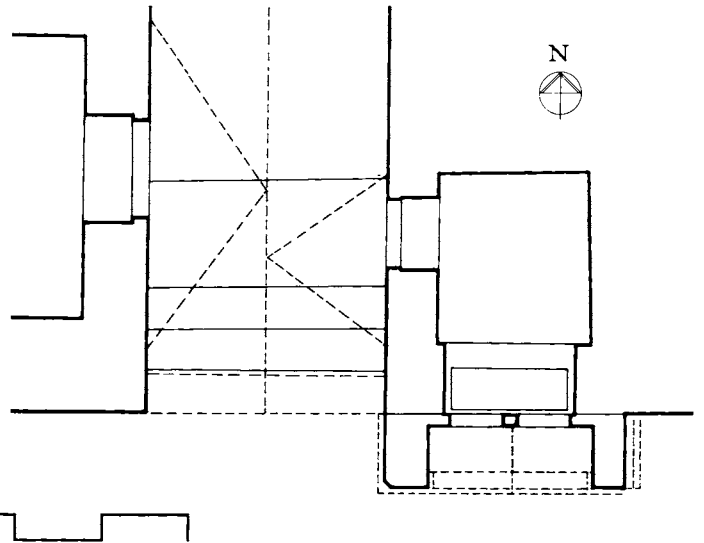
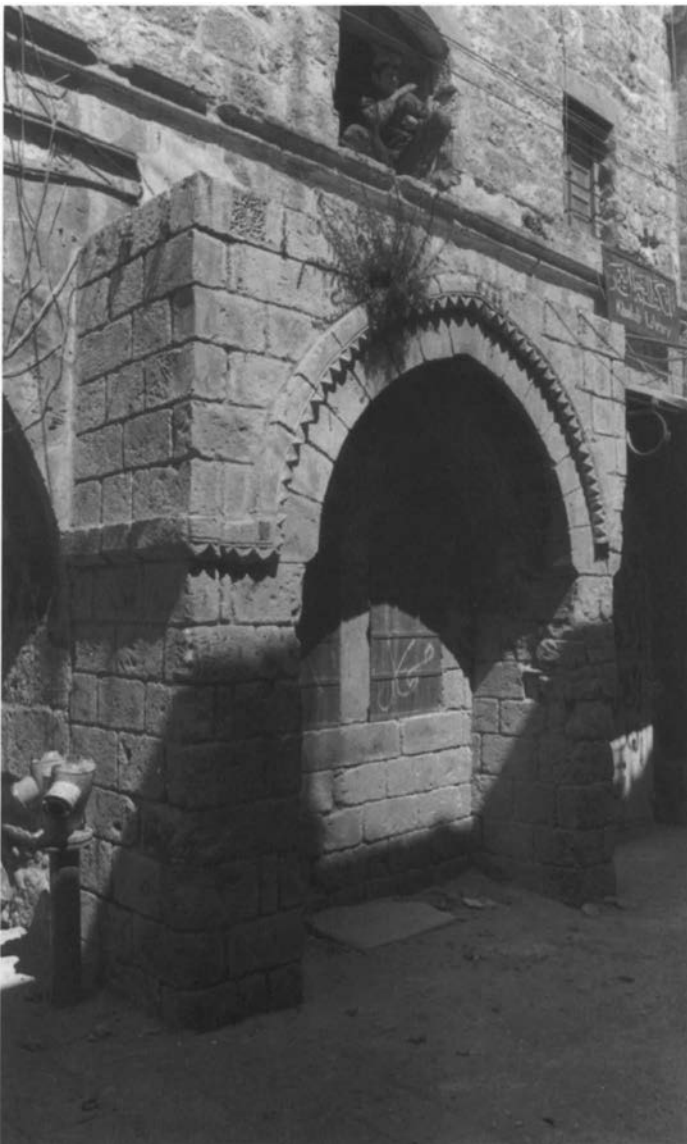


Fig. 44.2 Sabil al-Khalidi, ground plan.



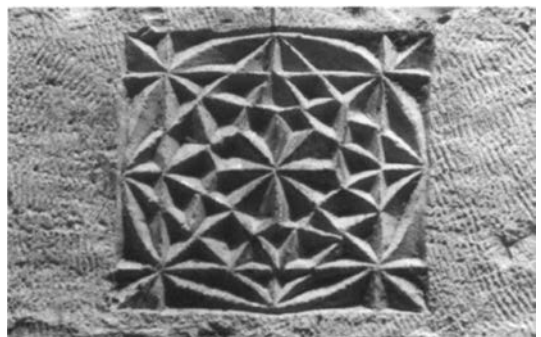
Pl. 44.1 Sabil al-Khalidi, close-up side view.



Pl. 44.2 Sabil al-Khalidi, general view with adjoining buildings.



Pl. 44.3 Sabil al-Khalidi, decorative panel.



Pl. 44.4 Sabil al-Khalidi, decorative panel.

45 SABIL AL-HUSAINI

Name: Sabil al-Husaini

Date: 1137/1724-5

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None is known, but the fountain may once have been called 'Sabil al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya'

Modern name: None known

Location

The *sabil* was formerly located on the northern façade of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya (The Dome of the Grammarian), dated 604/1207-8, on the south-western corner of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock.

Site and brief description (pls. 45.1-45.4)

The fountain was to be found at the corner where the eastern side of the dome chamber of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya meets the western side of the *riwaq* of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya. The monument is no longer standing but architectural traces allow a plausible reconstruction.

History

Identification

A terracotta plaque identifies the former *sabil* and dates it to the Ottoman period.

Date

The foundation inscription measures 60cm wide by 50cm and contains two verses of Arabic poetry. It gives the date of construction as 1137/1724-5, both in numerical form—contained within a small cartouche in the centre of the bottom line of the plaque—and by way of a chronogram, in the second hemistich of the last verse. The inscription was published by van Berchem (1925: 66-7), and was listed by Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 16), under the title 'Construction of a cistern'. The inscription panel is attached to the upper section of the northern side of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya. The elegant script is a type of Ottoman *naskh*—it is well written, slender and interspersed with diacritical and auxiliary points. The script itself is surrounded by four rectangular cartouches with lobed ends that surround a central medallion with a five-petalled rosette, and the plaque has a border of triangles which also surround small empty cartouches to each side of the central date. The translation runs as follows:

1. Hasan, son of al-Dani al-Husaini, has constructed it (the *sabil*)

For the repose of the soul of al-Husain, Oh you who descend to the water!

2. Ibrahim has said, in order to date it (the chronogram) 'Would that healing should show itself vigorously to those who come to drink of it' In the year 1137 (1724-5).

The name 'al-Dani' contained within the first line was read by van Berchem as 'al-Day', but he noted its peculiarity, and he proposed an alternative reading of either 'al-Da'y' or 'al-Dani'. On the basis of a *siyill* (see Founder below) it can now be confirmed that 'al-Dani' is indeed the correct form. The 'Husain' mentioned in the second hemistich is the son of 'Ali ibn 'Abi Talib, the martyr of Karbala.

The final problem is the identity of the 'Ibrahim' who appears in the first hemistich of the second line. There are three possibilities—first that it was a name chosen at random to conform to the requirements of the verse; secondly, that he was the person who composed the verses; or thirdly, that the name has another, as yet unrecognised, implication.

Founder

Nothing has been published about the donor, but while examining the proceedings recorded in the *siyill* for the year of construction (1137/1724-5), many records bearing the name of the founder came to light. Two of these records have a direct bearing on the activities of the founder in Jerusalem, and the others mention his name in his capacity as *qadi* of Jerusalem. The first relevant record is registered on the binding of *Sijill* 220:1 dated the beginning of Safar 1137/20 October 1724. It concerns the inauguration of the donor as the new *qadi* of Jerusalem. The second record (220:145-6) is a *waqfiyya* for the renovation of nine *kanafat* (singular *kanif*, latrine) and a water basin for ablutions. These were for the benefit of the Haram and the Malikiyya mosque attendants, together with the *mujawirun* (students) on the Haram. They were located outside the precinct, in the vicinity of al-Madrasa (al-Khanqah) al-Fakhariyya to the west of the Haram. The full name of the donor appears in the records as '*al-sayyid* (the gentleman, the title given to the direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) Hasan Efendi Dani Zada al-Husaini', with many long and distinguished epithets, in particular those connecting him to the Family of the Prophet, such as *al-shajara al-tahira al-zakiyya* (the chaste, the pure of lineage).

Purpose of Building

The primary purpose of the structure was to provide visitors to the Haram with water, an act of piety recognised as a form of *sadaqat jariyya* (a permanent charity). It is also, however, the implication of the foundation inscription that the provision of water was of secondary importance, and that the *sabil* was constructed in the first place for the benefit of the soul of al-Husain. That would mean that whoever drank from the fountain had to recite the Fatiha (Qur'an I) or other prayers for al-Husain. Al-Husain is considered by all Muslims, Sunnis in general and the Shi'a in particular, as the greatest example of bravery and self-discipline. Thus the monument, although it fulfilled a practical function, also acted both as a memorial and as a monument to the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants through al-Husaini, and it was therefore unique among the *sabils* on the Haram.

Architecture

Although the *sabil* has now been demolished, it is possible to see a groove in the paving stones showing the position of the wall, as well as the location of a possible impost that once supported the springing of two of the four arches on the north-western corner. In addition, above the inscription panel on the northern wall and on the adjoining eastern wall of al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya, there are traces of two pointed arches. These clues point to the original form of the structure of the *sabil* from which it is possible to reconstruct its original appearance. The fountain was a small one-unit building, square in plan, and built of stone. It probably consisted of a stone base, which held a trough for the water, and which was surrounded by four columns which in turn supported four pointed arches. Another possibility would be a structure with two columns in the front or north side and imbedded columns on

the back wall, for there seems to be evidence of an incorporated column in the corner. Two of these arches would have been arranged to span the northern and eastern sides respectively. The arches to south and west were presumably integrated into the western and southern walls, for some traces can still be seen there.



Pl. 45.1 Sabil al-Husain, traces of arches on the site of the vanished *sabil*.

A small shallow hemispherical dome or cross vault was probably built over the four walls of the *sabil*. If this reconstruction is correct it means that to some extent the Sabil al-Husaini resembled the Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48).



Pl. 45.3 Sabil al-Husaini, wall adjoining al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya with traces of arch.



Pl. 45.4 Sabil al-Husain, grooves in pavement on site of vanished *sabil* indicating where it stood.



Pl. 45.2 Sabil al-Husain, inscription.

46 KHALWAT AL-DAJANI

Name: Khalwat al-Dajani

Date: 1138/1725-6

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: Al-‘Iyada al-Tibbiyya (the Health Clinic).

Location

Khalwat al-Dajani is located to the west of the Dome of the Rock terrace on the level of the Haram esplanade, between the west colonnade (340/951-2) and the south-western colonnade (877/1472).

Function

The foundation inscription calls the site a *makan* (place); this general term applies to sites with different uses. Perhaps the main aim of the sponsor, al-Dajani, was to set a building—any building—on this coveted site. But its simple layout, the existence of a *mihrab*, and its location within the Haram all suggest that the main purpose of the *makan* was as a place of religious teaching or to serve the Sufi community. Although its size is relatively large with respect to other *khalwas* on the Haram, this function is the one opted for here; hence the reference to it in what follows as a *khalwa*. Even its form is unusual compared to other examples, for it is rectangular rather than square, and it consists of a single level, while the other *khalwas* in the sanctuary comprise two levels. Above all, the decorative elements are very modest.

Site and brief description (figs. 46.1–46.2, pls. 46.1–46.6)

The *khalwa*, which is on the lower level of the esplanade, is bordered by the west side of the Dome of the Rock terrace to the east, and by the south wall of Sihrij al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa (607/1210–11) to the north. A photograph published by Gauthier-van Berchem and Ory (1982; a copy of the photograph is reproduced) shows that a building, which is now no longer in existence, was then abutting the south elevation. It was probably dismantled by the Supreme Muslim Council in the 1920s, although this hypothesis is not supported by any documentation. The main façade of the *khalwa* faces west towards Sabil Qa’itbai (887/1482) while the southern elevation is opposite the South-West Khalwa (cat. no. 53).

Khalwat al-Dajani consists of a single rectangular prayer-chamber, covered by two simple cross vaults, each with a small saucer dome in the centre. A simple *mihrab* niche is set in the middle of the south wall. Since 1988 the *khalwa* has been used as a first aid clinic for visitors to the Haram.

History

Identification

An inscription plaque above the door of the *khalwa* identifies the building as dating to the Ottoman period. Although Khalwat al-Dajani is one of the five *khalwas* out of the total of fifteen on the Haram to have a foundation inscription, surprisingly it does not feature either in contemporary or in more recent references. Its absence from the careful records of van Berchem is particularly difficult to understand, particularly in view of his inclusion of a more difficult—because hidden—inscription in the vicinity, that is the inscription on the cistern of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa (van Berchem 1925: 68–70). Van Berchem took a photograph of a general view of the whole façade of the area located between the

western and south-western colonnades. It is just possible to see the outline of the recessed panel which now encloses the inscription plaque in the photograph, which was published by Gauthier-van Berchem and Ory (1982: 70). However, the view was taken from some distance and the results are unfortunately not clear enough to be sure that the panel then included the inscription or if it was merely a blank recess.

Al-Saddiqi (cited by al-‘Asali 1992: 294), recording the diary of his journey to Jerusalem in 1122/1710, writes that ‘during the second night and the night after it we met in al-Khalwa al-Dajani in the Haram where we held a discussion ...’ The fact that this was fifteen years before the date of its foundation as recorded by the inscription causes some confusion. The question is whether al-Saddiqi, who visited Jerusalem many times between 1122/1710 and 1152/1739 and stayed for a long time (al-‘Asali 1992: 109), made a mistake about the date, or perhaps confused his notes. Another possibility may be that a *khalwa* of the same name existed previously and was later rebuilt in 1138/1725–6.

Date

The date of the *khalwa* (*makan*) is given in two ways—first, by a chronogram which is included at the end of the last line of the foundation inscription and has a numerical value of 1138; and second, by way of numbers written in a special cartouche below the last line of the inscription. The unpublished inscription plaque is set into the west façade, two courses above the door lintel. It is of stone and measures 36cm wide and 48cm high. It consists of three lines of Arabic written in a fine, compressed Ottoman *naskhi* script contained within six rectangular cartouches divided by fillet borders. There are both diacritical and auxiliary points. The complete Arabic text is to be found in Cat. Appendix 2 (no. 46), and the translation runs as follows:

1. ‘Abd al-Hayy whose grandfather is al-Dajani came to be the builder of this place.
2. It has been founded on devoutness ... and it is erected without hesitation for the sake of God.
3. Give a date for it (the chronogram)—what a fine construction! Its reward is the heights of Paradise.
4. Year 1138 (1725–6).

Founder

The Dajani family are among the leading families of Jerusalem and Palestine as a whole; they were entrusted with various offices and positions in the Maqam al-Nabi Da‘ud (Tomb of David) among others (see cat. no. 1). ‘Abd al-Hayy al-Dajani seems to have been a prominent figure in Jerusalem in the early 18th century. A document dated 19 Rajab 1137/3 April 1725 in Sijill 220: 73 states that the *qadi* had appointed Fathallah, Muhammad, and Salih, the sons of ‘Abd al-Hayy Efendi al-Dajani, respectively to the positions of caretaker, inspector, and *mashyakha* of the Madrasa al-Muzhiriyya.¹ They were to share the income from these positions equally. From his titles, *mafkar al-sadat al-‘ulama* (the pride of the extolled scholars) and *efendi*, it is obvious that at the time ‘Abd al-Hayy was a famous scholar in Jerusalem, as were perhaps his sons.

Architecture

A stone buttress measuring 67cm wide by 1.06m long by 2.6m

¹ For details of al-Madrasa al-Muzhiriyya, see Burgoyne (1987: 579–89).

high divides the main western façade into two sections. The stones of the buttress, although all are white, are of differing quality and they are bigger in size than those of the *khawwa* itself. One of the stones of the buttress carries a mason's mark which would suggest that it is in secondary use. The only entrance to the Khalwat al-Dajani is in the northern part of the west façade. It is a simple door measuring 80cm wide by 1.6m high and it is surmounted by a simple arch made up of three voussoirs. A rectangular window measuring 79cm wide and 1.2m high is placed to the south of the door; it is surmounted by a slab lintel, and is fitted with a wire mesh grille. The masonry courses in this part are finely dressed with a very smooth surface. Four courses above, there is a small slit window opening measuring 22cm by 50cm. It is to its north above the arch of the door that the inscription plaque mentioned above is located. The courses of masonry above the level of the arches of the door and the window show a different type of dressing. The surface of the stone here is roughly faceted, for it has been dressed with a pointed sharp-headed chisel. The contrast of the dressing suggests that the upper part was either rebuilt at some time or that the stone is in secondary use. If the former alternative is correct, it raises the question of whether the inscription plaque is in its original site, or whether it too is in secondary use like the rest of the stone at this level. It would seem that this second suggestion is the more likely as an explanation for its otherwise inexplicable absence from the records of van Berchem, discussed above, especially as its present position is in no sense hidden.

Two rectangular windows are placed in the south part of the west façade, each window measuring 83cm in width by 1.35cm in height. They are fitted with a simple iron grille, covered today by a wire mesh grille. The windows are surmounted by lintels, and the course that is set directly above them has a pseudo-arch which takes the shape of an eye-brow. The southern elevation is a solid undecorated wall using different types and sizes of stone which have been dressed with varied techniques; this probably means that they were assembled rather than quarried. The upper two courses to the west and south serve as a parapet for the building instead of the usual cornice.

Interior

The interior of Khalwat al-Dajani consists of a rectangular prayer-chamber with an internal measurement of 6m wide by 7.7m long. The floor of the chamber is raised 50cm above the level of the Haram, for it is at the same level as the platform that precedes it. The chamber was paved in 1988 with modern stone slabs 30cm square. The depth of the west wall is 80cm, and, as described above, the door and the window are placed in its north part, both being expressed on the inside by a semicircular arch and scallop at their summit. Each opening of the double window is surmounted on the interior by a triple arch which springs from an impost decorated with a frame moulding, and from the wall. A square blind recessed niche (40cm by 40cm) is centred above the two arches.

A simple undecorated *mihrab* is situated in the centre of the south wall. It is built of stone but has been recently plastered, and it has a shallow semicircular arch and scallop. The *mihrab* measures 58cm in width, 41cm in depth and 1.53m in height. It is surmounted by a piece of stone *cyma recta* moulding that measures 13cm in width and 60cm in length. The *mihrab* is flanked on either side by a blind recess. The one to the west measures 14cm in depth, 60cm in width and 1m in height, whereas the eastern niche measures 50cm in depth, 65cm in

width and 1.05m in height. Both recesses begin 26cm above ground level. The east and north faces are unbroken walls apart from a blind recess in each; the eastern one measures 72cm in depth, 1m in height and 1.1m in length, while the northern recess measures 55cm in depth, 1.35m in width and 77cm in height. The interior of the prayer-chamber is made up of two parts; each part is covered by a simple cross vault with a very shallow saucer dome in the centre. The vault and the dome are clumsily finished, probably as a result of a recent replastering in 1988 when the building was repaired to house the Health Clinic, and both are whitewashed.

Conclusion

The evidence presented above suggests that the date and the correct identification of this monument depend in the main on the inscription plaque situated above the door. The authenticity of the plaque itself and the identity of the founder are beyond doubt, but the problems raised relate to its position. Is the plaque in its original site or is it here in re-use? The layout and the simplicity of the building would both tend to point to a belief that it is *in situ*, but it is very difficult to understand why, if this is so, it was not published by van Berchem. If the assumption that the plaque can be believed is correct, this would make the *khawwa* the first to be built by a local Jerusalem scholar—for all the others were constructed by Ottoman officials. In any case, the building clearly demonstrates a decline in both quantity and quality in the formal building work by the Ottomans, particularly when it is compared to the work done in the city in the 16th and 17th centuries. The simplicity and the very limited dated examples² of 18th-century buildings which have survived or have so far been identified in Jerusalem make it impossible to produce a proper analysis of symptomatic architectural features.

² To date six public buildings have been identified as belonging to the 18th century. These are: al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (cat. no. 43), Sabil al-Khalidi (cat. no. 44), Sabil al-Husaini (cat. no. 45), Mihrab Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 47), Sabil Mustafa Agha (cat. no. 48), and the building under discussion. If one considers the simplicity and the small size of the three *sabils* and of the Mihrab of Ahmad Qullari, this means that what remains is only a single building of any importance—namely al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. This makes it hard to establish the features of local 18th-century buildings; the lack of material scarcity permits it. It is hoped that in the near future research into the *siyills* will allow an identification and dating of 18th-century buildings that still survive in Jerusalem.

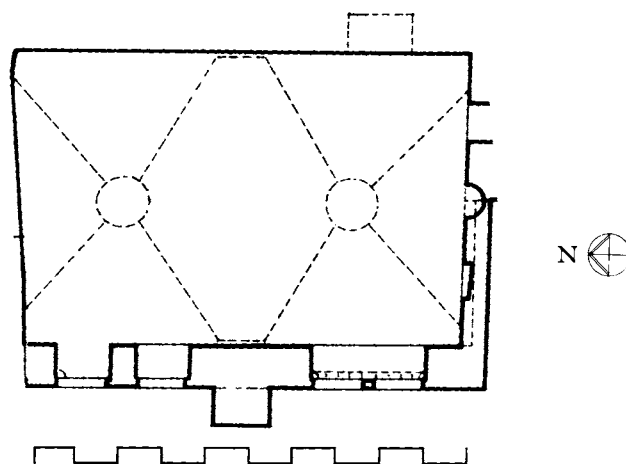


Fig. 46.1 Khalwat al-Dajani, ground plan.



Pl. 46.1 Khalwat al-Dajani, general view from above c.1910 (photograph Max van Berchem).



Pl. 46.2 Khalwat al-Dajani, main façade.

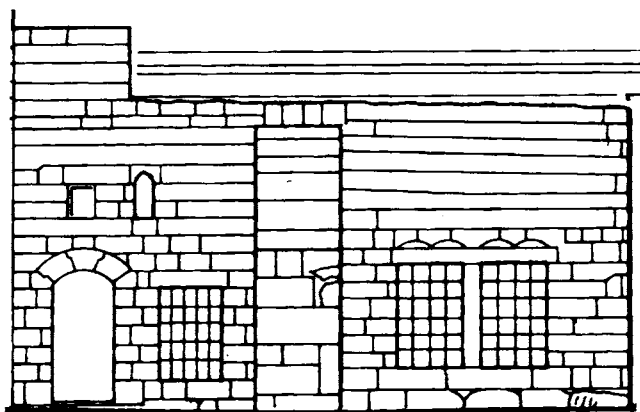


Fig. 46.2 Khalwat al-Dajani, front elevation.



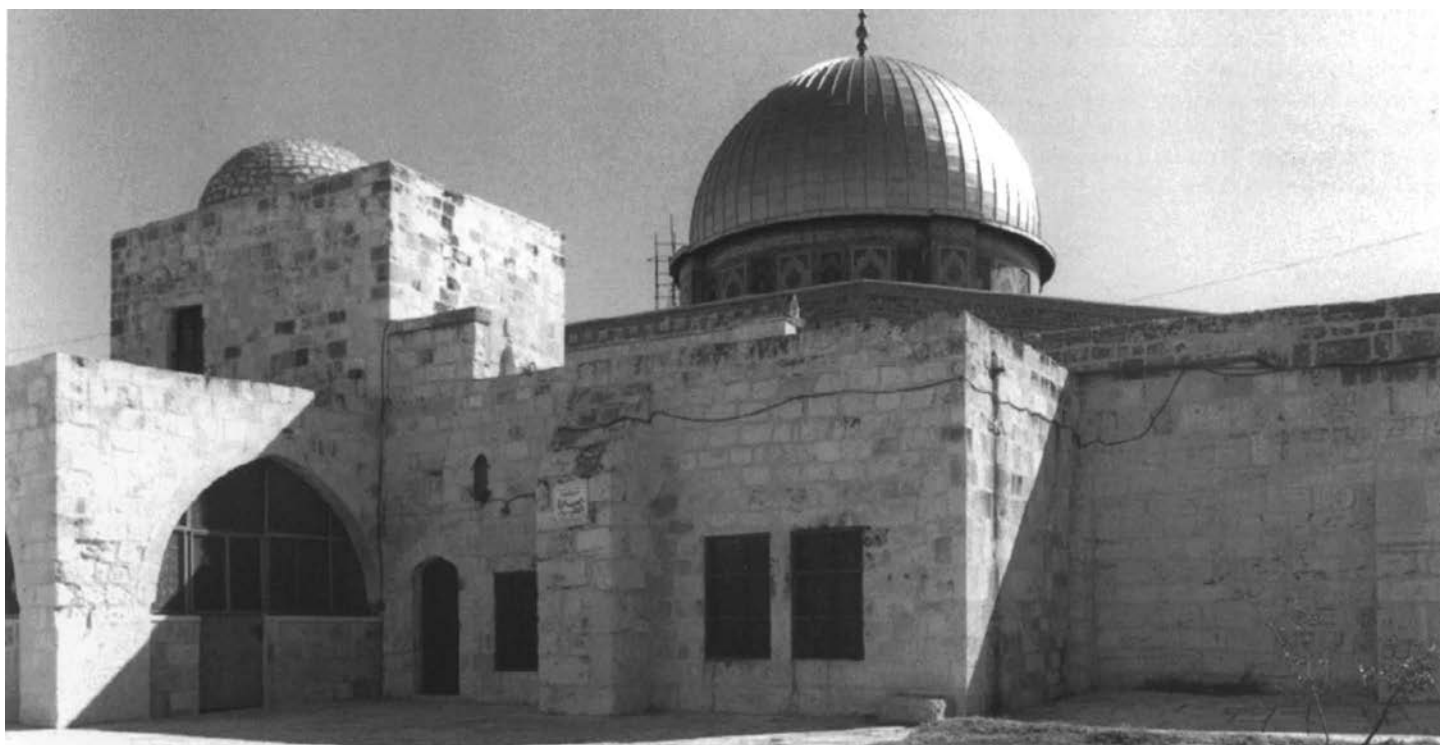
Pl. 46.3 Khalwat al-Dajani, mason's mark.



Pl. 46.5 Khalwat al-Dajani, interior with decorative doorway.



Pl. 46.6 Khalwat al-Dajani, inscription.



Pl. 46.4 Khalwat al-Dajani, view with Dome of Rock in background.

47 MIHRAB AHMAD QULLARI

Name: Mihrab Ahmad Qullari ('The soldier')

Date: 1174 /1760-1

Endowment: None known

Variants of name: The monument has been known by several different names over the years. The foundation inscription (see below) defines it as al-Maqam al-Sharif ('The Noble Station'), but this name seems to be obscure and does not appear elsewhere in any of the known references. An alternative name is Mastabat al-Tin ('the Platform of Figs') which, according to van Berchem (1925: 198), was first given to the site by Sauvaire, apparently after a fig tree which gave it shade. In support of this theory, Landau (1979: 45) published a photograph from the collection of the University Library of Istanbul which shows what seems to be a fig tree growing to the north of the site.¹ A third name, used most recently, is Mastabat al-Tin ('the Mud Platform'); this is a misnomer which doubtless is the result of replacing the Arabic letter *tā'* with *ṭā'* when it was transliterated from English to Arabic (al-Husaini 1977: 21). Other names that have been given the monument are Mihrab Mastabat al-Tin ('the Prayer Niche of the Platform of Figs'), and Mihrab Ahmad, cited by van Berchem (1925: 197), and Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 18).

The definition *musalla*, meaning a raised platform with a *mihrab*, is given by van Berchem (1925: 197).

Recent scholars have alluded to the monument as Mastabat al-Tin ('Mud Platform') (al-Husaini 1977: 21; Najm *et al.* 1983: 381, and Taha 1988: 59). Van Berchem (1925: 198), Burgoyne (1976: no.147), Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 18), Drory (1980 10: 64), Bahat (1989: 112), Bieberstein and Burgoyne (1992: no.198), and Bieberstein and Bloedhorn (1994 3: 65) all refer to the site as Mastabat al-Tin ('Platform of Figs').

Location

The *mihrab* or *musalla* is to be found between Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2) and Qubbat Musa, almost opposite Bab al-Silsila and the Ashrafiyya Madrasa to the west, and the south-western *qanair* (colonnade) to the east. The *mihrab* is surrounded on all sides by paved footpaths at the level of the Haram esplanade and consists of a square *mastaba* of dressed stone with the *mihrab* placed at the centre of the southern side.

History

Identification

The *mihrab* is identified by inscription, and since the *mihrab* is integral to the *mastaba* itself, it seems feasible to view them as a single structure and to see the inscription as serving as a means of identification for both the *mastaba* and the *mihrab*.

Date

A handsome marble plaque measuring 32cm by 35cm is placed above the arch of the *mihrab* and provides the date 1174/1760-1.

The inscription is written in a fine *naskhi* script in old Ottoman Turkish. It is arranged in four lines, each set in a cartouche that terminates in a single cusp. Each line of script is separated by a plain narrow fillet carved in relief. The letters are written in correct proportion to each other. On occasion, the elegant curve of a *ra* or *waw*, as well as the slant-cut terminals to some of the *hastae*, break into the raised divisions between the cartouches, adding to the feel of opulent generosity of the script. Diacritical and auxiliary points as well as decorative calligraphic flourishes fill the spaces between the words. There can be no doubt that a master craftsman both designed and carved the inscription.²

Founder

Ahmad Qullari was one of the militia of Sultan Mustafa III (1171-88/1757-74) and it was he who undertook the repair of the monument. Van Berchem (1925: 198) is certainly correct in his opinion that the use of the word *ta'miri* (repair) in the foundation inscription indicates that Ahmad Qullari's contribution was merely one of restoration. Unfortunately, no clue as to the origins of the monument, presumed to have been built during the Mamluk period, is to be found in the writings of Mujir al-Din (1973).

Architecture

The *mastaba*, which is square in plan, measures 8.8m by 8.5m. It is raised some 30-40cm above the level of the Haram esplanade. It is both built of, and paved with, the same dressed, white stone slabs. These vary in size and have weathered to grey or black. The majority of the slabs are medium sized (50cm by 40cm), but the largest is 50cm by 1.8m whereas the smallest measures 13 cm by 20 cm. Access to the *mastaba* is possible from the east, north and west, but the most convenient approach is by way of the centre of the western side where there is a small step (85cm by 40cm by 40cm). The southern side is marked by an additional course of stonework which rises above the level of the dais and is finished with a dressed, rounded summit. This course serves as a decorative frame to add emphasis to the *mihrab* and extends to the corners at the southeast (3m) and southwest (3.4m) of the *mastaba*.

The form of the *mihrab* is concave (*mujawwaf*) surrounded by a rectangular block measuring 1.12m by 2m built of dressed white stone, some of which has now weathered to black. The apex of the *mihrab* is in the form of a scallop and is surmounted by a pointed arch; the upper voussoirs of this arch are somewhat clumsily finished. The foundation inscription already described is found above the keystone of the arch, and immediately over it there is a framing cornice that projects forward to surround the *mihrab* on all four sides. The cornice is conceived in two sections; the lower section is chamfered to match the niche's scallop and is separated from the vertical upper section by a thin incised moulding. The block of the *mihrab* is undecorated and off-centre; the sides and back of the block are built of the same quality of stone as the façade and are equally undecorated, being simple, solid walls.

¹ Travellers refer to different species of trees that grew in the Haram during the Ottoman period. The most common of these were olives, figs and grapevines. Fig trees are mentioned in particular by al-'Ayyashi and al-Madani, both of whom were cited by al-'Asali 1992: 210, 220. These continued to grow in the Haram until 1950 according to one eye-witness (Fahmi al-Ansari). Both olives and figs are mentioned in the Qur'an (Sura XCV, *al-Tin*, the chapter that is named after the fig tree).

² Dr Christine Woodhead translates the inscription:

The repair of this noble place
The humble Ahmed wrote the inscription of it
[May God grant the wishes of the one who remembers Him in prayer]
Amin. Year 1174.



Pl. 47.1 Mihrab Ahmad Qullari, front view of *mihrab*.



Pl. 47.3 Mihrab Ahmad Qullari, edge of platform with side view of *mihrab*.



Pl. 47.2 Mihrab Ahmad Qullari, platform with rear of *mihrab*.



Pl. 47.4 Mihrab Ahmad Qullari, inscription on *mihrab*.

48 SABIL MUSTAFA AGHA

Name: Sabil Mustafa Agha

Date: 1153/1740-1

Endowment: 10 Jumada II 1153/2 September 1740

Variants of name: The *sabil* is widely known as 'Sabil al-Shaikh Budair' (1160-1220/1747-1805); it is therefore generally listed under this name (van Berchem 1925: 195-6; al-'Arif 1947: 97; Burgoyne 1976: no.146; Walls and Abu'l-Hajj 1980: 18; Drory 1980 10: 66; al-'Asali 1982: 284-9; Najm *et al.* 1983: 380; Bieberstein and Burgoyne 1992; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 2: 434). To judge from the biography of al-Shaikh Budair (Manna' 1986: 51-2; Salameh 1987: 6-10), there is no link between the *sabil* and al-Shaikh Budair himself. It is probable that it acquired its name because al-Shaikh Budair lived in and owned al-Wafa'iyya Zawiya (Burgoyne 1987: 456) which is located opposite the *sabil* in the western area of the Haram near Bab al-Nazir. 'Sabil 'Uthman Beg al-Fiqari' is another name given to the monument by van Berchem (1925: 195) and Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 18), for an inscription (see below) includes the statement that the *sabil* was rebuilt by order (*bi-rasm*) of 'Uthman Beg al-Fiqari. Here the preferred name is that of Mustafa Agha, because he was the founder of the *sabil*, and because he endowed a *waqf* for it (see below).

Modern name: Sabil al-Shaikh Budair

Location (figs. 48.1-48.3, pls. 48.1-48.7, col. pls. LVIII, LIX)

The *sabil* is to be found within the Haram precinct, some 20m southeast of Bab al-Nazir, at the north-western corner of an unnamed *mastaba* with a free-standing *mihrab* at the southern end.

Site and brief description

The *sabil*, which measures 1.5m by 1.5m, is a beautiful, small one-unit structure, square in plan, and, except for the dome, built with occasional insets of coloured stone. It consists of a stone base which supports four small columns which in turn carry three horse-shoe arches. These open towards the south, west, and north respectively. The elevation to the east is a solid wall. A small hemispherical dome is raised above the *sabil*, which has fallen into disuse probably since the beginning of this century.

History

Identification

The building is identified as belonging to the Ottoman period by a foundation inscription which indicates that it was built by Mustafa Agha, the governor of Jerusalem district. The *waqfiyya* (Sijill 230: 210) states that 'al-Hajj Mustafa Agha has donated 40 *zangirlis* (gold coins) for the benefit of the *sabil* which he constructed in the Noble Haram on the edge of the platform (*suffa*) facing al-Bab al-Nazir.'

Date

The inscription (40cm by 62cm) is cut into a recessed limestone plaque with chamfered edges and is displayed on the exterior of the east wall of the *sabil*. It was published by van Berchem (1925: 196), and it gives the date of the foundation as 1153/1740-1 in two ways. The first is by way of numerals enclosed within an ogival fillet frame in the middle of the last line of the inscription, and the second is by the numerical value computed from the phrase *fi qadah min al-rahiq yashrabu*. The inscription is made up

of seven lines in all, each line containing two verses; each verse is set in a cartouche with rounded terminals. Additional ornamental motifs appear at the middle and the corners of the cartouches, made up of different flowers such as a four-petalled rosette, a small whirling knop or rosette, a pear-shaped fruit and leaves of various species. All of these decorative elements, in addition to the capitals (see below), are a direct reflection of the sentiments contained within the inscription. The text is written in a fine *naskhi* script, slightly interspersed with diacritical points and auxiliary signs. It is composed in poetic style, and the Arabic wording is transcribed in Cat. Appendix 2 (no. 47). The translation runs as follows:

This *sabil* was built by him who has the utmost sovereignty, who has excelled by means of his donations, the most generous Mustafa, Governor of Jerusalem. Its water is similar to that of Paradise, it is sweet, it is a cure, it deserves to be drunk. His Highness 'Uthman Beg al-Fiqari ordered the building of this *sabil*, opting for reward on the Day of Judgment, and hoping to be considered among those who are blessed. Both Mustafa and 'Uthman hope to drink from the basin of Taha (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad).

How lucky they are to fulfil such a wish! Both are lucky, for both shall drink from a cup of nectar. In the year 1153.

The word '*amara*' has two meanings. The first is 'built anew' and the second is 'restored'. From the architectural features of the *sabil* it is used in the first sense, for it is obvious that the building must have been a new construction. Hence its consistency in building materials and its harmony in style and design. It is worth noting that there is a change in the titulature of the governor. Instead of the more usual Turkish *mir liwa'* (governor), it utilises the Arabic term *qa'im maqam*. Al-'Arif (1947: 98) read the family name of 'Uthman as 'al-Ghifari' instead of 'al-Fiqari'.

Founder

The founder of the *sabil* was the governor of Jerusalem (*qa'im maqam*) in 1153/1740-1. His full name appears in the two foundation inscriptions (van Berchem 1922: 156, 1925: 196, and cat. no. 33) as 'Mustafa Agha Parwana Zade'. In the *sijill* (see below) he is called al-Hajj Mustafa Agha Qa'im Maqam al-Quds al-Sharif (the governor of Jerusalem the Noble). According to al-'Arif (1961: 318), Mustafa ruled Jerusalem for twenty years between 1144-65/1731-51, and negotiated an undertaking by the people of the villages of al-Bira, Bait Hanina, and Bait Iksa (all north of Jerusalem) that they would not attack travellers to the Holy City. Mustafa Agha contributed to other building projects, patronising a small domed structure in al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (cat. no. 33), and rebuilding the moat of the Citadel following a *firman* from Sultan Mahmud Khan in 1144/1731-2 (van Berchem 1922: 156).

The inscription makes it clear that this small *sabil* was built by order of 'Uthman Beg al-Fiqari, which means that two people were involved in its construction; and this is somewhat curious. It is not clear what relationship there was between 'Uthman Beg and Mustafa Agha and nothing has so far come to light in the *sijills* or in other contemporary references. It could be that both belonged to the same unit or division in the army, for it is known that there was a Mamluk unit in Egypt in the 17th

century named 'al-Fiqariyya', after its leader Ridwan Beg al-Fiqari. Ridwan Beg was *amir* for the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan, and he ordered that a lineage¹ be compiled for himself (Rafeq 1969: 123, 128; Rafeq 1968: 267-79). The *waqfiyya* is, however, quite clear in stating that Mustafa was the sole donor of both the *sabil* and its endowment (see below).

Purpose of construction

The *sijill* (see below) and the foundation inscription described above are both explicit in revealing the principal purpose of the building. It was the wish to perform a philanthropic act of mercy, which would be duly rewarded by Allah on the Day of Judgment. The reward to which every Muslim aspires is to join the blessed in Paradise and to drink there from the famous basin of the Prophet Muhammad which is named 'Haud (fountain) Taha'.

Endowment

Sijill 230: 210 contains a short *waqfiyya* of almost 650 words written in a small fine script. The document is dated 10 Jumada II 1153/2 September 1740 and was drawn up by al-Hajj Mustafa Agha, governor of Jerusalem the Noble. The wording and the structure of the language of the *waqfiyya* is similar to that of other such documents studied before and reflects the religious teaching which encourages people to offer good deeds. As already noted, Mustafa Agha endowed 40 *zangirlis* (gold coins) for the benefit of his *sabil*. He stipulated that the caretaker was to receive a wage of 4 gold *zangirlis* annually. In the presence of Mustafa Agha, Muhammad al-Kurdi the caretaker summoned the representative of the Greek community who was in charge of their convent (*wa'l-mutakallim 'ala dairhum*) and gave him the 40 gold coins after a document had been prepared in Greek. Muhammad al-Kurdi agreed to pay out 4 gold coins each year as a wage providing the capital sum remained intact.

The document further states that Mustafa Agha had assigned Muhammad son of 'Isa al-Kurdi as caretaker for the *sabil* during his lifetime, and after him the position was to be retained for his sons and the sons of his sons in order of maturity and competence. He was allotted 4 gold *zangirlis* per year for the office of the caretaker. If the line of the caretaker became extinct, the position was to be given to the administrator of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa the Noble. The donor had appointed a water-carrier to provide the *sabil* with water, who was to be given 24 *raghifs* (loaves of bread) to be bought by the founder from al-'Imara al-'Amira of Khassaki Khurrem. The water-carrier was required to clean the *sabil* weekly, and if he neglected his duty he was to be replaced. The *qadi* of Jerusalem was to be the inspector in charge of the caretaker.

Architecture

Exterior—Elevations

The *sabil* is raised about 35cm above the level of the Haram precinct by means of two steps of good-quality stone. These steps also function as a surround to the base of the *sabil* on the southern, western, and northern sides only, although al-'Asali (1982: 28) included the eastern side. The east wall of the *sabil* adjoins the north-western corner of the anonymous *mastaba*, now known by the name of the *sabil*, that is 'Mastabat Sabil Mustafa Agha' or 'Mastabat Sabil al-Shaikh Budair', even though it

predates the fountain (Sijill 230: 210).

The *sabil* consists of three parts: a square base, four façades, and a small dome. A second step engulfs the first stone course of the base at 16cm from the platform; over this are four courses of stone reaching a height of 1m, again on the southern, western, and northern sides, while the east side of the base is integrated into the eastern wall. The top course uses *ablaq* masonry of white and red.

Although the three façades to south, west, and north are broadly symmetrical, the fourth façade, which faces east, is asymmetrical. It consists of a solid wall of the same quality stone as the rest of the *sabil*. The panel with the foundation inscription is on the upper part of this façade. Two courses above it there is a stone cavetto moulding which projects slightly and runs round all four sides of the building. Each of the three similar façades has a small horse-shoe arch, which rests on two of four small marble columns which are hexagonal in form, although al-'Asali (1982: 284) and Drory (1980 10: 66) stated that they were octagonal. An iron grille of a later date, probably the work of the Supreme Muslim Council in the early 1920s, fills the arch space on all three of the open sides. The columns at the south east and the north east are engaged to the east façade in the form of pilasters. Only four of the six sides are thus decorated, the others being left plain. A similar arrangement is to be found in the columns of the *mihrab* of the Iwan Sultan Mahmud (cat. no. 50). However, although the columns of the *sabil* have a good deal in common with regard to their size, shape, and different parts—that is, each has a square plinth and a *muqarnas* capital—they do in fact differ in their decorative elements. These have been carved around the shafts of the column. For example, while the south-west and the south-east columns are representational—they are decorated with a vase from which issue flowering branches which carry pear-shaped fruits—the north-west and the north-east columns are decorated with a repeated geometrical design. The vegetal arabesque is on the *qibla* side of the *sabil* and it is possible that the fruit may represent a pomegranate, which is mentioned three times in the Qur'an (VI: 99; VI: 141; and LV: 68) as a fruit found in Paradise.

[Editorial note: The geometric design of the northern column and pilaster of the *sabil* is the same for all faces. The angular joint between each face is marked by a narrow frame. From this emerge counterpoint faceted triangles somewhat similar in appearance to a simplified version of the detailed decoration of individual *muqarnas* elements in, for example, the capitals of the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (cat. no. 22). The faces of the south-eastern and south-western hexagonal columns vary. The angles are marked by the same framing device of a twisted 'rope' but the designs are of two sorts. One (A) consists of a goblet on a double-knopped stem with a flaring rim from which emerges a single straight branch drawn as a double fillet. Symmetrically arranged on either side there are alternate fruits and flowers. The fruits are probably intended as pomegranates; they are rounded and topped by a small circular protuberance. The flowers are full-faced daisy-like blooms of six or seven petals. At the top of the branch there is a finial of five curved petals derived ultimately from a lotus blossom. The appearance of this design is static and formal. The second design (B), on the other hand, is flowing and more naturalistic. A branch undulates the length of the column face. In each case it bears four flower heads. They are full-face and larger than on design (A); they also have two or more layers of petals and are reminiscent of a Chinese chrysanthemum head, which was popular in ceramic decoration (see, for example, a 16th-century dish, BM. OA

¹ On his lineage, see P M Holt, 'The exalted lineage of Ridwan Bey', *BSOAS* 22, 2 1959: 221-30.

1969.7-21.1 from the Brooke Sewell bequest in the British Museum, illustrated in Rogers and Ward 1988: 194 cat. no. 134. The centre of this dish is, incidentally, marked by a lotus blossom). Between the individual blossoms, the stem carries undulating leaves and trefoil buds. The exuberance of design (B) brings to mind the brilliant ceramic tile panels of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque of 1564 in Istanbul (Goodwin 1971: 249-52, Seherr-Thoss 1968: pls. 129-31), albeit in a much more simplified version. The reference to Paradise is explicit in the use of the cup, repeated in the inscription, and in the *qibla* position. It should be remembered, too, that similar references to Paradise are found in the mosaic decoration of the Dome of the Rock. SA]

The third part of the *sabil* consists of the small distorted hemispherical dome which rests directly on the walls of the four façades, above intervening triangular pendentives. It is built of small-scale rubble masonry, rendered with mortar and lime both inside and out, in contrast to the rest of the fabric of the *sabil* itself. Al-'Asali (1982: 284) was mistaken in his statement that it

was built of (dressed) stone, although early in 1998 the Aqsa Restoration Committee covered the dome with white and some red stone to protect it against rain. The covering gives the dome a slightly different appearance than it had previously. Previously the final course of masonry was slightly recessed to give a hemispherical appearance; now the last course continues the outward flare.

Interior

The upper section of the base of *sabil* forms a square plastered basin, 85cm in length and 40cm in depth. The basin once held water drawn by the water-carrier from a nearby source (probably a cistern) as the *waqfiyya* states, but in 1998 it was filled with rubble and covered with stone slabs by the Aqsa Restoration Committee, to prevent the accumulation of dirt in the basin. The inner face of the eastern wall, like that of the dome, has been constructed from small rubble-stone masonry coated with lime.

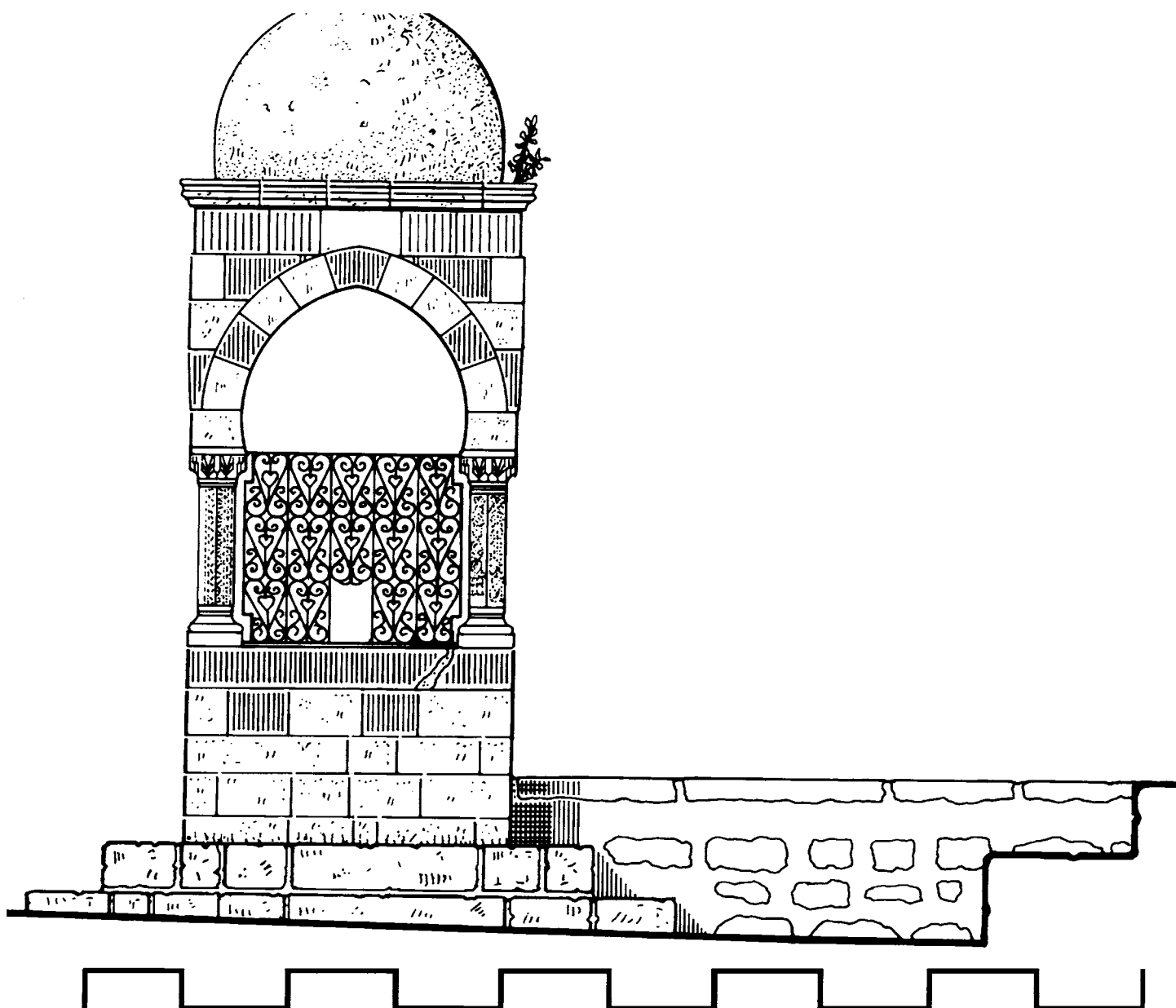


Fig. 48.1 Sabil Mustafa Agha, elevation.

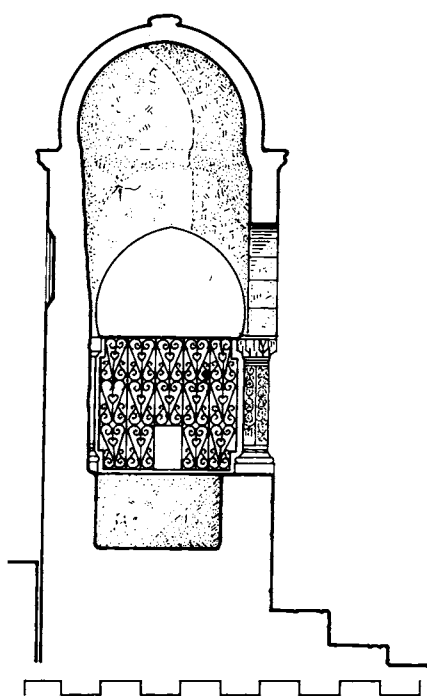


Fig. 48.2 Sabil Mustafa Agha, section.

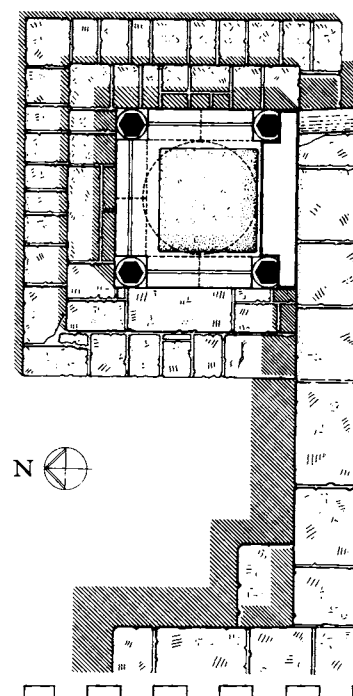


Fig. 48.3 Sabil Mustafa Agha, ground plan.



Pl. 48.1 Sabil Mustafa Agha, general view.



Pl. 48.2 Sabil Mustafa Agha, south-west corner column.



Pl. 48.3 Sabil Mustafa Agha, south-east corner column.



Pl. 48.5 Sabil Mustafa Agha, north-east corner column.



Pl. 48.4 Sabil Mustafa Agha, capital.



Pl. 48.6 Sabil Mustafa Agha, inscription panel detail.



Pl. 48.7 Sabil Mustafa Agha, inscription panel.

49 DAR AL-‘IZZ

Name: Dar al-‘Izz (The House of Glory)

Date: 1205/1790-1

Endowment: Not known (see below)

Variant of name: Dar al-Khastakhana (Hastahane), the hospital

Modern name: It is currently known by the names of the resident families, i.e., ‘Dar al-Baraghithi wa Dar Abu Sulb’.

Location

The house is on the east side of Tariq al-Wad, between the Via Dolorosa to the north and the road leading to Bab al-Nazir to the south.

Site and brief description (pl. 49.1)

Dar al-‘Izz is situated in the central section of al-Wad Road, one of the two main streets crossing the Old City of Jerusalem from north to south. It is bordered to the north, the east and the south by adjoining structures, all of which have the marks of domestic architecture; and to the west it is bounded by the road. The site is close to the Haram area, and is in the middle of a section of the Old City which saw the greatest amount of, as well as the most important, architectural activity in the Ottoman period outside the enclosure of the Haram itself (for more details see cat. no. 11).

History

The only available means of identification is the foundation inscription, which was published by van Berchem (1923: 455). Apart from this, very little is known about the building. The inscription is on a marble panel, measuring 40cm wide and 40cm high. It consists of six stanzas of Arabic verse. The stanzas are separated by fillets and are set within a rectangular cartouche. The script is a slender rounded *naskh*, with both diacritical and auxiliary points. The last line of the foundation inscription takes the form of a chronogram, which has a numerical value of 1205/1790-1. The number ‘1205’ is inscribed vertically at the end of the fifth and sixth lines and thus confirms the chronogram. The inscription is marked by its repetitious and flowery style, and the chronogram itself is odd. Both of these factors make the translation difficult, and the text almost nonsensical. However, an attempt at translation has been made, as follows:

A house was highly ranked, filled with happiness,
Known for ever as the ‘House of Glory’ (*dar al-‘izz*).

The house is high up in the sky, where its guest can
be served

Delighted, and highly respected.

The completion of its construction (is) the
chronogram (= I have dated)

‘Muhammad will remain in it forever.’ (In the) year
1205 (1790-1).

(For the Arabic text see Cat. Appendix 2, no. 49.)

The inscription leaves no clue as to the identity of the founder. But to judge from the wording, with its emphasis on the honour to be paid to any guest (the client) and the happiness he

will feel in the house, and because there is no religious content in the way of the customary prayers or phrases, it would appear that the Dar al-‘Izz was built to serve as a private, commercial guesthouse rather than as a public, charitable hospice. Thus Dar al-‘Izz can be seen to be another of the rare dated, secular private buildings of Ottoman Jerusalem. According to van Berchem (1923: 455) the edifice was used as a military hospital in 1892; this would explain why it appears in the Auqaf files as the ‘Dar al-Khastakhana’, or hospital.

Architecture

According to the foundation inscription (see above), Dar al-‘Izz, completed in 1205/1790-1, was the last major construction in the Old City during the Ottoman period. As it appears today, the site has problems similar to those of the Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 46), although here at least the inscription seems to be in its original location. There are, however, many difficulties relating to both the façade and the interior. The façade has suffered many changes and additions, with the various phases of construction indicated by multiple long break lines in the masonry. The interior too has been dramatically changed, for it has been used as a residential house for a long time. As a result, it is now devoid of both architectural and decorative features. The monument is included here, however, because of the interesting context of the inscription.

The only façade of the building is the main, west frontage, but its upper part is obscured by an archway (*qantara*) that must have been built some time after the house, i.e., after 1205/1790-1. The *qantara* is now called ‘Dar al-Sharaf’ after the resident family. Dar al-‘Izz consists of two storeys; the first, at ground level, is made up of the main entrance, a long vestibule, a staircase, and other structures which are now inaccessible. The second storey is made up of a courtyard, a planted garden, and a collection of chambers and cells built with no notable architectural feature. These represent the local domestic architectural style in the Ottoman city rather than that of the more monumental public buildings.



Pl. 49.1 Dar al-‘Izz, inscription.

50 IWAN AL-SULTAN MAHMUD II

Name: Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II

Endowment: None known

Date: 1233/1817-18

Variants of name: Qubbat ‘Ushshaq al-Nabi (Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet), and Iwan Qubbat Sulaiman Pasha (van Berchem 1925: 208).

Modern name: Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II

Location

The *iwan* is to be found at the northern end of the Haram precinct, about 20m south of Bab al-‘Atm,¹ and opposite Sabil Bab al-‘Atm (cat. no. 8).

Function

The word *iwan*, which was originally Persian, in Arabic denotes an architectural unit comprising either a rectangular or square area with three walls, the fourth side usually left open. The floor level is higher by a few centimetres than the floor of the adjoining buildings. The plan of the building under discussion, which is given the name *iwan* in its foundation inscription (see below under Date), does not conform to this definition, because all four sides are open. Furthermore, it differs from the plan of Mamluk and Ottoman *iwans* built in Jerusalem which were constructed as part of a larger building. A more accurate reflection of the plan of this building would be conveyed by the Turkish term of ‘kiosk’, or pavilion.

Despite the fact that pavilions were popular in Turkish architecture, as Eldem has indicated (1986 2: 159), perhaps surprisingly this is the only example still extant in Jerusalem. The foundation inscription unfortunately does not include any reference to its original function, but kiosk-pavilions were used widely in Turkey to decorate gardens and palaces. When the area of the Haram, planted as it is with trees, is taken into account, it is possible to conclude that the function of this small building was purely ornamental, to adorn the sacred precinct. It is fortunate that the Islamic Museum of al-Aqsa Mosque contains a foundation inscription for an *iwan* that no longer exists but which was built by Mustafa the Vizier (for details, see Chapter 36 under Commemorative Buildings). This inscription states unequivocally that the Iwan of Mustafa was constructed to provide a place for the recitation of the Holy Qur’an, and for the purpose of prayer. In all probability the Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II was constructed for a similar purpose.

Site and brief description (figs. 50.1-50.7, pls. 50.1-50.6, col. pl. LI)

The *iwan* is situated almost at the centre of the northern section of the Haram al-Sharif. It is flanked to the north by the *sabil*, to the west by a paved passageway leading from Bab al-‘Atm to the Dome of the Rock esplanade, and to the south and east by an open space planted with olive trees.

The *iwan* is a single-unit structure, built entirely of good

quality stone. It has a simple square plan² and consists of a dais (*dikkah*) which is raised above the level of the Haram. Four piers situated at the corners support four tall pointed arches, which in turn support a dome. There is a free-standing *mihrab* on the southern side.

History

The identification³ of the *iwan* as Ottoman is confirmed by the foundation inscription.

Date

An important inscription panel, the only source of information as to the date and the name of the founder of the monument, is to be found at the top of the western side of the north façade, one course below the beginning of the transitional zone of the dome. The panel is still in as good condition as it was when it was recorded by van Berchem (1925: 204) in the early years of this century. It is marble, rectangular in form, and consists of two sections, A and B. Both sections have diacritical and auxiliary points. The first part measures 45cm by 45cm and contains six lines of Ottoman *naskhi* script. The lines are set in cartouches separated by a fillet border. The second part measures 45cm by 12cm and contains a single line of condensed Ottoman *naskhi* script. Part B must have been a later addition, for it appears after the date, which is usually the final part of a text. The script is highly condensed. For the full Arabic text, see Cat. Appendix 2, no. 50. The translation runs as follows:

A. In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, this elegant *iwan* was founded in this noble place by the exalted king, the splendid *khaqan*, the warrior, the fighter, Sultan Mahmud Khan, may God eternalise his sovereignty throughout all times. This was done in the year two hundred and thirty-three by the charitable, the executive, the dignified Dustur al-Hajj Sulaiman Pasha, the Governor of Saida (Sidon) and Tarabulis (Tripoli), the famous *wazir*. Allah helped him in whatever endeavours he attempted.

B. This was performed in answer to the orders of the *dustur*, by him who wrote it, the weak slave, Mustafa ‘Ali Efendi.

It is interesting to note that the figure 1 for one thousand has been omitted, which is not the case in other similar inscriptions.

Founder

The founder of the *iwan* was Sultan Mahmud II (1223-55/1801-39).⁴ The order to build the *iwan* coincided with a major

² Although the Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II was built in the early years of the 19th century, its plan resembles the much earlier examples which were built in Turkey during the 15th and 16th centuries. As simple in form as the *iwan* of Sultan Mahmud II, the Anatolian examples were rarely built in isolation but were instead integrated into palaces or gardens. For further details on the pavilion in Turkish architecture, see Eldem 1986: 159.

³ Schick (1989: 84) identified the early Kursi Sulaiman with Qubbat Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud. See too van Berchem (1925: 208) and Elad (1995: 91-2).

⁴ For the history of the Ottoman empire in this period, see Palmer (1992: 77ff). On the main events in Jerusalem in the period, see al-‘Asali (1989: 223, 228 ff).

¹ This gate is known by different names—Bab al-Malik Faisal, Bab al-Mu‘azzamiyya, Bab al-Duwaidariyya, Bab al-Anbiyya. More recently, Burgoyne proposed naming the gate after Dame Kathleen Kenyon (Burgoyne 1992: 113).

programme of restoration to the Dome of the Rock. Al-'Asali (1989: 219-20) states that these restorations continued for twenty-one months at a cost of 4,000 bags (*sic*—of coins). The work was undertaken by the *wazir*, governor of Sidon and Tripoli, Sulaiman Pasha, on the orders of Sultan Mahmud II in 1223-4/1817-18 (see van Berchem 1925: 210-11). Mustafa 'Ali Efendi, who is recorded in the inscription as the man who actually built the *iwan*, played a major role in the restoration of the ceramic tiles of the Dome of the Rock. Van Berchem (1927: 353-5) has published nine panels from the Dome of the Rock which bear the name of Mustafa 'Ali Efendi. An inscription plaque published by al-'Arif (1961: 504), to be found above the entrance door of Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud, proclaims that Sultan Mahmud II renewed the restoration of the *maqam*. The work was undertaken by the same people—the same *wazir* Sulaiman Pasha, and the same builder Mustafa 'Ali Efendi. Even the date is the same, that is 1233/1817-18.

Other periods

There is no file in the Auqaf Administration specifically related to this monument. It is not possible, therefore, to trace its history during the last four decades.⁵ Even if such a file did exist, it does not necessarily mean that all the work relevant to the development of the building would have been recorded. At any rate, it is possible to state that repointing and replastering were undertaken on the site recently. In 1994 the Auqaf Administration rejected a proposal to enclose the open sides of the building with sheets of aluminium and glass to make it suitable for use as an office for the *zakat* (alms) committee.

Architecture

Since the northern façade, on which the foundation inscription occurs, faces anyone approaching the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque—with which the *iwan* is aligned—and has a second decorative panel, it can safely be seen as the main façade. It is otherwise indistinguishable from the façades to the south, west and east, apart from the addition of a *mihrab* to the south, to be discussed below. The elevation is composed mainly of a tall pointed arch set between piers to the north-west and the north-east. The panel inscription mentioned above is located at the top of the western part of the façade to the right of the arch. It is balanced to the left of the arch at the same level by a decorated panel. The decorative stone panel is square, and encloses an engraved geometrical ornament in the form of a star pattern. At the centre there is a rosette.

[Editorial note: The central space of the panel contains an eight-petalled 'daisy' in reserve. Between each point, a lozenge or diamond shape is formed by a fillet border; these make an eight-pointed star polygon. At the cardinal points, the tips of the lozenges develop into trefoils, the tops of which touch the outer frame of the panel. The outlines of each motif are formed from a narrow fillet, as are the lozenges. Between the trefoils, in order to fill the corners of the square panel, the alternate tips of the lozenges carry the stem of a split palmette. Half-way along each

of these stems, a trefoil emerges to right and left. The points of the split palmettes and the trefoils meet at the side tips of the trefoil motifs at the cardinal points. The motif is a development of the familiar Timurid motif found, for example, on a jug probably made in Herat in 871/1467 signed by Husain al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi, now in Istanbul, in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzezi, no. 2962 (Lentz and Lowry 1989: 161, 341, cat. no. 57). The motif, which recalls somewhat similar motifs in the 16th-century tiles on the Dome of the Rock, proved popular and long-lasting, as its presence on the 19th-century *iwan* demonstrates, although in all probability the panel was formerly in use elsewhere.

The motif on the octagonal columns is equally long-lasting, and can also be found in metalwork. The basic shape of the medallions are, for example, found on a torch-stand (*mash'al*) dating to the late 16th or early 17th century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. no. 44-1870; Melikian-Chirvani 1982: 310, no. 138). This mesh of medallions in relief overlays the underlying pattern of split palmettes, which emerge from trefoils and form lozenges at the centre of each medallion. Although not identical, the treatment of the columns recalls the carved decoration on the columns of the Sabil Qa'itbai (Burgoyne 1987: 606-12, pls. 64.4a, b; 64.5a, b) although the motif itself is closer to that decorating the dome of the *sabil* (Burgoyne 1987: 611, pl. 64.7). If it is right to see these decorative details on the Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II as *spolia* from an earlier site, it is possible that they represent fragments from the Ashrafiyya, the Madrasa of Sultan Qa'itbai, dating to 887/1482, which has suffered from multiple rebuildings and earthquake damage (see Burgoyne 1987: 589). SA]

The transitional zone below the dome begins one course above these two panels. Its method of construction is simple, and is found in most of the buildings in Ottoman Jerusalem that are not public monuments. A projecting *cavetto* moulding extends around the top of the eight sides of the octagonal zone of transition. There is no drum and the dome sits directly on the octagonal area. The shape of the dome is odd and it is clumsily finished, giving the overall impression of an incomplete half-oval. It is built of rubble and mortar in contrast to most of the domes in Jerusalem of the period, and has no external cladding of stone slabs. The stone finial that caps the apex is made up of three parts, the uppermost one being broken.

Apart from the *mihrab* in the southern elevation, the other elevations to the west, south and east are identical, as already stated. Access to the interior of the *iwan* is by way of stone steps situated at the centre of the dais to east, north, and west. The steps lead to the square dais (*dikkah*) (each side 3.4m), which is paved in stone slabs, and is raised above the ground level of the Haram. The height of the four sides shows a slight variation, which could be the result of differences in the existing bedrock. At the four corners of the dais, the integration of the four piers, the arches, and the transition zone—which is made up of four triangular pendentives—is clearly visible. There are four shafts of columns that have been reused here to provide barriers to the north, to the north-western corner of the western side, and to the north-eastern corner of the eastern side of the dais floor in order to prevent anyone from falling off it to the level of the esplanade below.

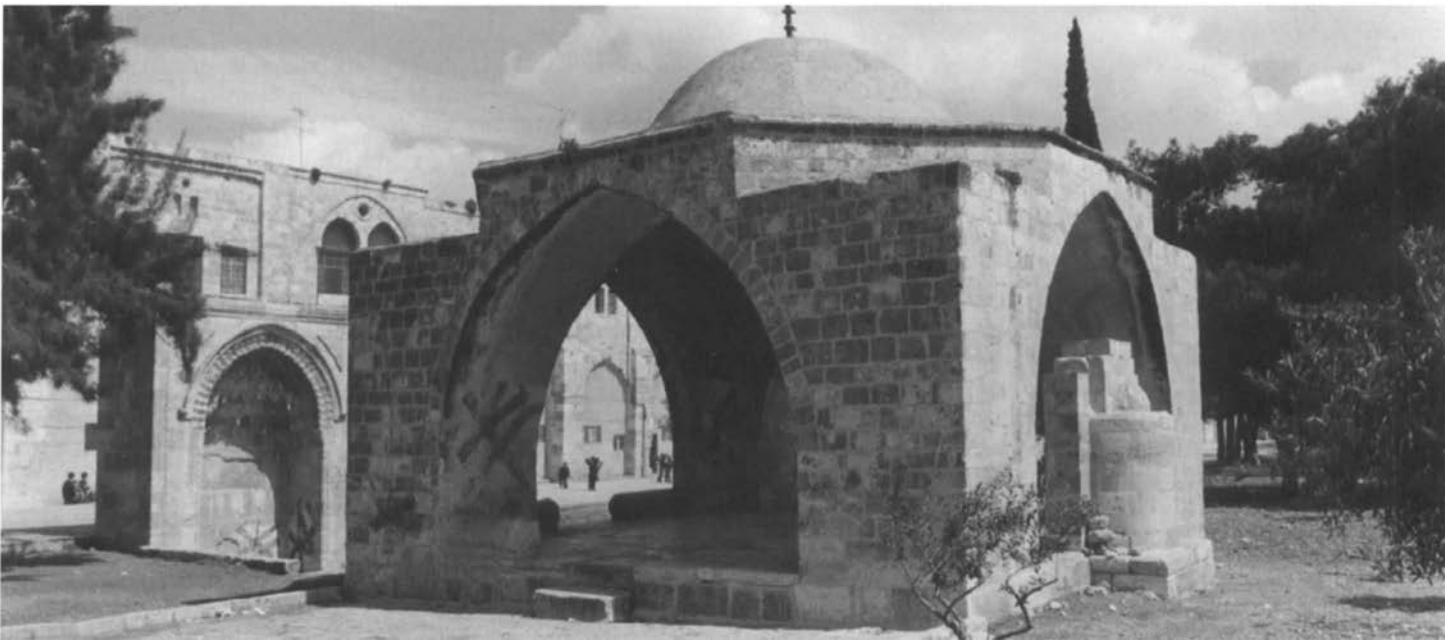
The *mihrab* has a concave form (*mujawwaf*) and projects beyond the line of the southern façade. It is rectangular in shape, and is built of alternating red and white stone blocks (*ablaq*). The main scheme of its ornamentation consists of a semicircular arch

⁵ Most of the files of the recent Auqaf Administration begin in 1368/1948-9, when the responsibility for the Auqaf was given to the Department of the Chief Judge (*Qadi al-Qudah*) in Amman. Before that, the Supreme Muslim Council administered the Auqaf's affairs and properties. Most of the Supreme Muslim Council files are today preserved in the Department of the Heritage Revival, which is part of the Auqaf Administration.

resting on a pair of columns. The columns are octagonal, and their capitals typically Ottoman, being ornamented with three bands of small *muqarnas* niches. There is a plain abacus block between the capitals and the springing of the semicircular arch. The bases of the columns are plain, apart from a chamfered edge at the corners. The shafts of the columns have densely incised ornament in relief; this consists of repeated lobed medallions that enclose a similar pattern of palmettes and arabesque motifs. The arch of the *mihrab* is capped by three stones which are placed precisely over the key-stone. A moulded stone frame separates the hood of the

niche from the rest of the stone concave structure. The semi-dome is made from a single piece of stone and is coated with a mortar mixture. On the exterior it is expressed as a scalloped half-dome with seven rib.

The *mihrab* is not dated. It is built with a different type of masonry to that of the main structure of the *ivan*, which might suggest that it is either earlier or later in date. It is, however, equally plausible to see the *mihrab* as contemporary with the building, and the difference in the fabric between the *ivan* and the niche as being due to the latter's greater importance.



Pl. 50.1 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, general view of exterior.



Pl. 50.2 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, *mihrab*, front view.



Pl. 50.3 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, rear of *mihrab*.

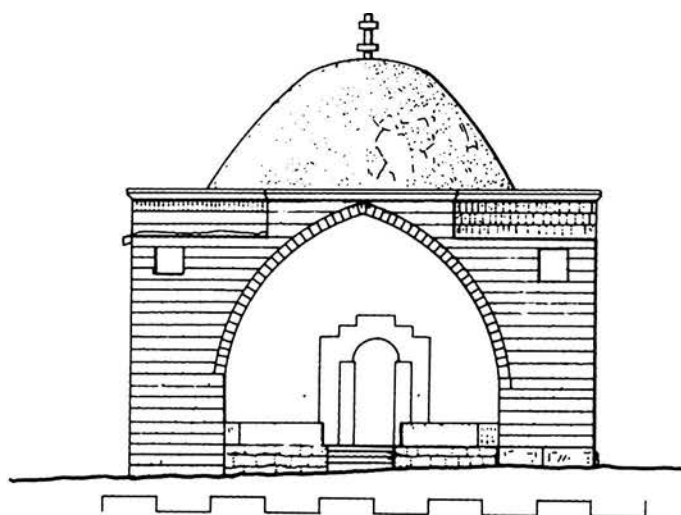


Fig. 50.1 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, front elevation.

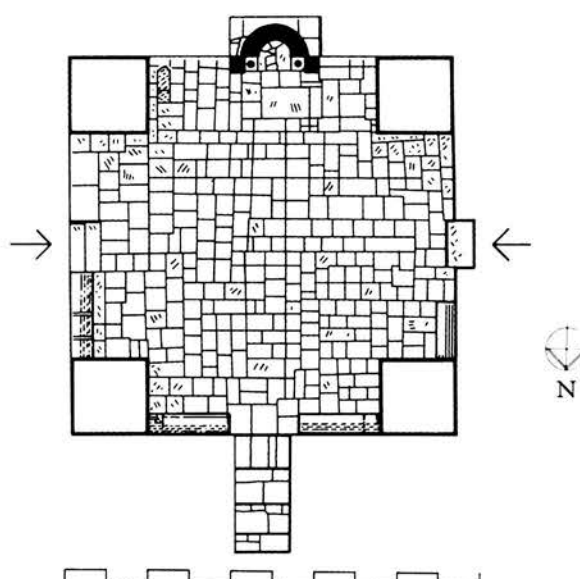


Fig. 50.4 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, ground plan.

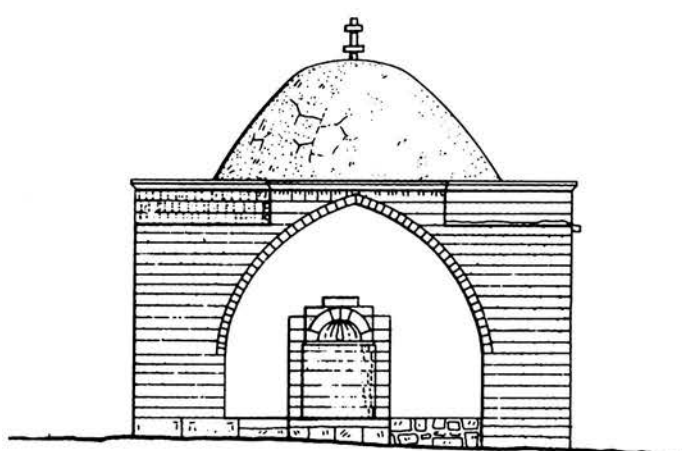


Fig. 50.2 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, rear elevation.

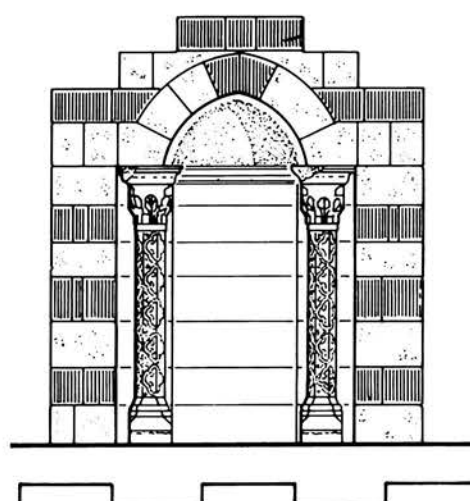


Fig. 50.5 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, detail of *mihrab*.

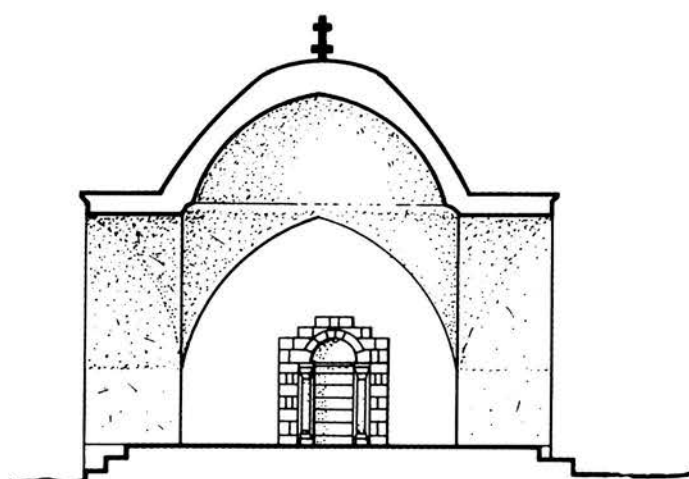


Fig. 50.3 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, section.

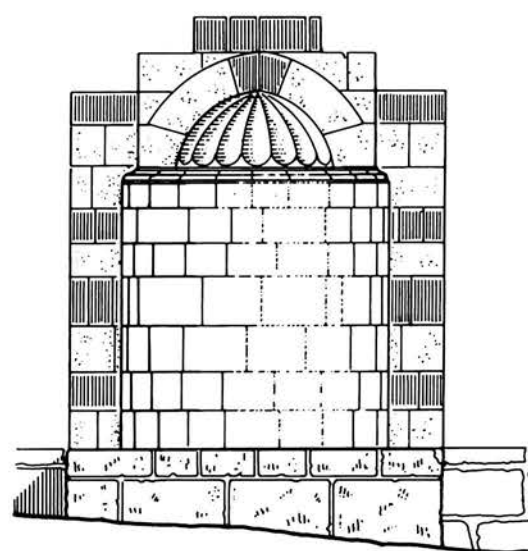


Fig. 50.6 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, detail of rear of *mihrab*.

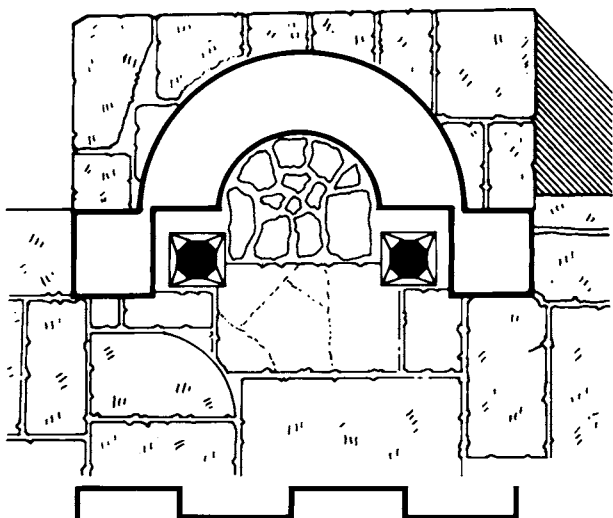


Fig. 50.7 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, ground plan of *mihrab*.



Pl. 50.4 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, inscription.



Pl. 50.5 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, decorative panel.



Pl. 50.6 Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II, detail of column

51 KHALWAT SADANAT AL-HARAM

Name: Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram (The Cell of the Custodian of the Sanctuary)

Date: Undated. (A) The upper part—probably after 1222/1807
(B) The lower part—probably early Ottoman

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: The upper section is used as a residence for the Custodian of the Holy Sanctuary (*Ghurfat al-Sadana*). The lower section is used as a ticket office for visitors to the Haram.

Location (figs. 51.1-51.3, pls.51.1-51.13)

The *khalwa* is situated to the west of the Dome of the Rock, its upper part facing the Dome itself, while its lower section faces Bab al-Qattanin (736/1335-6). The lower storey abuts the lower range of the staircase that leads from the esplanade through the western colonnade (340/951-2) onto the terrace.

Site and brief description

Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram is a single-unit structure made up of two parts. The upper level is square in plan and covered by a domical vault, while the lower is rectangular with a portico roofed by a cross vault. Both levels are built of stone; a difference in chiselling technique is apparent between the two storeys and probably reflects a chronological divide.

History

Unfortunately, apart from the material contained in the *sijills*, only sparse information of a general historical nature exists about most of the *khalwas* located in the Haram al-Sharif. In the present instance, however, there is a specific remark regarding the western area of the upper terrace made by a European calling himself 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi¹ who visited the Haram in 1222/1807. He was accused of being a Napoleonic spy—or so he claims—an accusation he vehemently denied. The interest here is the rarity of a Western visitor to the Haram in the early 19th century who left a written account of the buildings that attracted his attention there. 'Ali Beg (Leyblisch 1816 2: 233) records that 'to the west of the Dome of the Rock platform there are two small chambers in which the two persons most prominent in *fatwa* (legal opinion) used to sit to give legal advice'. 'Ali Beg probably did not intend to catalogue every building on the Haram, and this creates a problem. But at the very least this statement might give a clue that three of the five *khalwas* now situated to the west of the upper esplanade were built after his visit, and this was the reasoning adopted by al-'Asali (1981: 44-5). Al-'Asali did not attempt to identify which were the later cells. If this inference—that the three *khalwas* mentioned above postdate 1807—is correct, and it seems to this author too that it probably is, then Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21) and Khalwat Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34) are on stylistic criteria the two *khalwas* most likely to be those seen by 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi, for their layout and architectural features are more elaborate and thus closer to traditional public Ottoman architecture. It is fortunate that the *sijills* (see above cat. nos. 21,

and 34) have provided us with detailed evidence on the name and the date of these two *khalwas*, and this is enough to remove any further question as to their attribution or date.

With regard to the date of the other three cells—Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, the South-West Khalwa (cat. no. 52), and the Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin (cat. no. 53)—their non-appearance in the account by 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi is the only clue to emerge so far in an attempt to date the upper parts of the buildings, for it may provide a *terminus post quem* for the upper part of the *khalwa* under discussion here. By implication, it was built after 1222/1807. It does not help with the lower part, however, which would appear to be earlier because of the size and the type of masonry used in its construction.

Architecture

The four external walls of the upper storey are built directly above a chamfered course marking the transition between the two levels of the *khalwa*. The stones of this upper level are finely cut and the courses are arranged systematically and without interruption. The only exception occurs in the eastern façade, where the masonry, which appears to be from a single quarry, displays at least eight different chiselling techniques—smooth, clawed, striated, pitted to a greater or lesser extent (there are four distinct categories here), and cross-hatched. Perhaps this indicates that the stones are in re-use. A less likely possibility is that several stonecutters worked on the building at the same time. It seems likely that the unevenness of the wall's surface means that it was once disguised in some way—perhaps it was clad in marble or was plastered. The walls are plain and measure 53cm in thickness. There are three windows in the north, the west and the south walls respectively, and there is a door in the eastern façade. This door measures 69cm wide by 1.45m high and it is surmounted by a lintel that has been clumsily finished. The building ends with a slightly protruding stone course which serves as a parapet. The saucer dome is invisible from the outside owing to the extreme shallowness of its profile.

The lower part of the building is formed from a single-bay portico delineated by a pointed arch on each of the west, north and south sides. The span of the arches was originally open but has recently in each case been closed, and glass and aluminium sheets have been used to make the bay suitable for a ticket office. The three arches spring from four square piers each measuring 1.16m by 1.16m. The lower courses of the stones are large, some measuring as much as 1.16m long by 51cm wide. They are finely cut and are similar to the stones of the piers of the western *riwaq*. This resemblance suggests either that the stones are in secondary use or that the bay was originally Mamluk.

The type and size of the stones used in the upper courses, in addition to the fact that the arch is built with two courses of voussoirs, which has no parallel in the Mamluk period but is a well-known feature of Ottoman architecture, make it unlikely that the *khalwa* as a whole is a Mamluk building. An alternative suggestion is that the lower levels were originally a different structure, which was used as the base for a later rebuilding. This is the preferred solution—it seems most likely that the lower storey was constructed in the Ottoman period with stones in secondary use from the Mamluk period.

Interior

The interior of the upper storey is a small chamber, square in plan, paved with flagstones and covered by a small folded vault

¹ He was a Spanish traveller named Baida y Leyblisch Domingo, who, in his own view, was the first to write a 'correct' description of the Haram. His diary was originally published in France and later was translated into English.

with a saucer dome which has eight ribs at the centre. The three windows already described are fitted with a simple iron grille and differ only slightly in their measurements. The biggest window faces south and measures 1.16m high by 79cm wide by 54cm deep. The north window measures 96cm high by 60cm wide by 17cm deep, while that to the west measures 95cm high by 49cm wide by 44cm deep. The difference in depth is due to the different

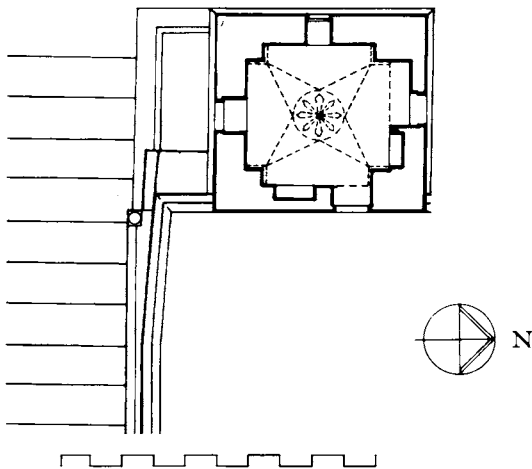


Fig.51.1 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, ground floor plan.

thickness of the walls. There are two blind niches in the interior. The first, to the south of the door in the eastern wall, measures 1.6m high by 75cm wide by 31cm deep. The second is in the north wall, measuring 70 cm wide by 30 cm deep. The interior to the lower bay has recently been paved with flagstones and the roof here is covered by a cross vault. The interior of both the walls and the vault has been plastered.

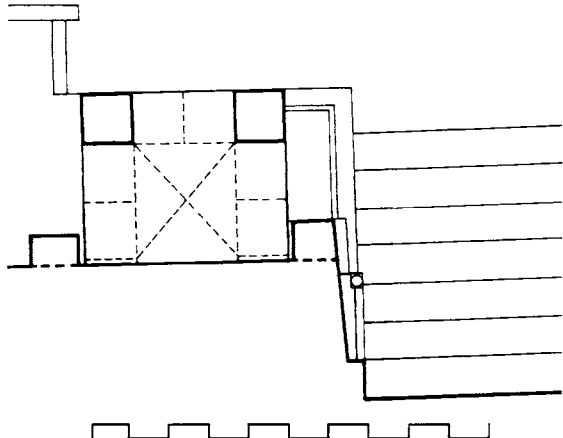


Fig.51.3 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, plan of basement.

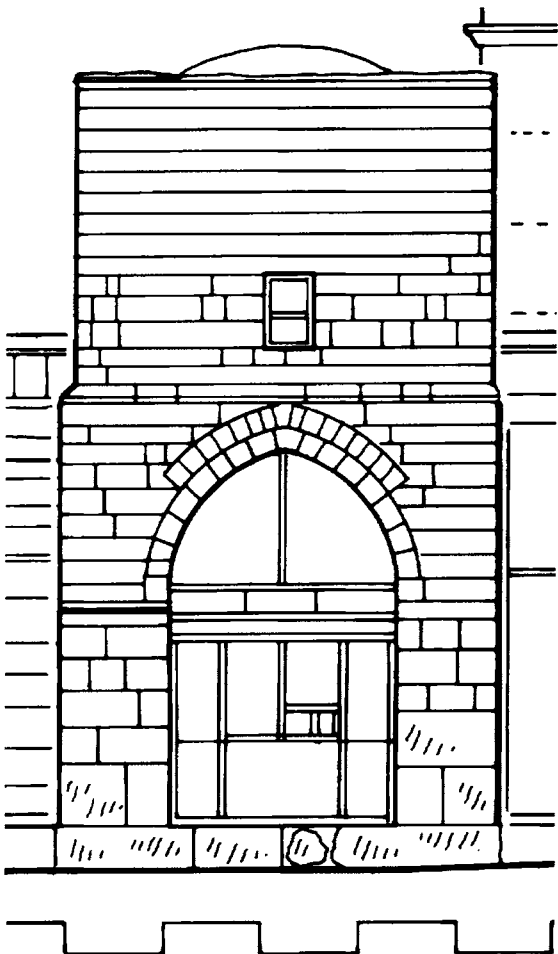
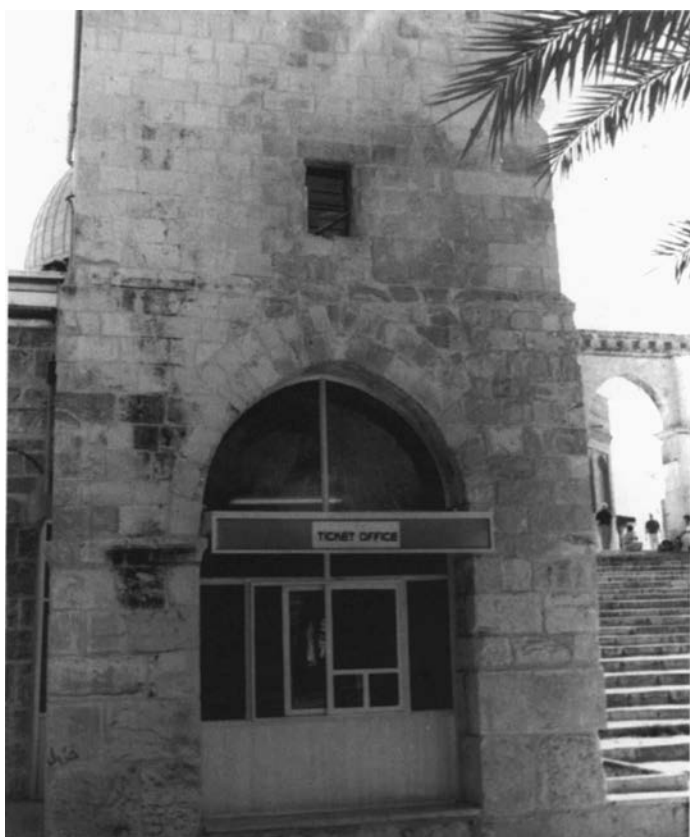


Fig.51.2 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, elevation (Courtesy of Department of Islamic Archaeology).



Pl. 51.1 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, side view of lower and upper parts.



Pl. 51.2 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, general view with stairway.



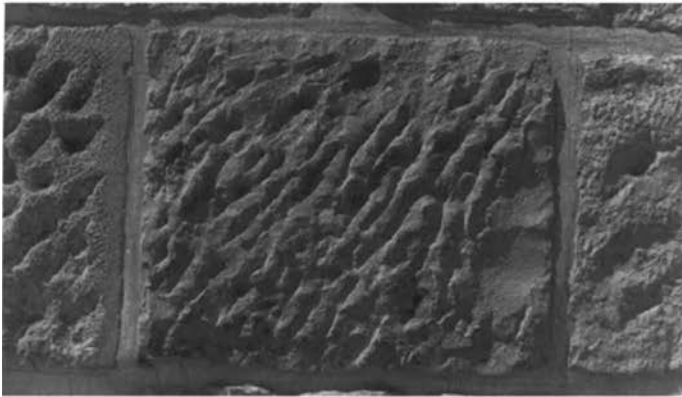
Pl. 51.4 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, upper part of cell, view from two sides.



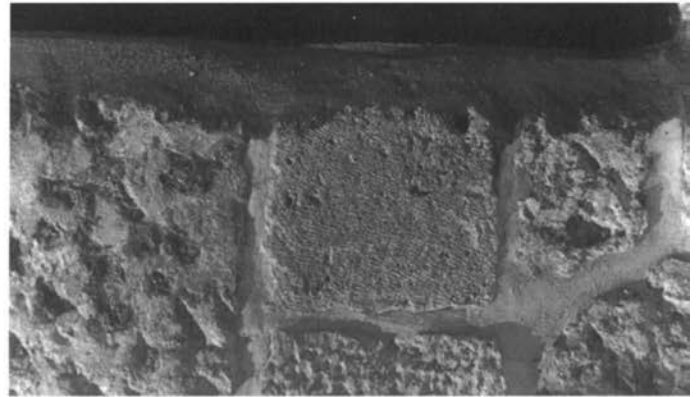
Pl. 51.5 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, front view.



Pl. 51.3 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, view from stairway.



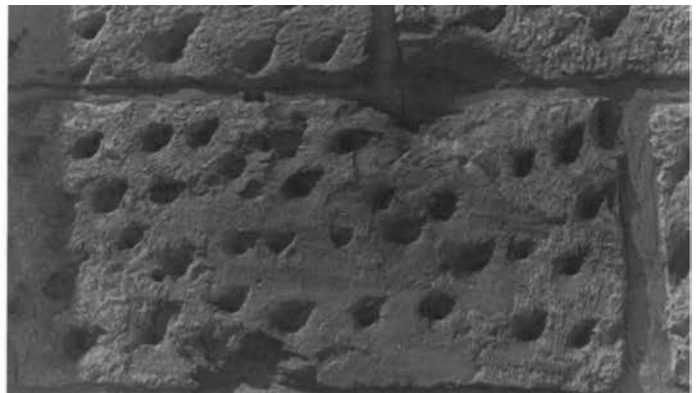
Pl. 51.6 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.10 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.7 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



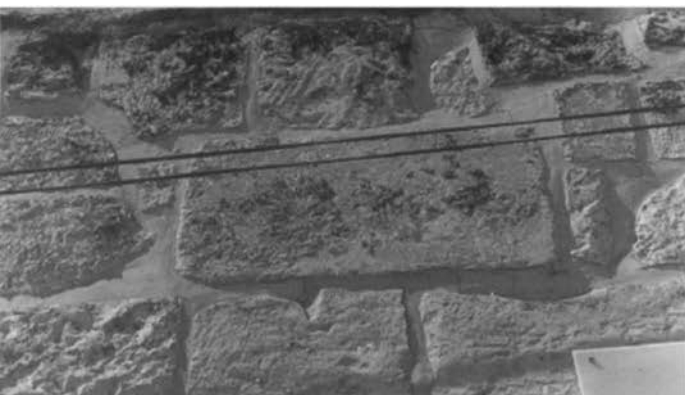
Pl. 51.11 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.8 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.12 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.9 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework details.



Pl. 51.13 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram, stonework detail.

52 KHALWAT AL-MU'ADHDHININ

Name: Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin

Date: Undated. Probably after 1222/1807

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: It is now known as the 'Cell of the Muezzins' because it is used as a residence by the men employed by the authorities of al-Aqsa mosque to call the faithful to prayer. It is conceivable that this was also its original purpose.

Location

The cell is situated on the western edge of the divide between the two levels of the esplanade of the Dome of the Rock, above the cistern of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (607/1210-11) and Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 46). It occupies a favoured location beside the south-western stairs leading to the platform and close to the *sabil* of Qa'itbai.

Site and brief description (figs. 52.1-52.3, pls. 52.1-52.4)

The Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin differs from the other cells in the Haram in that it consists of a single rectangular chamber divided into two, and it is located on the Dome of the Rock terrace only, rather than spanning both levels of the Haram esplanade. A small room with a cupola has recently been built in front of the north-eastern corner of the *khalwa*.

History

The *khalwa* is undated. The record left by 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi (Leyblisch 1861 2: 223; see cat. no. 51 for full details), which seems to indicate that only two cells to the west of the upper terrace (Khalwat Islam Beg, cat. no. 21 and Khalwat Bairam, cat. no. 34) existed at the time of his visit, leads the author to a belief that it was built after 1222/1807. It would, however, perhaps be unwise to rely too much on the observations of 'Ali Beg.

Architecture

The four external walls of the cell are featureless, and are built of successive courses of dressed stone. There is a door, 89cm by 1.64m, in the eastern façade giving access to the chamber; it is

surmounted by a huge slab lintel. Four courses above this, the building is terminated without any form of framing device or parapet. A hemispherical dome, finished with flagstones, covers the northern part of the building. A small cell of recent construction, which has a cupola, is now used to store rugs and mats for the mosque. This obscures the northern part of the east wall. It has an engaged column with a *muqarnas* capital, probably re-used, at its south-eastern corner.

[Editorial note: The capital is, however, cut from stone very similar in appearance to that used for the walls of the cell, as is its supporting column. A clear break is visible between the capital and the column which is accentuated by damage. The lower level of the *muqarnas*, which is effective in its simplicity, consists of one central curved lancet-shaped panel, with another one at an angle to each side of it. Each is emphasised by a secondary groove running round its profile. The interstices are cut away at a sharp, deep angle. Two larger lancet-shaped niches which, although shallower, are also curved, are set above the negative spaces between the niches below. The absence of another, single lancet which would, as it were, complete the pattern on a third level may indicate that the capital has been cut from an earlier complete one. The style, when compared with capitals on other buildings on the upper esplanade of the Haram (see cat. nos. 23, 24, and 38 for example) is, however, typically Ottoman. SAJ.]

The southern wall is as solidly built of dressed stone as the rest of the *khalwa*. The west and north sides are also solid walls with the exception of a window in each side. The first of these measures 90cm by 1.45m and the second 80cm by 1.2m; both are fitted with a recent iron grille and are surmounted by a slab lintel with a string course forming a relieving arch above.

Interior

The interior is made up of two sections. The first is square and is covered by a hemispherical dome. The second is rectangular and this section is barrel-vaulted. There are five blind niches—two are placed to the north of the door on the eastern side, and two are to the south of the western wall. The fifth one is in the south wall. The floor is paved with flagstones, and the walls have been newly replastered. They are partly painted in green.



Pl. 52.1 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, general view of cell from terrace, looking north west.

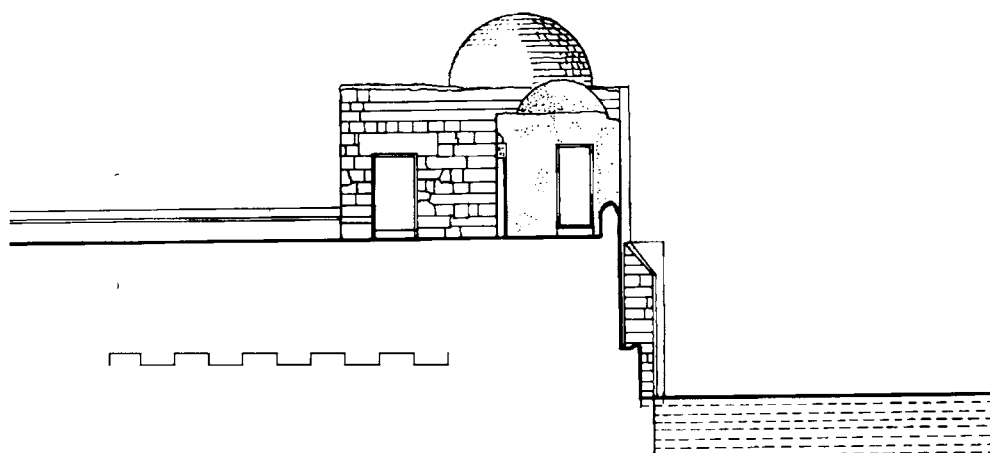


Fig. 52.1 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, east extension.

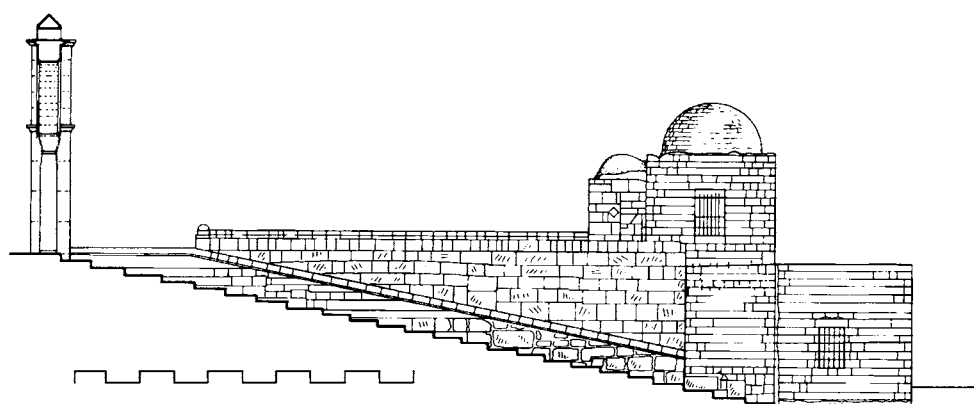
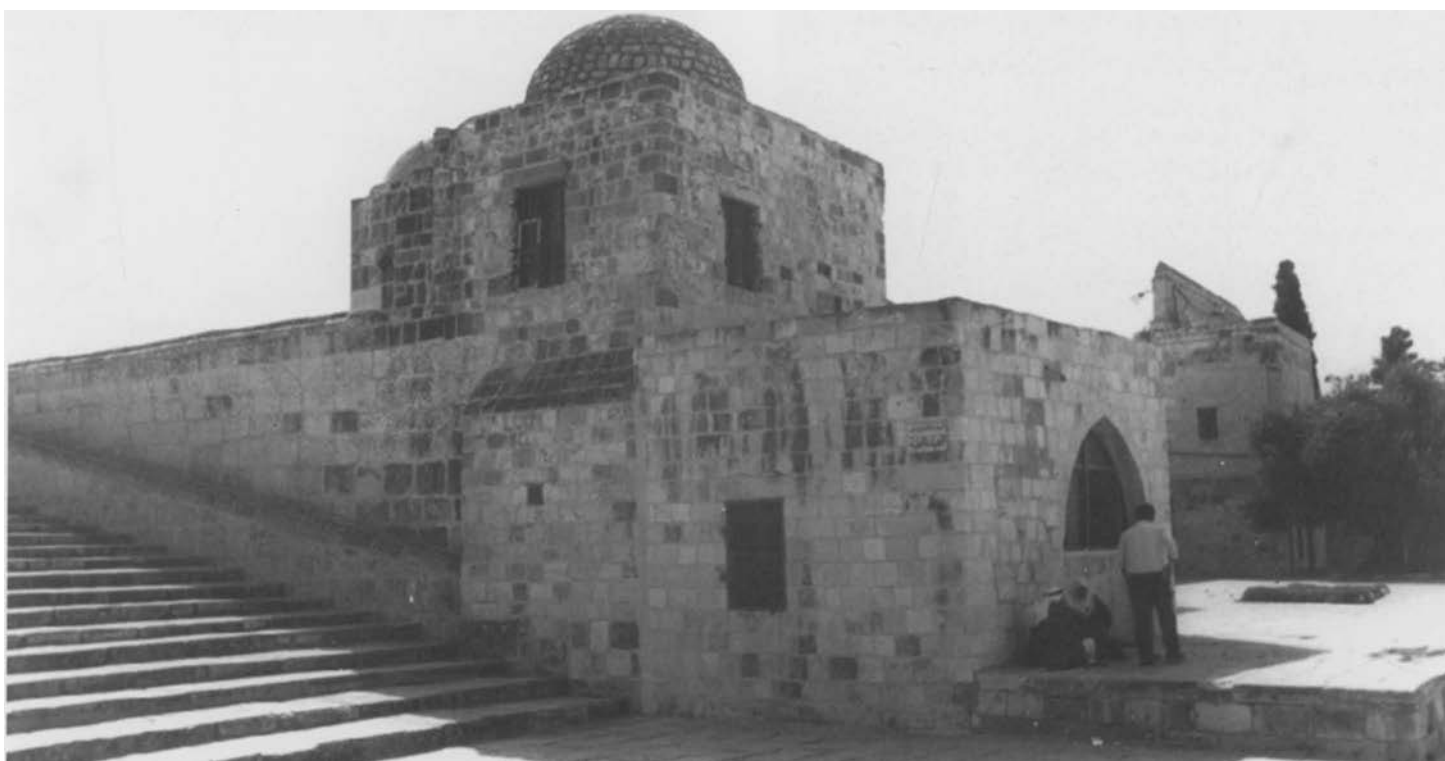


Fig. 52.2 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, north façade.



Pl. 52.2 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, general view of cell with stairway.



Pl. 52.3 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, detail of capital.

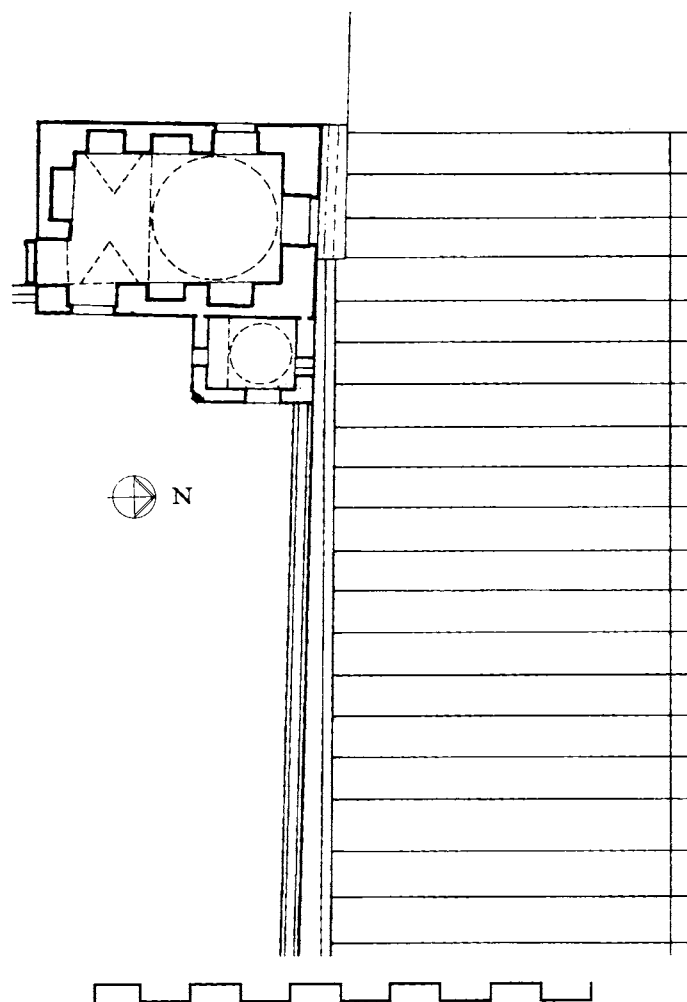


Fig. 52.3 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, ground plan.



Pl. 52.4 Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin, view of cell with cityscape behind.

53 SOUTH-WESTERN KHALWA

Name: South-Western Khalwa

Date: Undated. (A) The upper part—probably after 1222/1807
(B) The lower part—probably pre- or early Ottoman

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: The lower section of the building is now known as 'Ghurfat Samma'at al-Haram' (The room of the loudspeakers for the Haram). The upper part is also used as storage space by the Haram electricians.

Location

The cell is located at the south-western angle of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. To the south, it abuts the South-West Colonnade (877/1472).

Site and brief description (fig. 53.1)

The South-Western Khalwa is situated between the south-west colonnade to the south and the Mastabat Khalwat al-Dajani to the north, opposite al-Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (887/1482). The cell is constructed in two storeys, each of which consists of a single chamber. The lower room is cross-vaulted, and the upper one has a flat roof.

History

Once again, the only clue that has come to light so far regarding the construction of the upper storey is the statement by 'Ali Beg al-'Abbassi (Leyblisch 1861 2: 223; for details see cat. no. 51). An account of the Ottoman emphasis on the *khalwa* type and its prevalence in Jerusalem is to be found in Chapter 36 under "Development of the Haram al-Sharif" and under "*Khalwas*". In this building at least, however, there are two other sources of information that give some help with identification for the lower storey, although not with a precise date or location. Sijill 86: 293 reveals that the *qadi* on 11 Jumada 2 1015/14 October 1606 decided that al-Shaikh Ishaq ibn al-Shaikh 'Ali al-Masri should reside in a chamber (*hujra*) after the death of his father. It further states that 'this chamber is located in the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem (*bi-Haram al-Quds al-Sharif*) below the stairway of the Dome of the Rock terrace on the west side ... It used to house the records (*daftars*) of the *waqf* of the Haram.' There are three stairways to the west of the terrace but the most obvious choice for the identification of this chamber is the South-Western Khalwa, for it is the only *hujra* that extends *below* the stairway of the upper esplanade. However, if this reference in the *sijill* does relate to the South-Western Khalwa, as seems to be the case, it is possible to infer that the lower part of the *khalwa* was built at the same time as the rebuilding of the south-west colonnade, that is in 877/1472. Later, some time before 1015/1606 but certainly during the Ottoman period, the arch of the western elevation was blocked, and it was after this that the second storey must have been added. Al-Luqaimi (Ms. 915642: 4) cited by al-'Asali (1992: 304) reported that 'thus his Presence (*hadrat*) al-Saddiqi had assigned to myself (al-Luqaimi) a sublime *khalwa* on the edge of the Sakhra facing the Sultaniyya (al-Ashrafiyya) Madrasa ...' Unfortunately al-Luqaimi—who visited Jerusalem in 1143/1731—made no further comment beyond this that could confirm an identification of this 'sublime *khalwa*' with the South-Western Khalwa, but the description of the location is

straightforward and would thus appear to give a clear enough indication.

Architecture

A large pointed arch—now blocked—dominates the western elevation of the lower section of the cell. The aim of the infill was probably to adapt the cell for use as a storage place or a dwelling fit for meditation and retreat. Both aims accord with the information provided by the *sijill* and al-Luqaimi alike. A rectangular door measuring 90cm by 2.14m is contained within the span of the arch and has been fitted with a recent iron door. To the north of it there is a rectangular window. The northern elevation of the lower storey is a solid wall. A string course in the form of a fillet moulding marks the transition between the two sections of the *khalwa*.

The four external walls of the upper section share a similar masonry fabric. They are all solid, apart from a door in the eastern façade and two windows in the south and north elevations. The door measures 83cm by 1.66m, and is surmounted by a slit window (22cm by 36cm), the apex of which is decorated with a tripartite leaf, apparently in imitation of the one on the Khalwat Parwiz (cat. no. 17). It is tempting to consider this decorative feature as a control to allow the South-Western Khalwa to be given a date the same as—or at least very close to—that of Khalwat Parwiz, namely 967/1559-60. The other architectural features of the cell, however, make this argument untrustworthy. For example, the stones of the four uppermost courses of the *khalwa* are larger than the rest, and this practice is not common elsewhere among the other *khalwas* of the Haram. This would suggest either a rebuilding or a restoration phase to the upper storey, particularly in view of the fact that the chamber is covered by a flat roof. A slightly protruding course marks the top of the building and immediately above it there is a stone parapet.

Interior

The interiors of both the upper and lower storeys are used as storage space, and are now filled with electrical equipment. The floor of the lower chamber is covered with cement and the room is cross-vaulted. There is a stone dais measuring 90cm by 62cm by 92cm in the southern corner of the chamber, and an irregular as-yet-unrecorded area extends below the steps of the south-west colonnade. The interior of the upper chamber is rectangular in plan and is floored with a modern pavement of different colours of a type widely used in Jerusalem in the Mandate period until the early 1950s. The walls have been recently painted green and the roof, as already stated, is flat, which would indicate a rebuilding after the use of cement became commonplace.

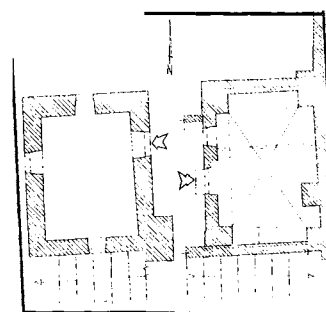


Fig. 53.1 South-Western Khalwa, sketch plan of upper and lower sections (Courtesy of the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Administration of Auqaf, Jerusalem).

54 MIHRAB AND MASTABAT AL-SANAUBAR

Name: Mihrab and Mastabat al-Sanaubar (the Niche and Prayer Platform of the Pine)

Date: Undated

Endowment: None known

Variant of name: None known

Modern name: The name 'al-Sanaubar' has recently been used to describe the *mihrab* because it was shaded by a pine-tree. Any earlier name—if there was one—is unknown.

Location

The Mastaba and Mihrab al-Sanaubar are to be found 36m east of Bab al-Maghariba, facing the Qubbat Yusuf Agha (cat. no. 39).

Site and brief description (figs. 54.1-54.3, pls. 54.1-54.14)

The *mastaba* and *mihrab* are free-standing, unconnected to any neighbouring building. The *mastaba* is surrounded on the east, north and west by an open space planted with trees. The south side is bordered by a paved path leading from Bab al-Maghariba into the Haram al-Sharif. The *mihrab* is in two parts; the lower section consists of a niche and the upper is a three-course *muqarnas* panel. Both parts were partly destroyed when the eponymous pine-tree fell on the *mihrab* in the severe winter of 1985, but it has been rebuilt in the same form by the Department of Islamic Archaeology.

History

Nothing has been written or published about this site in the Haram; it is even rare to find it listed in recent indices. The reason it is included in the present study is to try to cast some light on it. Not only is it unique, it is also odd. As to its attribution to the Ottoman period, this is not confirmed by any evidence as yet, but the decorative elements are in all probability not Mamluk, and it is not mentioned in the Mamluk sources. Some of the floral elements of the decoration are however similar, if not identical, to Ottoman Turkish ceramics.

Architecture

The *mastaba*, which is rectangular in plan, measures 16.13m long by 12.65m wide and is raised 88cm above the level of the Haram esplanade. It is both built of and paved in the dressed, white stone slabs which are of different sizes, some of which have weathered to grey or black. Access to the *mastaba* is possible from the north where there is a small stone flight (50cm by 40cm) of two steps.

The form of the *mihrab* is a concave (*mujawwaf*) niche set within a rectangular block 1.52m by 2.2m built of dressed white stone. The niche is 75cm wide by 40cm deep and 2m high. Its simple concave wall is broken only by a rectangular slit window in the middle of the recess; this measures 20cm wide by 55cm high and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. The apex of the *mihrab* niche is finished with a pointed horse-shoe arch, the key-stone of which is decorated by a central roundel cut into the stone. The roundel contains a whirling rosette of seventeen spokes. A narrow moulding projects slightly to frame the apex of the arch and continues to the edges of both sides of the block, marking the exterior springing of the arch. The furthest stones to the east and west of the course into which the apex of the arch cuts are decorated by a roundel. The decoration is described in detail below. Above this course, the *mihrab* niche is crowned by

three heavy tiers of *muqarnas* moulding. This too is described in detail below.

The east and west sides of the *mihrab* are identical; each measures 30cm in width. The lower part is a solid undecorated wall but in the upper section there is a masonry bracket with a complex moulding, and one course above this the side of the *muqarnas* cornice begins. The bracket is probably purely decorative, for it is unrelated to the architecture above or below it. The south-facing rear of the *mihrab* is supported by a rectangular masonry dais and it is constructed of regular courses of dressed white stones. An elegant roll moulding cuts across horizontally to separate the back of the niche from the hood above. The feature consists of two elements, the lower being a roll moulding, and the upper splay-faced. A curious relief finial carved in stone has been positioned directly above the apex of the hood. The finial is integrated into the panel that crowns the *mihrab* and is made up of three sections. The lowest is in the form of a stirrup, a semicircle resting on a flat base; the middle section is a tall bar with a roll moulding at the centre and the upper part is a closed circle to denote the full moon. This is, therefore, a version of the standard finial found on domes; the decision to banish it out of sight at the back of the *mihrab* is somewhat strange. It is almost as if the semicircular, domed back part of the niche is treated as a separate, independent, building.

[Editorial note: The decoration of the north, west and east faces of the *muqarnas* cornice is equally unusual. The closest comparison in the Haram al-Sharif is the ornamentation of the *qibla* piers of Sabil Mustafa Agha (Sabil Budair, cat. no. 48). The concentration on 'naturalistic' flowers in the individual lancet niches seems to indicate a similar 18th-century date for this part of the *mihrab* at least, although it is probable, because of its ugly proportions, that it has been much altered since its original conception.

The decorative elements begin at the level of the apex of the hood. A whirling rosette of seventeen spokes crowns the apex and to each side in the spandrels there is an identical carved stone medallion. The centre of the motif is an eight-petalled rosette, the middle section of which stands proud from the gently concave 'petals'. In this it resembles certain of the 16th-century stone roundels decorating the gates and walls of the city. Emerging from the tips of the 'petals' and spiralling anticlockwise to fill the interstices between them, split-palmette leaf tendrils create whorls, each with a small triangular leaf between them, to fill the remaining space.

The *muqarnas* is in three tiers. It is clear from the way some of the niches have been curtailed at their apex that the cornice was considerably damaged in 1985. To take the northern façade first: the three central niches are broader than the two outer ones. The decoration of these two external elements is treated identically; both of them have a trefoil at the top of the niche, with spiralling tendrils, similar in concept to those already described in the rosettes, completing the motif. The three central niches, which are in effect ogival in shape for their lancet-shaped apices cut into the next tier, are treated individually. The central one is filled with a series of the spiralling tendrils—the lowest level has five whorls, the next has four, the next two, and finally a single whorl fills the lancet-shaped upper part. The niche to the left (east) of the centre is filled with a plant form. The central stem of this extends into the next tier to terminate in a single leaf. Others are arranged symmetrically up the stem; the top and bottom pairs spiral back on themselves to form the now familiar whorls. The balancing niche to the right (west) has a plant which resembles a

Classical acanthus, except that it terminates in a tulip-like head. Here the apex that cuts into the tier above does not seem to be related to the main, lower section, for it contains a six-petalled 'daisy' or star-polygon. All the individual elements of these designs have been carefully carved, each with a concave groove running along its length to take advantage of the accents created by sun and shadow.

Each niche of the middle tier is subdivided into three lancet elements. Reading from left (east) to right (west) these contain: (a) a plant bearing a six-petalled flower; (b) blank; (c) a plant with three tulip-like heads (perhaps a lily); (d) as (a); (e) the foliate top of the eastern niche described above; (f) a tulip (?); (g) blank; (h) a carnation (?); (i) the star-polygon or 'daisy' already described; (j) a carnation (?); (k) blank; (l) a plant with three tulip-like heads.

The top level of the *muqarnas* is made up of a series of five ogival niches. The heads of these are ribbed. The main element of each niche is subdivided by an extension of the ribs of the apex. Only one element has an additional decoration; the central lancet niche in the element right of centre (west) has a tulip plant.

The carving on the sides of the cornice has suffered less from weathering. Both the western and eastern side elevations have, as expected, three tiers of ornament. To take the western façade first: the left-hand (northern) niche of the lowest level has a plant with a trefoil head above split-palmette whorls similar to that described on the lower level of the main façade. The next element, a narrow lancet-shaped 'rib', has a series of v-shaped ribs arranged like the paired spines of, say, a spruce but upside down. The final niche to the south has a single tulip. Above, the middle section has (a) two triple-headed 'tulips' (or lilies); (b) a narrow lancet-shaped 'rib' with a lily-of-the-valley (*convallaria majalis*), scilla or hyacinth head; a tulip (or lily) with three heads (this is badly weathered). As on the main façade, the uppermost level has no floral decoration, but is cut by a series of intersecting arched ribs.

The eastern side elevation is arranged in a similar way to the opposite side. The lower level has the same plant form with a trefoil head above two whorls to the north and the lancet-shaped central 'rib' is similarly decorated by v-shaped ribbing. The southern element is here, however, filled by a pair of tulip plants. In the tier above, the northern niche has two sub-elements, each filled with a plant bearing paired fleshy leaves and topped by a trefoil. The lancet-shaped central 'rib' has a similar lily-of-the-valley, hyacinth or scilla stem as the opposite side, and the southern niche has a carnation. The topmost layer is undecorated, as on the western elevation.

Although an attempt has been made to identify the plants depicted in stone, the absence of colour and comparative scale, coupled with the stylisation of the forms, makes it a hazardous enterprise. The main point to the attempt is to stress how unusual is the naturalistic detailing. The parallels in Ottoman art are to be found in ceramic tiles and vessels, in manuscript illumination and textiles. The ceramic tiles on the northwest wall of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque in Istanbul, for example, have many of the same species—hyacinth, carnation, spotted fritillary, daisy-like heads and split palmettes. Identification is here, of course,

greatly helped by the brilliant colour. The concept of the ceramic tiles at the head of the *minbar* in the same mosque is perhaps even closer to the stone *muqarnas* elements of the Mihrab al-Sanaubar, for the plant forms have been arranged in a stylised, symmetrical way to conform to the lancet-shape of the panel.¹ However, although the *waqfiyya* of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque dates to 1561, the Mihrab al-Sanaubar probably dates to the following century, when 'tulipomania' reached its zenith. Whatever its date, it is the links with the court art of Istanbul that make it outstanding. It also illustrates in a vivid way—and it would have been even more vivid if the *muqarnas* cornice were originally gilded or painted—that the concept of linking the Sanctuary with Paradise continued into the Ottoman period. (For a discussion of this concept, see among others, Schimmel 1976, Hanaway 1976 and Moynihan 1979. For a similar interpretation of the decoration of the Dome of the Rock, see Rosen-Ayalon 1989.) SA]

Features

The *mihrab* of al-Sanaubar, built entirely of high quality white stone, is the most sophisticated and elaborate of all the examples on the Haram. It is quite unique. The construction is made peculiar by reason of three unfamiliar architectural features. The first is the slit window in the back wall of the niche. It is hard to propose a function for this window and also to explain why it is placed there in particular. Was it for decoration—or did it serve a specific purpose? The second feature is the exterior engaged stone finial placed directly above the apex of the hood. Usually finials in the buildings of Jerusalem are to be found on the top of minarets or domes; they are either a decorative feature or a religious symbol affiliating the site to Islam. But to find a finial on a *mihrab* is to the best of our knowledge unprecedented in Jerusalem, and it is hard to speculate what point it is making, other than decoration. It is possible, though unlikely because it is carved in relief, that the finial originally crowned the *mihrab* and was only later placed in this secondary position.

The third aspect of this curious building that is worth special notice is not only the shape of the upper part of the *mihrab*, the *muqarnas* panel, but also its decorative scheme. This panel makes the *mihrab* look like a *minbar*, as Taha (1988: 58) already noted. In this sense too the Mihrab al-Sanaubar is unique among those of the Haram. The questions raised by the decorative scheme remain at present without answers—who was the patron of the *mihrab*? when was it first built? was it originally built as a *mihrab* at all? and was it always a single unit? The extraordinary proportions of the heavy *muqarnas* cornice give it a top-heavy appearance which is so extreme that the structure looks unstable. Since this particular form of decoration is not found elsewhere on the *mihrabs* or on the other Ottoman buildings on the Haram or, indeed, anywhere in Jerusalem, this raises the question of whether the craftsman was local or whether he was brought in from abroad. It seems most probable, however, that Mihrab al-Sanaubar is an example of the initiative of a local *mi'mar*.

¹ The ceramic panels are well illustrated in colour in Seherr-Thoss 1968: 282-85, pls. 130, 131.

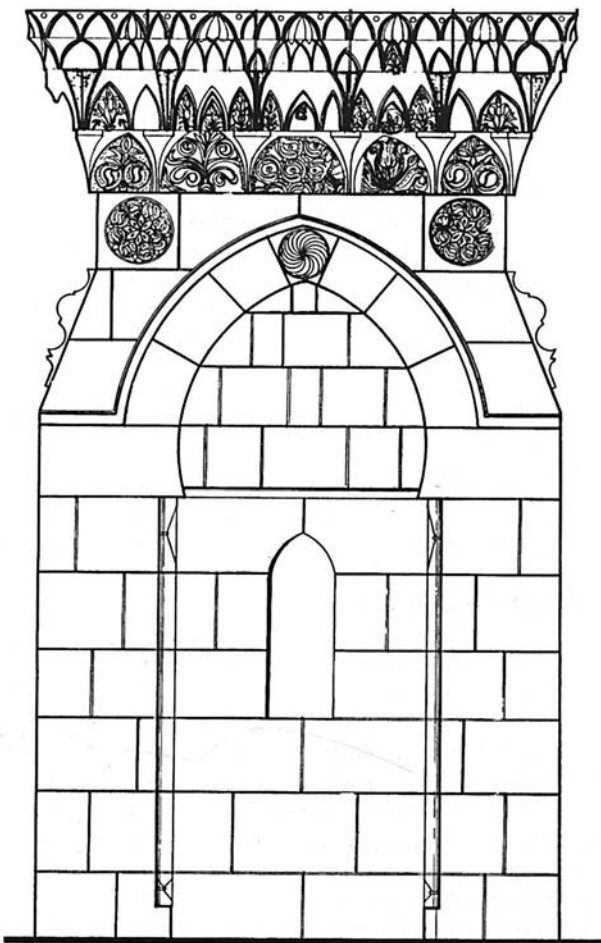


Fig. 54.1 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, sketch drawing of main façade (Courtesy of DIA).



Pl. 54.1 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, general view from front (Photograph DIA).

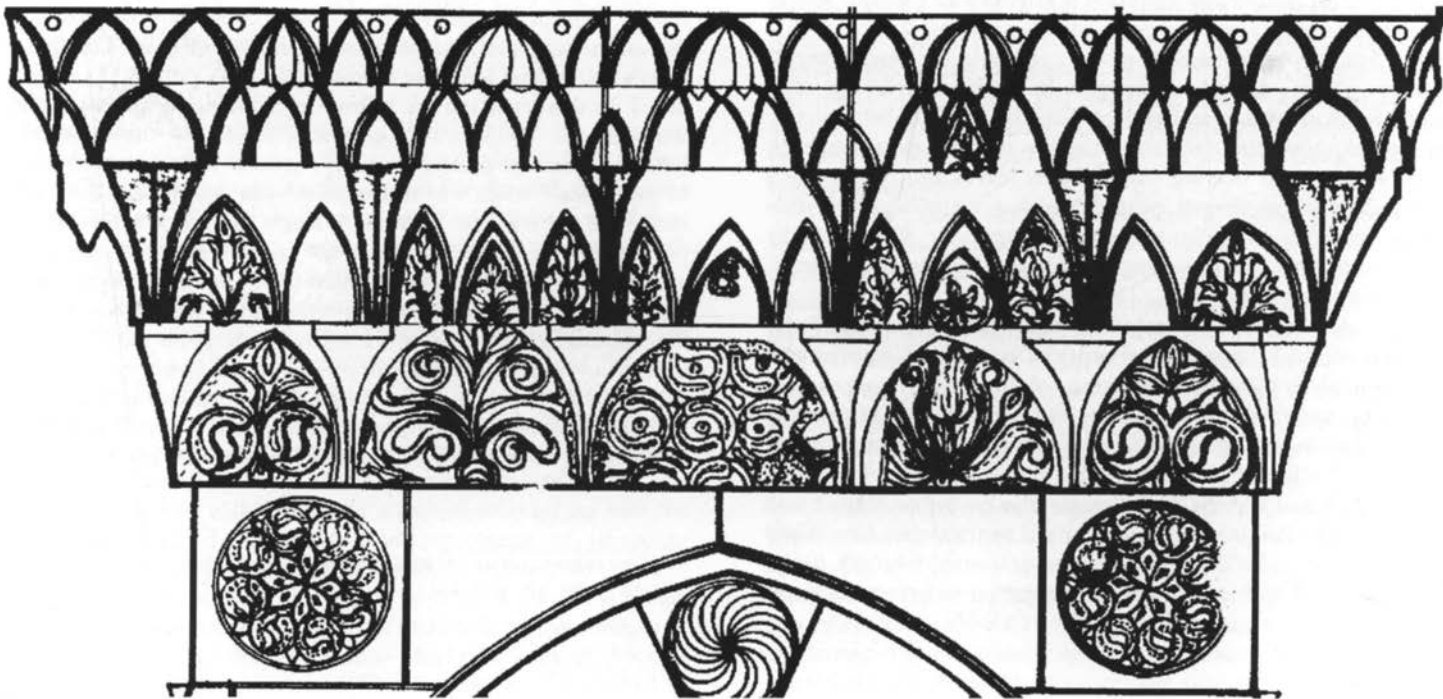


Fig. 54.2 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of cornice.



Pl. 54.2 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, side view of east elevation.



Pl. 54.4 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, side view of west elevation.



Pl. 54.3 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of upper east side.



Pl. 54.5 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of upper west side.



Pl. 54.6 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, before restoration (Photograph DIA).



Pl. 54.8 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, during demolition (Photograph DIA).



Pl. 54.7 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of upper part from the rear.



Pl. 54.9 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, upper part, front view.



Fig. 54.3 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, sketch drawing of decorative roundel (Courtesy of DIA).



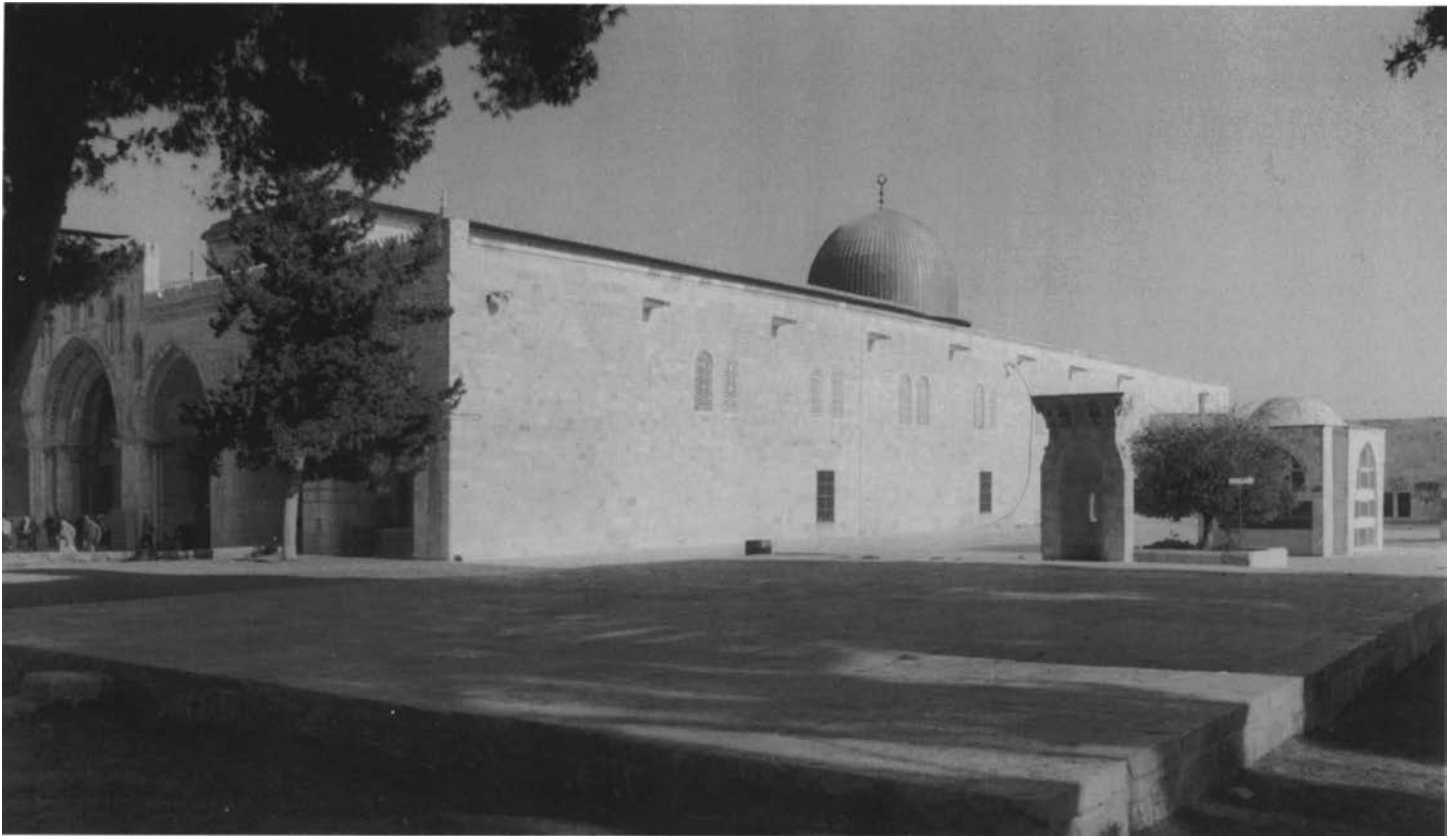
Pl. 54.10 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of east side, front.



Pl. 54.11 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of west side, front.



Pl. 54.12 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, detail of *muqarnas*.



Pl. 54.13 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, with Asqa Mosque in background.



Pl. 54.14 Mihrab al-Sanaubar, general view of rear of *mihrab*.

55 **MASTABAS AND MIHRABS**

Name: *Mastabas* and *mihrabs*

Date: The majority of the *mastabas* (places of prayer) and *mihrabs* (prayer niches) on the Haram al-Sharif are undated, but a few carry foundation inscriptions (see below).

Endowment: None is known. It might well be expected that no *waqfiyya* would be found for the upkeep of the *mastabas* and *mihrabs* as their function is straightforward and there are no maintenance expenses of any significance. The very fact that they are located within the Haram precinct on the one hand, and that they were built by anonymous patrons on the other, reduces the likelihood of any *waqfiyya* having been established. Their upkeep—such as it is—falls under the overall endowment of al-Aqsa Mosque for buildings on the Haram, and so no specific sum would be set aside either for the employment of a caretaker or for repairs.

Variants of name: The majority of the *mastabas* on the Haram have no name; to be more specific, they no longer retain any original name they may once have possessed. Despite this fact, various names have traditionally been associated with the *mastabas* and the niches scattered within the Haram area. Some of these relate to the founder, but most are taken from their location or are named after a neighbouring monument. As usual, exceptions can be found. The list of the *mastabas* and *mihrabs* as they are currently defined is as follows:

A. Dated Ottoman *mastabas* and niches

Mihrab wa mastabat Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8)

Mihrab wa mastabat 'Ali Pasha (cat. no. 37)

Mihrab wa mastabat Sabil Sha'lan (cat. no. 36)

Mihrab wa mastabat Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 47)

B. Pre-Ottoman (Mamluk) *mastabas*

55/1. Mihrab wa mastabat al-Fakhriyya

55/2. Mihrab wa mastabat al-Karak

55/3. Mihrab wa mastabat Qubbat Musa

55/4. Mihrab wa mastabat Sabil Qa'itbai

55/5. Mihrab wa mastabat Jarkas al-Nasiri

55/6. Mastabat al-Zahir (see Mastabat Sabil Sha'lan cat. no. 36)

C. Probable Ottoman *mastabas* with *mihrabs*

55/7. Mihrab wa mastabat al-Zuhur ('Prayer niche and place of the flowers')

55/8. Mihrab wa mastabat Bab al-Maghariba

55/9. Mihrab wa mastabat Khalwat al-Dajani

55/10. Mihrab wa mastabat Bab al-Ghawanim al-Gharbiyya

55/11. Mihrab wa mastabat Bab al-Ghawanim al-Sharqiyya

55/12. The Western Mastaba

55/13. Mihrab wa mastabat Sabil Mustafa Agha (al-Shaikh Budair)

D. Probable Ottoman *mastabas* without a *mihrab*

55/14. Mastabat Bab al-Hadid

55/15. Mastabat Bab al-Qattanin

55/16. The double Mastaba of the Ablutions

55/17. Mastabat al-Qas al-Sharqiyya

55/18. The Mastaba to the north east of al-Aqsa mosque

55/19. The Mastaba of the Islamic Museum

55/20. The Mastaba south of Mastabat al-Karak

E. Recent *mastabas*

55/21. Mastabat Sabra and Shatila

55/22. The Mastaba to the west of the Golden Gate

55/23. The Mastaba to the south of the Golden Gate

55/24. The Mastaba of the eastern colonnade

55/25. The South-Eastern Mastaba

55/26. The South-Western Mastaba

55/27. The Eastern Mastaba

Modern names: See above.

Location

With the exception of one example (Mastabat al-Karak no. 55/2) which is located at the south-east corner of the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock), all the *mastabas* are situated within the esplanade of the Haram. The majority were constructed to the west of the Haram, with only a few built in the northern or the southern sections of the enclosure. Until the early years of 1970, there were no *mastabas* in the eastern area.

Function

The principal function for building *mastabas* in the Haram was to enable believers to perform their daily prayer in a convenient open-air site within the sacred precinct. The fact that most of the *mastabas* are equipped with a *mihrab*—though it is not vital—emphasises this purpose and even explains why the word *mastaba* is translated into English as 'a place of prayer'. The large number of these *mastabas* and *mihrabs* seems to be intended to reinforce the fact that the whole area of the Haram is holy and blessed by Allah in His Holy Qur'an (Sura XVII: 1). Furthermore, the *mastabas* serve a secondary aim for they are also places for religious guidance, teaching, and Qur'anic recitation. They provide a convenient site for meditation, and a shelter from the heat of the sun; and of course they also give the Haram a beautiful and quite distinct landscape.

Site and brief description (figs. 55.1-55.5, pls. 55.1-55.12)

The term *mastaba*, which appears in most medieval Arabic dictionaries and in many Mamluk documents as well as in some historical sources, means a raised structure where people can sit. It is written either with *sin* or *sad*. Usually it is constructed of masonry, but if timber is used instead of stone it is called a *dikka*. *Mastabas* (benches) are also found on both sides of the entrances of monuments and of shops, although there is a secondary use in the second case, where they are also used to display goods for sale. The *mastaba* appears in Mamluk documents described in various ways such as 'a *mastaba* built with coloured marble' (*mastaba bi-l-rukham al-mulaun*), 'a big *mastaba* paved with marble' (*mastaba kubra mafrusha bi-l-rukham*), and 'a *mastaba* built with masonry' (*mastaba mabniyya bi-l-hajar*). For further details and especially for entries in the relevant dictionaries see Amin and Ibrahim 1990: 106.

The type of bench *mastaba* discussed above is found in many Jerusalem monuments, especially those dating to the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. In addition a different type of *mastaba* was popular in the Haram. These, which are the subject of this catalogue entry, are free-standing and single-unit structures, although some surround a monument or adjoin a wall, but none of them is built as part of an entrance or porch. The plan of the Haram *mastabas* is always rectangular but rarely square. They are built and paved with masonry, and are raised about 70 cm above ground level. A stone block with a niche (*mihrab*) is

usually built at the south side to indicate the direction of prayer towards Mecca, although some are constructed without a niche.

History

Identification

Very few of the *mastabas* can be firmly assigned to a specific period or date, for most have no foundation inscription and are not mentioned in detail in the historical sources. Some accounts contain brief references, but these are generalised and refer to them in a collective way. The early Muslim sources and travellers, especially before the Crusader period, make no mention of the *mastabas* of the Haram. Al-'Umari (1924) refers to many *mastabas* in the Haram enclosure, a few of which are still extant and can be safely attributed to the Mamluk period, but most of the descriptions are now out of date, for much has been changed and added since al-'Umari's account. Unfortunately, Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 164), the most authoritative and comprehensive author for the Haram, reports on only one *mastaba*, although others probably existed at the time. Visitors and travellers to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period reveal that a great many examples were to be found in the Haram. Al-'Ayyashi (al-'Asali 1992: 210), when he visited the Haram in 1074/1663, noticed that 'in the Haram there were many huge trees; below each a masonry platform was built with fine stones. It extends the length of the branches of the tree and it houses a *mihrab*.' Evliya Çelebi, reporting on the situation in the year 1083/1672 (Stephan 1980: 89), says that 'On eighty-three sites small platforms are to be met for prayers in the open, established in the shadow of the lofty trees. Each of them has a prayer-niche, each being the abode of a saint of Allah.' In another place Evliya Çelebi writes 'As to the Shrines to ... these are on separate daises situated in the Haram enclosure' (Stephan 1980: 94).

According to this information, it appears probable that it was a deliberate policy at some time in the Ottoman period to increase or at least to restore the *mastabas* within the Haram precinct. This partly explains why the *mastabas* form part of the present study, for they do not have any real architectural significance, nor is their identification to the Ottoman period completely confirmed. The reasons behind this increase in building or restoring *mastabas* and niches seems to correlate with the pattern of overall architectural activity in Jerusalem from the second half of the 17th century until 1831. An examination of this activity through an analysis of the list of buildings in the catalogue will show that no major project took place in Jerusalem after the building of al-Zawiyya al-Qadiriyya (cat. no. 35). It would seem that the minor building projects in the Haram and in Jerusalem as a whole provide a clear mirror image of the general decline of the later Ottoman empire.

There is another factor to take into account, and that is the possibility that the increase in the construction of *mastabas* coincided with the growth of the importance of the *ziyara* of the Haram in the Ottoman period. *Mastabas* and *mihrabs* should, then, be seen in the context of other monumental projects, such as the construction of Kursi Sulaiman (cat. no. 42) or Qubbat al-Khadr (cat. no. 31), which were built specifically to encourage *ziyara* to Jerusalem.

Date

As noted above, while a handful can be assigned a specific date, the majority of *mastabas* are undated. The dated examples are either Mamluk or Ottoman, and the means of dating is either by foundation inscription or by literary reference. Those it is possible

to assign to the Ottoman period are:

- (1) Mihrab and Mastaba of Sabil Bab al-'Atm (cat. no. 8);
- (2) Mastaba and Mihrab of 'Ali Pasha (cat. no. 37);
- (3) Mihrab and Mastaba of Sabil Sha'lan (cat. no. 36);
- (4) Mastaba and Mihrab of Ahmad Qullari (cat. no. 47).

Each of these appears in a reference as an independent entry, and in this study too they are so treated. It is also possible to attribute or date more firmly some of the Haram *mastabas* and niches to the pre-Ottoman period, whether Ayyubid or Mamluk,¹ although it is possible they have been restored later, during the Ottoman period. Recently, early in the 1980s, the Aqsa Restoration Committee constructed seven *mastabas* in the eastern part of the Haram.² Besides these dated examples, there are a number of undated *mastabas* and niches (see below). Although the dates of the *mastabas* and *mihrabs* within the Haram still cannot be precisely established, they are studied here because

¹ The means of identification rely mainly on literary references or architectural observation. The *mastabas* that date back to the Mamluk period are: (1) the *mastaba* and *mihrab* of al-Fakhriyya (no. 55/1). Although Taha (1988: 62) knew that it was mentioned by al-'Umari (1924: 154, 164), he thought it was Ottoman but gave no evidence for this, and in fact it has an inscription above the *mihrab* inscribed in a style that shows it is Mamluk rather than Ottoman. This led van Berchem (1925: 133) to publish it under the inscriptions of the Bahri Mamluks. Its translation runs as follows 'There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah'. (2) The *mastabat wa mihrab* al-Karak (no. 55/2), mentioned in the 9th/14th century by al-Zahiri (Marmarji 1948: 283). Taha (1988: 60) omitted al-Zahiri and mistakenly dated the *mastaba* to the Turkish (Ottoman) period. (3) The *mastaba wa mihrab* Qubbat Musa (no. 55/3) described by al-'Umari, although without the *mihrab*, which was added later. (4) The *mastaba* of Sabil Qa'itbai, probably built by Sultan Inal (who reigned 857/1453 to 865/1461) at the time he erected a *sabil* which was later rebuilt by Qa'itbai (van Berchem 1925: 159-62; Burgoyne 1987: 606).

² These are: (1) The *mastaba* of Sabra and Shatila (no. 55/21), built in 1981 to commemorate the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut. It measures 14.97m long by 10.04m wide by 85cm high. There is no *mihrab* but an inscription has been cut on the chamfered edge of a cylindrical shaft. (2) The *mastaba* to the south west of the Golden Gate (no. 55/22), measuring 8.8m wide by 9.3m long. A low simple *mihrab* block is built on the *qibla* side, 85cm wide by 91cm high by 40cm deep. The upper edge of the *mihrab* block is planted with flowers. (3) The *mastaba* to the south east of the Golden Gate (no. 55/23), close to the eastern wall of the Haram. It measures 8.45m wide by 11m long and 65cm high. It has no *mihrab* and is approached by way of three steps on the east. (4) The *mastaba* of the eastern colonnade (no. 55/24), access to which is through three large rectangular steps to the north; it measures 9m wide by 13m long by 70cm high. An undecorated *mihrab* of white dressed stone is built at the centre of the southern side, measuring 1.3m long by 1.83m high by 71cm wide. The *mihrab* niche is 70cm wide by 35cm deep and is surmounted by a semicircular arch. The roof of the block slopes towards the south to prevent water collecting. (5) The South-Eastern *mastaba* (no. 55/25), 28.4m long by 12.8m wide by 78cm high; this is the largest of the new examples and has no *mihrab*. (6) The South-Western *mastaba* (no. 55/26) measuring 12.25m wide by 17.08m long by 59cm high. It is surrounded by a stone parapet reaching 59cm in height and three trees are enclosed within it. A very simple *mihrab* niche is placed at the south side, expressed by means of a semicircular curve within the wall itself, 1.07m wide by 68cm deep by 59cm high. (7) the Eastern *mastaba* (no. 55/27).

they have not featured in any published work apart from that of Taha (1988), and they have not been mentioned by any mediaeval sources from the pre-Mamluk period.

Founder

The founders of the dated *mastabas* and niches, whether they were Mamluk or Ottoman, were high-ranking officials (such as sultans, *amirs*, governors and *pashas*) as was the custom for most of the Islamic monuments in Jerusalem and elsewhere. This raises the question of who built the undated prayer platforms and niches in the Haram. The lack of information makes it safer to consider the builders as anonymous. It is possible to speculate, however, whether concealing their name was a deliberate policy on the part of the patron in order to receive a higher reward as expressed in the religious teaching of the Prophet Muhammad, or whether these structures were financed from the income of the Haram *waqf*.

Architecture

The so-called *mastabat* and *mihrab* al-Zuhur ('the Flowers') no. 55/7 is located at the south end of the paved walkway leading from Bab al-Silsila to the Aqsa Mosque. The *mastaba* is nearly square in plan, measuring 6.5m wide by 7.7m long by 0.75m high. It is paved and constructed of white masonry of medium size, and it is approached through two rectangular steps placed at the north-eastern corner. The *mihrab* abuts the eastern side of the *mastaba*, and is built on the level of the Haram esplanade. The location of the *mihrab* is unique among other Haram examples which are usually built at the middle of the south wall of their related *mastaba*. The 'Flowers' niche is constructed to form a simple rectangular area which measures 1.7m long by 1.6m wide, and it is paved with old white stone blocks that are different to the slabs forming the pavement of the Haram which abuts the *mihrab*. This area is enclosed by a low wall reaching a height of 56cm on the eastern, northern and southern sides, while the western wall is formed by the eastern wall of the *mastaba*. The northern wall is cut to form an entrance 98cm across which allows easy access into the paved floor area to pray. The niche of the *mihrab* proper is located in the southern (*qibla*) wall. It is semicircular in profile, measuring 45cm deep by 110cm wide by 56cm high. The principle behind this layout is to some extent similar to that behind the first and second *mihrahs* of Qubbat al-Nabi (cat. no. 10), which may indicate that it was built at some time during the Ottoman period.

The *mastaba* and *mihrab* of Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 55/8) lies 3.5m west of the southern end of the western *riwaq* (707-37/1307-37). It is rectangular in form and measures 18.65m long by 10.2m wide. Although the surrounding ground has been paved, it is not level. The platform of the *mastaba* has been both constructed and paved with slabs of good-quality white and red stone of various sizes, some of them as large as 2.15m by 90cm. The north-western and north-eastern corners, and the edges, are constructed of larger stone slabs than the rest. Access to the *mastaba* is possible from every direction, for there are steps on each of the four sides. The step on the east side measures 1.65m long by 50cm wide and 19cm high. As for the north side, there are two steps, the first measuring 1.56m long by 24cm wide by 25cm high, while the second is 1.56m long by 94cm wide and 17cm high. The west side also has two steps, the first 1.61m long by 36cm wide by 20cm high and the second 1.61m long by 42cm wide by 20cm in height. At the south side two stone blocks measuring 93cm long by 50cm wide by 82cm high are chiselled

to form three small steps. In the centre of the north wall, there is an undecorated concave niche measuring 74cm wide by 40cm deep by 1.49m high. The apex of this *mihrab* is in the form of a scallop and is surmounted by a pointed arch. The block is topped by two courses, the first built directly above the arch. This is a stone course with a *cyma recta* moulding. The second course is plain masonry and serves as a sloping roof to allow for immediate drainage of rainwater. The east, the west and the south sides of the *mihrab* are solid walls built of small white undecorated stones. It is hard to date the structure owing to the lack of any evidence; to rely solely on architectural observation is not enough because most of these *mastabas* are built in a similar style and technique, and in any case are of very simple design.

The *mastaba* and *mihrab* of Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9) is located to the east of Sabil Qasim Pasha (cat. no. 2). It runs from north to south, occupying the space between the south-west and the west colonnade. The *mastaba* was built in front of Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 46) and the cistern of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, and its location provides its name. The *mastaba* is rectangular in plan, measuring 31.4m long by 11.75m wide by 45cm high. It is approached either from the north or from the west. There are two small steps to the west which give easy access to the platform. The east side of the *mastaba* adjoins the western border of the Dome of the Rock terrace, and the southern side is marked by an additional course of stonework which rises above the level of the dais and is finished by a dressed course with a rounded profile. A large olive tree grows in the southern section of the *mastaba*, its branches shadowing the *mihrab*, and this accords with the descriptions left by some travellers of the prayer platforms on the Haram (see above). A low rectangular stone parapet surrounds the tree, some 2m wide by 4m long, and there is another walled area measuring 2.6m wide by 2.85m long in the centre of the *mastaba*, now empty but apparently once containing another tree. This *mastaba*, like the rest of those on the Haram, is built and paved with stone slabs of varying size. The *mihrab* niche, as usual, is located on the *qibla* (south) side. It is centred and built of nine courses of *ablaq* masonry of red and white which have weathered to a uniform grey. The niche measures 38cm deep by 75cm wide, terminating in the form of a scallop surmounted by a pointed arch. The uppermost course is set directly above the arch, projecting slightly and with a chamfered edge. The east, west, and south walls of the *mihrab* are of solid, undecorated masonry. Altogether, the *mihrab* is handsome and, although undecorated, it appears that it was built with care and skill. The high quality is reminiscent of the technique employed in Mamluk *mihrahs*, but as there is no evidence with which to date the *mihrab* or even the *mastaba* itself, the date must remain a mere supposition. Because the *mihrab* block is not integrated into the fabric of the *mastaba*, it must have been constructed later.

Two *mastabas* are to be found in the north-western section of the Haram. The first is located near Bab al-Ghawanima and therefore named here the 'Western Mastaba of Bab al-Ghawanima' (no. 55/10); the second lies to the east of this and is thus called here the 'Eastern Mastaba of Bab al-Ghawanima' (no. 55/11). The date of the Western Mastaba and Mihrab of Bab al-Ghawanima (fig. 52/10.1; pl. 55/10.1, 55/10.2) was mistakenly given by Taha (1988: 57) as Mamluk and as having been built by the Amir Balwi al-Zahiri,³ Inspector of the two Sacred Precincts

³ Mujir al-Din (1973 2: 273) states that 'Amir Balwi al-Zahiri built the *mihrab* and the *mastaba* opposite Bab al-Nazir in Dhu 'l-Hijja 795/October-November 1393.'

(*nazir al-haramain al-sharifain*, i.e., Jerusalem and Hebron⁴) during the second reign of Sultan Barquq (792-801/1390-9). Although it is true that the *mihrab* is elegant, and its slender form and to some extent rich decoration might imply that it was constructed in the Mamluk period, there is no proof to support this proposition, and even dating the *mihrab* to the Ottoman period is not straightforward. The *mastaba* is rectangular in plan. It runs from east to west and measures 17.7m long by 9.6m wide, its height from ground level being irregular. It is reached by way of a recently paved walkway to the north, which terminates in a low stone step. The *mastaba* is paved and constructed of white masonry slabs now weathered to grey. The paving scheme of the *mastaba* is divided into six rectangular sections by an axial line of paving stones which lead from the walkway at the northern end of the *mastaba* to terminate in front of the *mihrab*, and by three lines of paving stones running from east to west.

The associated *mihrab* is constructed of dressed, white stone that has weathered to grey. It is rectangular, measuring 2.56m in height and 1.25m in width. The recessed niche is also rectangular and contains the main decorative scheme of the *mihrab*. The niche is framed by a very narrow roll moulding, which takes the form of a semicircular arch at its summit. The niche of the *mihrab*, which has no parallel in Jerusalem, measures 70cm wide by 14cm deep by 1.58m high; it is surmounted by a carved shell with seven ribs, surrounded by a bold roll moulding with an incised groove. The shell niche is carried on two brackets incorporated into the fabric of the panel, and both have a frame moulding. A marble panel is to be found two courses below the shell. It projects slightly and has a relatively wide chamfered frame in the form of a semicircular arch. The centre of the panel is slightly recessed, the recess following the profile of the panel at the top and terminating in a waisted stem. The niche ends two courses below the marble panel; its outer corners are decorated by a chamfered cut surmounted by a small bifurcating organic shape reminiscent of a tulip head or leaf.

The Eastern Mastaba of Bab al-Ghawanim was called by Taha (1988: 59) 'the Mastaba of Qubbat Sulaiman' (of c. 600/1200) because of its location close to the *qubba*. However, because Qubbat Sulaiman has its own associated *mastaba*, it is preferable to avoid any danger of misunderstanding and to call it the 'Eastern Mastaba of Bab al-Ghawanim', as explained above. Taha (1988: 59) believes that the *mastaba* was probably built in the Ottoman period, though his account speculates that it was below ground level, the *mihrab* appearing as if it were planted in the ground. In fact, it seems that there was no Ottoman *mastaba* on the site, for the map of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (Wilson 1865) only shows a *mihrab* niche built on natural rock. In fact, the Eastern Mastaba of Bab al-Ghawanim turns out to be a new construction—it was built as recently as 1988 by the Aqsa Restoration Committee. The *mastaba* is rectangular in plan, measuring 17.35m long by 8.46m wide and 50cm high at its highest point from the ground at the north-eastern side. The *mastaba* is both constructed and paved with new white stone slabs that still retain their colour. The *mihrab* is a heavy masonry block measuring 1.35m long by 95cm wide by 1.6m high, projecting

45cm from the south side of the *mastaba*. Its roof slopes 16cm towards the south. The construction is of white and yellow stones of rectangular shape. The niche of the *mihrab* measures 42cm deep by 73cm wide, with a concave scallop forming its apex. The scallop is surmounted by a simple pointed arch made up of six voussoirs. The building terminates one course above the arch.

The Western Mastaba is situated opposite that of 'Ali Pasha (cat. no. 37), between the Hujrat Islam Beg (cat. no. 21) and the Khalwa of Bairam Pasha (cat. no. 34), with its eastern side adjacent to the western border of the Dome of the Rock terrace. It is the usual rectangle in plan, measuring 11m wide by 10.6m long by 85cm high, and it is reached by way of a flight of three steps built on the north side in 1977. The rectangular mouth of a cistern, constructed of masonry and numbered 31 in the map of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (Wilson 1865), is built on the west side of the *mastaba*. It measures 90cm wide by 80cm long and 70cm high. The *mastaba* is constructed of, and paved with, masonry slabs of different sizes, some measuring 1.9m long by 50cm wide. They are varied in colour—red, yellow, black, and white weathered to grey. It is obvious that part of the pavement at the eastern part has been recently replaced. The *mihrab* (fig. 55/12.2), which is slightly concave, is remarkably squat and small, and it is not incorporated into the fabric of the *mastaba*. It lies on the south side and it is made up of three blocks of stone measuring 65cm wide by 25cm deep by 1.1m high. The niche of the *mihrab* measures 42cm wide by 20cm deep, and its apex is surmounted by a shallow scallop. The scallop is decorated with a simple shell of eleven ribs. This is quite the smallest and shortest *mihrab* in the Haram, and appears to have been added to the *mastaba* some time after 1865, for the *mihrab* does not appear on the map of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (Wilson 1865).

Another undated Mastaba and Mihrab in the Haram is the so-called Mastaba and Mihrab of Sabil al-Shaikh Budair. The *mastaba*'s original name—if one ever existed—has been lost and it is now called after the Sabil Mustafa Agha Baraunah, or Sabil al-Shaikh Budair (see above cat. no. 48), for it is situated next to that *sabil*. The *mastaba* is an irregular pentagon in plan, with part of its north-east corner sliced off to allow for the paved walkway which leads from Bab al-Nazir to the Dome of the Rock terrace. The maximum length of the *mastaba* is 20.5m and its maximum width 16.2m. It is easily reached by means of six single steps of different shapes and sizes placed on the west and north-eastern sides. The *mastaba* is built of white stone slabs of varying size, and its south side is protected by a stone parapet. The *mihrab* block, measuring 2.56m long by 2.78m high by 1.25m wide, is in the centre of the south side facing north. It is the biggest *mihrab* niche in the Haram; it is named after Da'ud (David) and dated 696-8/1297-9. The *mihrab* consists of a recessed niche with a pointed arch with the extrados of the arch framed by a bold roll moulding. The arch is supported by two columns. These are cylindrical in form and are made of white marble, each with an identical base and capital. The base is a square undecorated plinth, with torus moulding and an apophyge. The capitals, also of marble, are debased Corinthian with volutes and acanthus leaves. They are in secondary use, for the west and south sides have been cut both in order to fit them in place and to make them correspond with the size of the shafts. The decoration of the east capital is better preserved than that of the west, and both abaci are undecorated and are not original. The niche is a concave recess that begins 22cm from the columns; it measures 75cm in depth and 1.08m in width. It is undecorated, built entirely of white masonry arranged in regular courses. The apex is in the form of a scallop and is surmounted by a pointed

⁴ *Al-Haramain*, the two holy places, as Lewis (1979: 175) says 'usually referring to Mecca and Medina, occasionally, in both Mamluk and Ottoman usage, to Jerusalem and Hebron'. According to Mujir al-Din (1973 *passim*), it would seem that if the term *nazir* (inspector) preceded *al-haramain*, the reference was probably to Jerusalem and Hebron.

arch. A concave moulding marks the end of the building, built directly above the bold frame that surrounds the extrados of the outer pointed arch. The west, south and east walls of the *mihrab* block are undecorated solid walls, and the roof slopes towards the south to prevent water from gathering. The layout, the size, the columns and their capitals may imply that the *mihrab* was built in the Mamluk period and this seems to have led Taha (1988: 58) to so date the *mihrab*, but again without providing any documentary proof or further discussion. In our opinion, it is safer to leave the matter of date open.

Additional *mastabas* are to be found in various sites on the Haram; they have a similar layout and are constructed with the same building materials as those already described above. All of them are without special features, are undated, and nothing has been published about them apart from Taha's article of 1988. Nor do any of them have a masonry *mihrab*, although some have been recently provided with a very simple modern iron niche. These examples are listed below:

- (1) The Mastaba of Bab al-Hadid (no. 55/14), which takes its name from the Iron Gate (restored 755-8/1354-7); it lies just few metres east of this gate. The Mastaba is relatively small, 8.1m by 7.08m.
- (2) The Mastaba of Bab al-Qattanin (no. 55/15) located a few metres east of the Cotton Gate (736/1335-6). It measures 16.43m by 8.25m by 64cm in height, and has an iron niche.

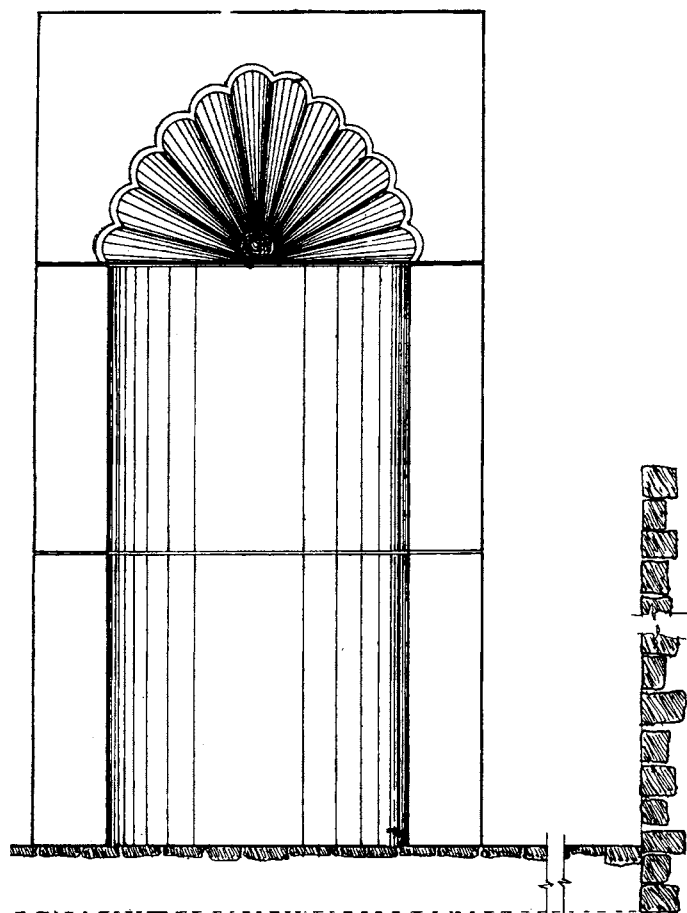


Fig. 55.1 Sketch drawing of *mihrab* of Western Mastaba.

- (3) The double Mastaba of the Ablutions (no. 55/16). Both these platforms are situated to the west of al-Qas and both have a *mihrab* made up of simple iron bars. The eastern one measures 18.45m by 7.45m, and the western one 18.45m by 5.2m.

- (4) The Eastern Mastaba of al-Qas (no. 55/17) to the east of al-Qas measures 18.36m by 7.5m and is also provided with an iron *mihrab*.

- (5) The Mastaba to the north east of al-Aqsa mosque (no. 55/18) was named by Taha (1988: 62) 'the funerary Mastaba' because it is near the dais used for funeral prayers. It measures 7.7m by 6.55m and it too has an iron *mihrab*.

- (6) The Museum Mastaba (no. 55/19) is the largest, measuring 57.2m by 20.5m. Today it is without a *mihrab*, though according to the map of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (Wilson 1865) there was formerly one at its centre. It is located in front of the entrance of the Islamic Museum inside the Haram. Al-'Umari (1924: 152-3) described this area as having two *mastabas*, but much has changed and his descriptions of course predate the building of the Islamic Museum.

- (7) The last *mastaba* is located to the south of Mastabat al-Karak (no. 55/20) on the level of the Haram esplanade; it measures 5.8m by 6.05m and its *mihrab* measures 1.05m wide by 74cm deep by 1.34m high. The niche of the *mihrab* measures 53cm wide by 27cm deep by 1.42m high. The shell hood is surrounded by a pointed arch.

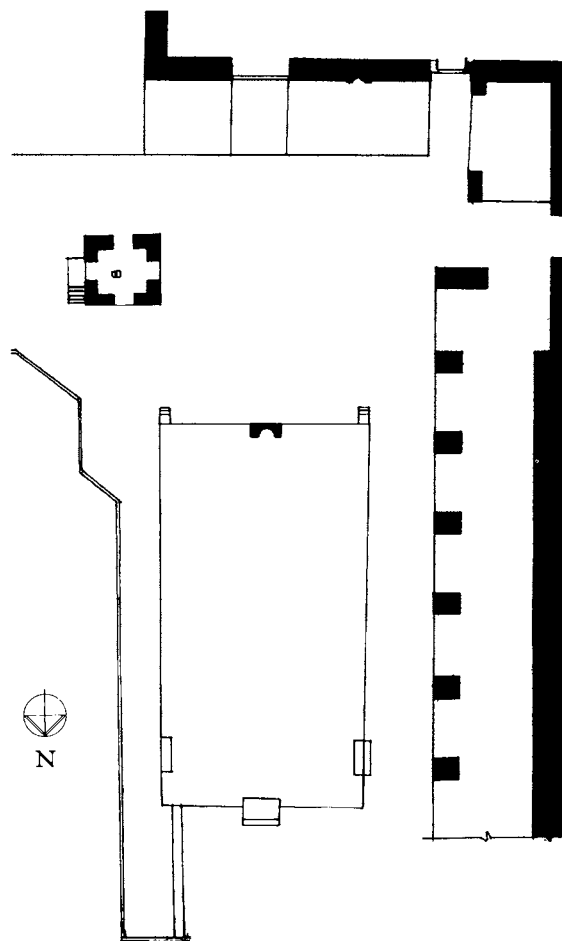


Fig. 55.2 Sketch drawing of *Mihrab wa Mastabat* Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 55/8).

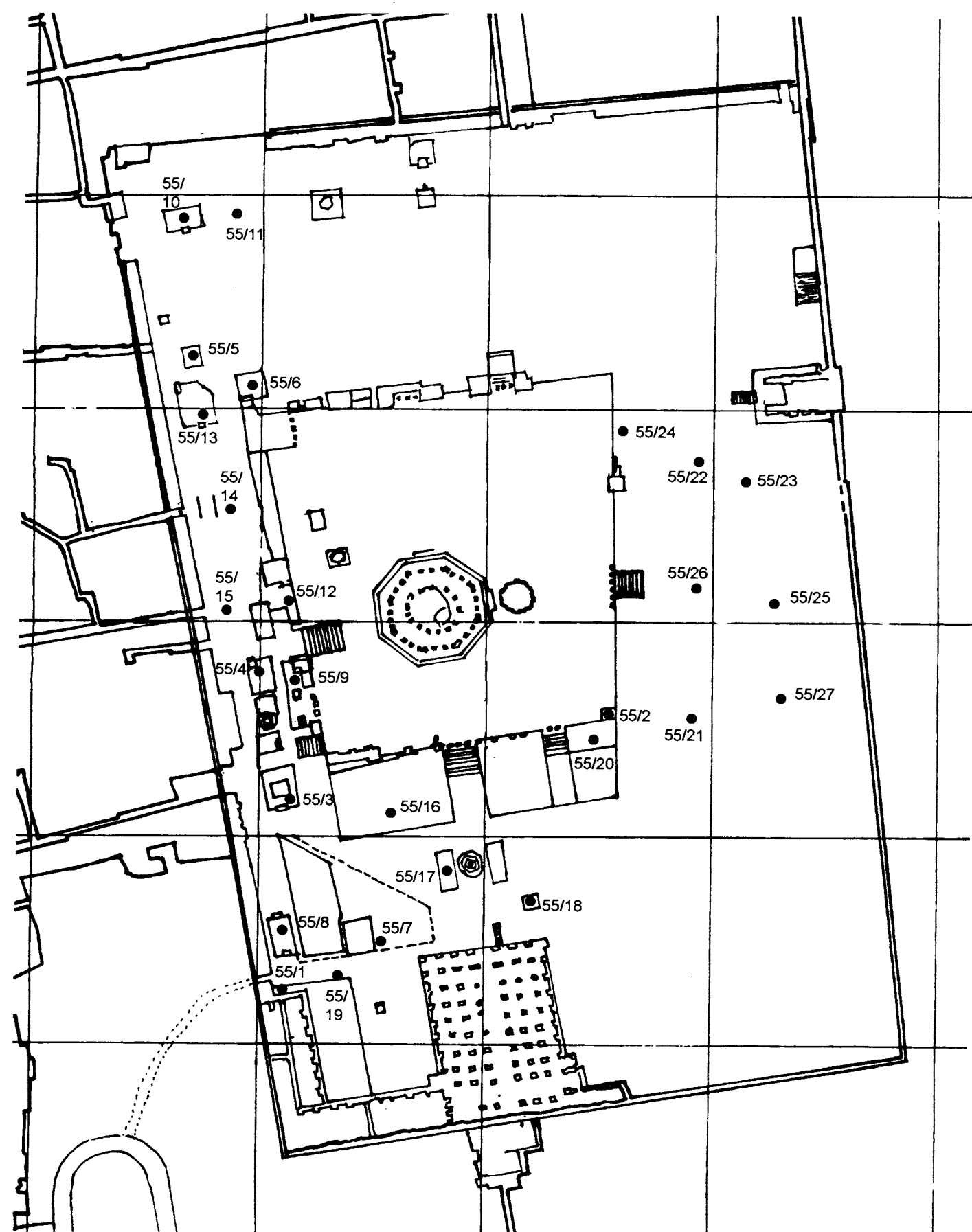


Fig. 55.3 Sketch plan showing locaton of *mastabas* and *mihrabs* in Haram al-Sharif.

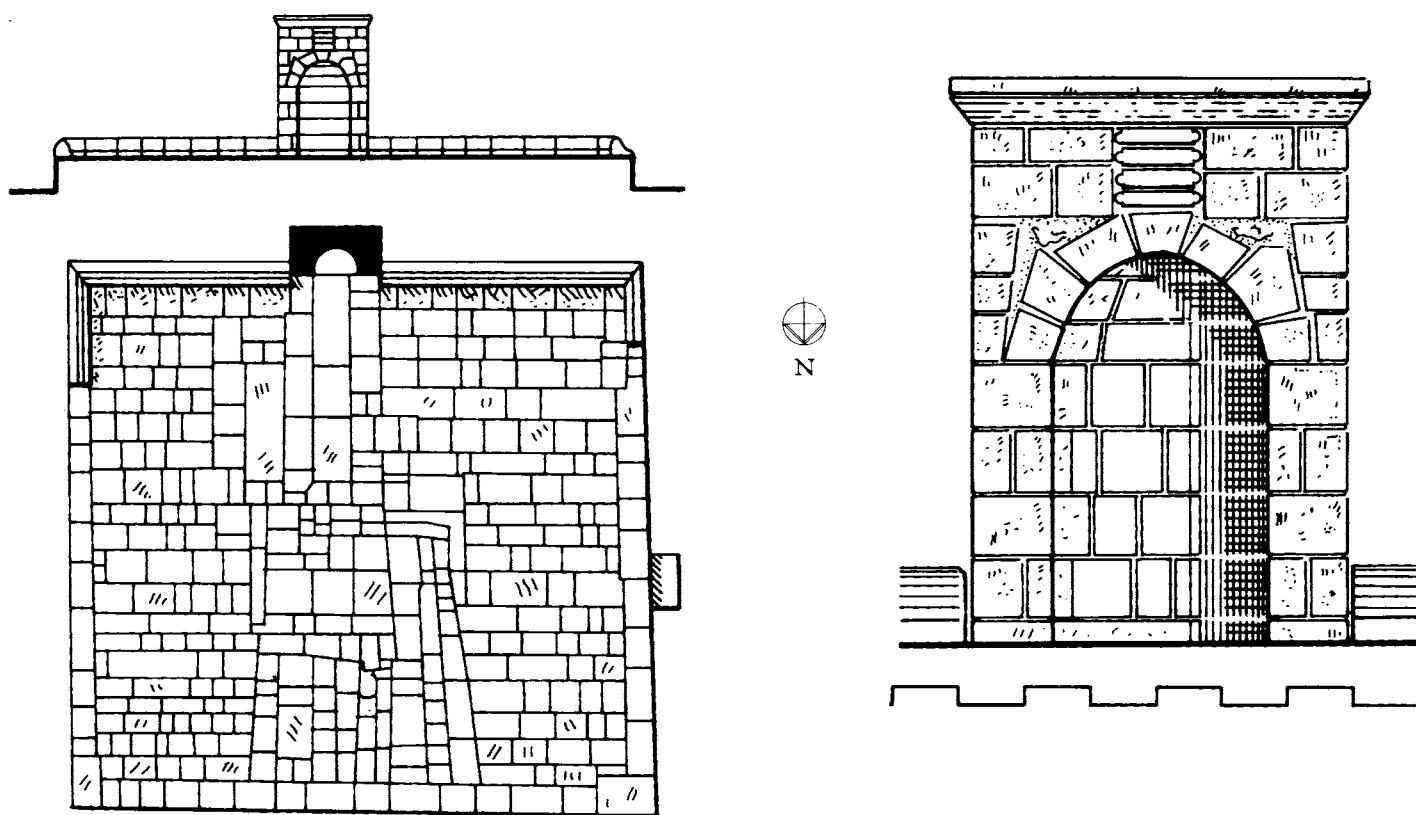


Fig. 55.4 Musallat and Mihrab Ahmad Qullari (see cat. no. 47) elevation, section and ground plan.



Pl. 55.1 View of Mihrab al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9).



Pl. 55.2 Mihrab Mastabat Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 55/8).



Pl. 55.3 Mastabat Bab al-Qattanin (cat. no. 55/15).



Pl. 55.4 Mihrab wa Mastabat al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9).



Pl. 55.5 Mihrab wa Mastabat Bab al-Ghawanima al-Sharqiyya (cat. no. 55/11).



Pl. 55.7 Mastabat Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9), north section.



Pl. 55.6 Mastabat Bab al-Maghariba (cat. no. 55/8).



Pl. 55.8 Mihrab wa Mastabat al-Zuhur (cat. no. 55/7).



Pl. 55.9 The Western Mastaba (cat. no. 55/11).



Pl. 55.11 Mastaba to south of the Golden Gate (cat. no. 55/23).



Pl. 55.10 Mihrab Khalwat al-Dajani (cat. no. 55/9).



Pl. 55.12 Mastaba to west of the Golden Gate (cat. no. 55/22).

PART ONE

Texts

The complete text of unpublished documents from various *sijills* of the Jerusalem Shari'a Court is given below, with a brief summary of the contents in English. The information is listed under the related monument or a specific subject regardless of date, although it appears in chronological order under the entry for each monument. Each document carries the number of the monument, followed by the date, *sijill* number and page reference. An asterisk immediately after the page number of the *sijill* indicates that the complete text in Arabic is to be found in Part 2 of Appendix 1. If there is more than one document relating to a particular monument, a subsidiary number is added to that of the monument.

The documents cover a wide range of subjects, including appointments to different offices and positions, estimates for restoration, repair and construction work compiled by inspectors, sale and purchase of construction materials, *fatwas* for leasing and constructing parts of al-Aqsa mosque, orders from Istanbul, and so on. However, unpublished *waqfiyyas*—some of them not previously listed—together with endowment records, constitute the greater part. These documents (Part 1 of Appendix 1), form only a small part of the information cited in the study. They are transcribed here both because of their importance and in order to place a proper emphasis on their vital role in the research carried out for this book.

1. Endowments for the benefit of Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud

16 Rajab 977/25 December 1569

Sijill 53: 54

The document refers to frequent orders sent from Istanbul to the Governor of Syria and to the *deftardar* (the official in charge of finance) of the District of Syria and Aleppo, specifying certain estates as *waqf* for Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud. The descriptions of the estates are provided in cat. no.1 under endowments; they were made *waqf* by means of variously dated orders. The income was allocated to provide food for visitors and the poor, for the maintenance of the site, and for providing the wherewithal to light the lamps of the Maqam. The documents end with a confirmation of legal authorisation issued by the *qadi* to Shaikh Yunus to continue in the position of *al-mashyakha* (Head) of the *waqf* of the Maqam al-Nabi Da'ud, as his grandfather and his father had been before him.

3/1. Confirmation of endowments by Hajji Beg for the benefit of al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (al-Hamra')

15 Dhu'l-Qa'da 964/9 September 1557

Sijill 39: 516*

In the presence of the *deftardar* of al-Sham District in the council of the *qadi* 'Abd al-Rahman, it was confirmed by legal means that Hajji Beg, the ex-governor of Safad and Nablus, had donated various estates in the interest of al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya. The *zawiya* had been constructed by Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din ibn 'Ali al-Khalwati and was located in the Bani Zaid district of Jerusalem. Specific estates were listed in the document, among other data.

3/2. Confirmation of endowments by Qasim Beg for the benefit of al-Zawiya al-Khalwatiyya (al-Hamra')

15 Dhu'l-Qa'da 964/9 September 1557

Sijill 39: 517*

The document is similar to no. 3/1, apart from the name of the donor and the estates.

3/3. Contract to rebuild Bab al-Asbat Minaret

18 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1007/12 June 1599

Sijill 80: 100*

The document informs us that Sultan Muhammad Khan 1003-1012/1595-1603 (the complete list of his titles is provided) had sent 300 *sultani* to the inspector of al-Aqsa mosque to fund the rebuilding of the Bab al-Asbat Minaret. 'Abd al-Baqi Beg had accordingly entered into a contract in the presence of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza, with three architects (names provided) to rebuild the minaret. The architects were to receive 200 *sultani* in payment for rebuilding the minaret and providing all the materials needed for the repairs (such as stone, lime, gypsum, water, workers and so on), apart from the lead which was to be provided by the inspector. The document specifies in detail the parts of the minaret which were to be rebuilt.

10/1. Appointment to the position of 'Sha'al' for the lamp of the Mihrab al-Nabi

12 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1037/14 July 1628

Sijill 113: 786*

Muhammad Amin Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, had appointed Fakhr al-Din, the son of Shaikh Zakariyya, the ex-*mufti* of Jerusalem the Noble, to the half-post of *sha'al* (the man in charge of lighting) for the lamp of the *mihrab* of the Prophet. He had been allocated 1 *'uthmani* per day from the income of the *waqf* of al-Aqsa mosque.

10/2. Farrukh Beg, Governor of Nablus

10 Rabi' 'l-Thani 1014/25 August 1605

Sijill 85: 1*

This concise note, most likely inscribed by the *qadi*, recorded the journey of Farrukh Beg, the governor of Nablus, from Jerusalem to Nablus on the specified date.

10/3. Hasan Pasha records the responsibility of Muhammad ibn Farrukh Beg

16 Safar 1036/6 November 1626

Sijill 112: 469*

The document, which was issued at the Court of Damascus and copied in the *sijills* of the Court of Jerusalem, is an official declaration from Hasan Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem District (and son of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Gaza) that he had received all that was in the care of Muhammad Beg, the son of Farrukh Pasha, the ex-governor of Jerusalem District. This instrument provides—among other information—three names of the governors of Jerusalem, one of whom—Farrukh Beg—was patron of one phase of the construction of Qubbat al-Nabi.

11/1. The first endowment by Bairam Jawish for his Ribat

14 Ramadan 953/8 November 1546

Sijill 17: 407, 408*

Bairam Jawish had purchased 6 *qirat* of 24 of the village of Bani Na'im (the boundaries of which were specified) for 50 *sultani*. Bairam attested in the Religious Court of Jerusalem that the money was paid from the original capital (50,000 *'uthmani dirhams*) which he had already made a *waqf* at a previous date for the benefit of the Ribat. The Ribat had been constructed by Bairam himself and was located in Jerusalem the Noble. The donor informed the court that the income of the land should follow his general stipulations as mentioned in his earlier *waqf* dated 15 Jumada 'l-Awwal 952/27 May 1545.

11/2. Authorisation of Muhammad Jawish on behalf of Bairam's wife and daughter

14 Dhu'l-Qa'da 982/25 February 1575

Sijill 56: 646*

The document was issued in the Court of Damascus in 19 Shawwal 982/1 February 1575 and registered in the Court of Jerusalem on 14 Dhu'l-Qa'da 982/25 February 1575. It gave to Muhammad Jawish, the husband of Bairam's daughter Khadija, full lawful authority to sell property that belonged to Bairam's estates in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramla, and Gaza, to claim any monies owing to Bairam, to demand all the rent payable on Bairam's estates, and to represent both Khadija and her mother in any court. It ended with the ratification of Fakhr al-Din al-'Alami, the *qadi* of Jerusalem.

11/3. Stipulations of Bairam's waqf on the Ribat and the Maktab

Dhu'l-Hijja 967/August-September 1560

Sijill 56: 646-47*

The record begins with the phrase 'this is a copy transcribed from the original report brought to the court by Muhammad Jawish'. It includes information about the location of the Ribat and the Maktab, and detailed stipulations of Bairam's *waqf*, in addition to the different endowed estates (with their borders) located in various parts of Palestine. Both the stipulations and the endowments were repeated in the *waqfiyya*, and a full translation is provided in cat. no.11 under Endowments and Stipulations.

11/4. Bairam's waqfiyya for the Ribat and the Maktab

Beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 967/23 August 1560

Sijill 56: 647-50*

This unpublished *waqfiyya* is without doubt the most important Ottoman document in Jerusalem after the *waqfiyya* of al-'Imara al-'Amira. It reveals that Bairam attested in the religious Court of Jerusalem that he had donated 150,000 *'uthmani dirhams* for the benefit of his Ribat and Maktab, the former of which he had constructed and the latter of which he had renovated. The *waqfiyya* specified in full detail all the estates endowed by Bairam, which were located throughout Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bait Sahur, Ramla and Gaza. It provides vital information not to be found in any other source regarding the terms and stipulations for the administration of the *waqf* personnel, as well as financial arrangements. It ends with a summary regarding the durability of the *waqf* and the punishment to be meted out to anyone who tried to change, substitute, or diminish it in any way. Large parts of the *waqfiyya* are fully translated in cat. no.11 under the following headings: Endowments, Purpose of Construction, Description of the buildings, Terms of the Endowments, Financial Arrangements, and Duties of the Personnel.

11/5. Appointment of a clerk for Bairam's Waqf

18 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 970/15 November 1562

Sijill 56: 650*

'Abdi Khalifa ibn Musa, the legal representative of Bairam Jawish, appointed in the council of Muslih al-Din, the *qadi* of Jerusalem the Noble, 'Abd al-Qadir Çelebi ibn 'Ala' Din al-Khalwati as clerk for Bairam's *waqf* during his lifetime. He was allocated one *'uthmani* per day, and the position after him was to be reserved for his sons and the sons of his sons. Muslih al-Din confirmed the appointment by putting his signature above the document.

11/6. 'Ala' al-Sukari ratifies the selling of estates by his father to Bairam

End of Rabi' 'l-Thani 970/26 December 1562

Sijill 56: 651*

This document was registered in the presence of Safar ibn Mustafa, Bairam's brother, and 'Abdi ibn Qubat, the legal guardian of Bairam's orphans. The document is in fact a declaration from 'Ala' al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sukari. 'Ala' al-Din declared himself willing, being of sound body and mind and under no duress or constraint, to ratify the sale by his father of the soap-factory and the *haush* to Bairam, and that Bairam in his lifetime had paid his father all the money previously agreed for the transaction.

11/7. Testimony of the Qadi Muslih al-Din ibn 'Awad

End of Rabi' 'l-Thani 970/26 December 1562

Sijill 56: 651*

Qadi Muslih al-Din ibn 'Awad testified that it was proven in his presence by those who were permitted to attest at the end of the *waqfiyya*, that this *waqf* (of Bairam) was lawful and legal.

11/8. Testimony of the Qadi Muhyi al-Din 'Abd al-Qadir

29 Dhu'l-Qa'da 982/12 March 1575

Sijill 56: 651*

The contents of the document are the same as those of the preceding document apart from the date and the name of the *qadi*.

11/9. Revision of the waqfiyya

29 Dhu'l-Qa'da 982/12 March 1575

Sijill 56: 651*

This document is the final testimony which declares that the copy of *waqf* had been revised and compared with the original version, and that it had been found correct and lawful. The signatures of five persons (the names are provided) end the short document. Two out of the five were *qadis*, and two were scribes in the religious court.

11/10. Inspection of workers and construction materials

5 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 967/5 December 1559

Sijill 39: 62*

Muhyi al-Din Khalifa ibn al-Hajj Husain, the legal representative of Bairam Jawish, who was in charge of Auqaf al-Misriyyin in Jerusalem the Noble, had come to the court and had asked 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, to inspect the workers and the materials used in Khan Bab al-Qattanin. The *qadi* commissioned his clerk Isma'il al-Shafi'i, who had duly gone to the site and had reported the following: on Tuesday there were seven workers (*fu'l*), one master builder, one *majarifi* (a man who used a shovel), and on Wednesday the same had been found as on Tuesday. The materials used during these two days were:

Item	Cost in para
50 <i>quffas</i> (leather baskets) of lime	35
50 <i>quffas</i> of <i>qusurmil</i>	10
Ropes and sweepers (<i>makanis</i>)	14
Six donkeys to transfer the lime and the <i>qusurmil</i>	12
Four <i>quffas</i>	4
Food for the workers	10
Total	85

11/11. Waqf of Bairam Jawish on al-Zawiya al-Yunusiyya

16 Safar 947/22 June 1540

Sijill 12: 264

Bairam Jawish had come to the court of Salih ibn al-Qudwa with 150 gold *qubrusi* and attested that he had made over this sum as *waqf* for the benefit of al-Zawiya al-Yunusiyya, which was located in Jerusalem the Noble next to the fountain in Wadi al-Tawahin. He stipulated that 50 *qubrusi* were to be spent on the *zawiya*, and the rest was to be used to construct a stone building for 'Ala' al-Din ibn al-Mujarrad, the administrator of the *waqf*.

11/12. Bairam Jawish assigns Asiya ibn Habib as an elementary-school teacher

16 Safar 947/22 June 1540

Sijill 12: 264

Bairam Jawish, as inspector and donor of the *waqf* of al-Zawiya al-Yunusiyya, had assigned Asiya ibn Habib as an elementary-school teacher in the *zawiya*. Asiya had been allocated two '*uthmani*' per day provided that he refrained from taking any (money) from the children. He was to teach them the Holy Qur'an each day.

12. An orchard endowed by Bairam Jawish in the village of Bait Sahur for the benefit of his *kuttab*

7 Shawwal 948/24 January 1542

Sijill 14: 155*

Bairam Jawish had appeared in the court of the *qadi* Salih ibn al-Qudwa and had attested while he was sound in body and mind, that he had made as a *waqf* the whole share (18 *qirats* out of 24) of the orchard (*ghiras*) that was planted with grapes and figs and other fruit trees. The orchard was located in the village of Bait Sahur al-Nasara. It was bordered on four sides by open space. For details of the conditions contained in the *waqf*, which was later partly altered by the donor, see cat. no.12 under Endowment.

13. Architectural description of the house of Bairam Jawish in 'Aqabat al-Sitt ('Aqabat al-Takiyya)

12 Dhu'l-Qa'da 982/23 February 1575

Sijill 56: 652*

This lengthy and most interesting document was originally a legal case presented to the *qadi*. The contents of the document provide information about a previously anonymous building which allows its inclusion in the list of Ottoman monuments in Jerusalem. The contents of the document include information on the exact location of the house, its architectural components, and the limits of its boundaries, as well as other data.

According to the document the house was—as indeed it still is—situated in the lowest part of 'Aqabat al-Sitt at the junction of the roads opposite the *sabil*. The house is built over the Street of the Sultan, also known as Khatt Wadi al-Tawahin, which is known today as al-Wad Road. The property consisted of an open courtyard, two halls, a western *ivan*, an eastern kitchen and a bathhouse. The house was reached through the entrance of the *ribat*. A full translation of the document is given in cat. no.13.

15/1. Expansion of the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan)

6 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 967/6 December 1559

Sijill 39: 30-31*

The Sultan's order had been received in Jerusalem to expand the kitchen of al-'Imara al-'Amira, for it was too small and had no chimneys. This situation was considered harmful for the attendants.

Husain ibn Nammar, Chief Architect of Jerusalem the Noble, had constructed two fireplaces (*mauqid*) together with two chimneys (*shawarikh*). Qitas Beg (the Governor of Jerusalem), the *qadi*, Sinan Khalifa (the *shaikh* of al-'Imara al-'Amira [Khassaki Sultan]), and the representative of Turghud Agha (the administrator of al-'Imara al-'Amira), as well as many other Muslim dignitaries, had investigated the additions and noted that an increase of 5 *rital* of wood was needed.

15/2. The closure of al-'Imara al-'Amira

16 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 993/18 March 1585

Sijill 64: 367

Shaikh Muhammad ibn Mustafa, the *shaikh* of al-'Imara al-'Amira, together with a group of the staff who worked there, and many impoverished people, came to the Council of the Shari'a Court and informed the *qadi* that they (the *shaikh* and his companions) had closed al-'Imara al-'Amira. They claimed that it was in complete chaos and had run out of supplies because too many caretakers had been appointed for short periods, to the extent that every six months there was a new appointment. They further informed the Court that there was no rice, oil or even salt; in consequence they were delivering the key to the *qadi*, and asked him to raise the issue with those whose concern it was.

15/3. Construction of a mill inside al-'Imara al-'Amira

10 Rajab 1007/6 February 1599

Sijill 79: 475*

Ghadanfar Agha had dispatched an order to the *qadi* of Jerusalem, asking him to order the administrator of al-'Imara al-'Amira to construct a mill inside the complex. The cost was to be met from the *waqf* revenue and a detailed report was to be sent to Istanbul. The *qadi* himself, with Wali Beg (the administrator), and many Muslims, visited the site and noted that the *qabu* (vaulted hall, for details see cat. no.15 under 'Subsequent History') of the Khan inside al-'Imara al-'Amira was a suitable place for the construction of the mill. Among the witnesses of the report was 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the Chief Architect.

15/4. An allocation of bread from al-'Imara al-'Amira

15 Dhu'l-Hijja 1011/26 May 1603

Sijill 84: 18*

The *qadi* assigned for the use of 'A'isha, the daughter of 'Ali al-Antaki, a loaf of bread every morning and evening from the bread of al-'Imara al-'Amira in Jerusalem the Noble. The allocation to 'A'isha replaced that to Baranah ibn 'Abd al-Mu'izz after he had voluntarily sold his right to her (*tafarraḡha*).

15/5. The suspension of the supply of food and bread from al-'Imara al-'Amira

8 Safar 1036/29 October 1626

Sijill 112: 476*

This short entry in the *sijill* records the interruption in the supply of food from al-'Imara al-'Amira on the specified date. The reason given was that the administrator had travelled to Tarabulus (Tripoli) without leaving any replacement. It was reported that great harm had been done to the poor of Jerusalem.

15/6. A new administrator for al-'Imara al-'Amira

15 Safar 1036/5 November 1626

Sijill 112: 476*

Muhammad Agha, the *subahi* in Istanbul, had been appointed as Administrator for al-'Imara al-'Amira in Jerusalem. His licence (*bar'at*) was registered in the *sijill* by his representative, 'Ali Agha.

15/7. The re-opening of al-‘Imara al-‘Amira

3 Ramadan 1036/18 May 1627

Sijill 112: 476*

In the presence of Ahmad Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem, and in the time of the administrator ‘Ali Agha, al-‘Imara al-‘Amira was reopened and its food was distributed to the poor.

19/1. The *waqfiyya* of Khudawirdi Abu Saifain for the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya

Beginning of Rajab 995/ 7 June 1587

Sijill 66: 551-52*

Khudawirdi Beg, the Governor of Jerusalem District, acknowledged in the Council of the Shari‘a Court on this date, while sound in body and mind, that he had donated a sum of 500 *sultani* for the benefit of the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya. The *khanqah* was located in Jerusalem the Noble in the Bani Zaid neighbourhood, and had been constructed by the donor. He stipulated that the lawful interest on the money should be allocated for use by: the administrator, the *shaikh*, two *mu‘adhdhins*, the *sha‘al* (the man who was in charge of lighting the lamp), and the door-keeper. Certain duties and conditions were specified for each of the personnel. For more details see cat. no.19 under the Endowment of Abu Saifain.

19/2. *Waqf* of Muhammad Pasha for the Maulawiyya

2 Rabi‘ ‘l-Thani 1036/21 December 1626

Sijill 107: 303-03

Muhammad Pasha, the Governor of Jerusalem district, made as *waqf* the whole *hakura* (vegetable garden), planted with almond, fig, and rose trees, for the benefit of the Maulawiyya order in Jerusalem the Noble. The *hakura* was located in the Damascus Gate neighbourhood in Jerusalem, and details of its boundaries were provided. The *shaikh* of the Maulawiyya order in Jerusalem was to be the Administrator of the *waqf*. The income and the expenditure were not further categorised. The donor stipulated that in the event of there being no Maulawi Sufis in Jerusalem, the *waqf* was to be for the benefit of the Muslim poor in the city of Jerusalem.

19/3. Permit to restore the *sama‘ khana* in the Khanqah al-Maulawiyya

19 Dhu‘l-Hijja 1137/29 August 1725

Sijill 220: 143

Muhibb al-Din Efendi, *naqib al-ashraf* (head of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), had come to the court and asked the *qadi*’s permission to repair the *sama‘ khana* (the hall where Sufis perform their invocation) as well as other parts of the Maulawiyya. The *qadi* had agreed to arrange an inspection of the premises, and had sent his clerk along with other dignitaries to estimate the costs. Muhibb al-Din, the donor, had undertaken the repairs, spending 35 *sultani* less than the estimated sum. Details of the expenditure and the construction materials are given.

20. Appointment to the Hujrat Muhammad Agha

7 Jumada ‘l-Awwal 1038/2 January 1629

Sijill 115: 166*

Muhammad Amin Efendi, the *qadi*, appointed ‘Ali Efendi the son of Husain to the position Qur’an reader. He was granted twelve *sultani* per year, and allowed to live in the lower part of the *hujra*. ‘Ali had to recite Sura 36 (*Ya-Sin*) every morning in the *hujra*.

21. *Waqfiyya* of Islam Beg

8 Shawwal 1002/27 June 1594

Sijill 76: 129, 30*

Islam Beg attested in the Council of the Religious Court of

Jerusalem, that while still alive and fully legally competent, he had made a *waqf* of 500 *sultani* for the benefit of his *hujra*. The *hujra* was located in al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and Islam Beg had just started its construction. The total profit per year was to be 75 *sultani*, which was to be distributed among the following: the administrator of the *waqf*, the chief reciter, 7 subordinate reciters, the attendance clerk, the *da‘i* (the man who performs the prayers of petition) and distributor (*mufarriq*) of the Qur’an volumes. He also allocated certain money for the oil to illuminate the rooms, and fees (*rasm*) for accounting documents and signatures.

22/1. *Fatwa* to lease parts of al-Aqsa Mosque to Ahmad Pasha

End of Muharram 1007/2 September 1598

Sijill 79: 312*

The record is a legal contract regarding a lease between Nassuh Jawish, the representative of Ahmad Pasha, and ‘Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad, the Deputy Inspector of the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. ‘Abd al-Qadir (supported by a *fatwa*) had leased two plots of land belonging to al-Masjid al-Aqsa, situated next to the northern side of the platform of the Noble Rock. They were separated by the *mawazin* (the north-eastern colonnade) located opposite Bab al-Hitta. The two sites were to be leased for a period of sixty years to allow Ahmad Pasha to take advantage of his lease by building on each two cells for the purpose of recitation of prayers, conducting the invocation of Allah, and studying religious science. The document is important, for it enables previously anonymous monuments to be identified.

22/2. Ahmad Pasha lends oil to al-Aqsa Mosque against future income of the *waqf*

14 Sha‘ban 1007/12 March 1599

Sijill 80: 38*

This entry shows that when the *waqf* of al-Masjid al-Aqsa and the Great Mosque of Hebron ran out of olive oil for illumination—a situation that caused the Custodian and worshippers considerable anxiety—Ahmad Pasha was able to help. Through his legal agent, he lent the Inspector of the *masjid* ten *qintars* of oil against the promise of future repayment from the *waqf*. The price of the oil was specified as 600 *sultani*, which is equal to 24,000 *fidda misriyya*.

22/3. An appointment and transcription from original *waqfiyya*

27 Dhu‘l-Hijja 1077/20 June 1667

Sijill 167: 422

This short document is divided into two parts. The first is an appointment of Shaikh Nusrat al-Islam to a post in the North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha. The appointment was undertaken by the *qadi* after the position had fallen vacant. The second part of the document is an order to edit a legal summary taken from the *waqf* instrument of the deceased Ahmad Pasha, the Governor of Gaza. The order was also executed by the *qadi*, and it consists of a quotation from the *waqfiyya* itself, which specifies among other details that Ahmad Pasha had assigned the western cell and the cell below it to ‘our master, Shaikh Abu al-Su‘ud al-Gazzi’, for the whole of his lifetime, and that after him the position should be given to whoever was then the *shaikh* of the Qadiriyya order in Jerusalem.

23/1. Hasan Pasha appoints Shaikh Abu‘l-Lutf to the North-Eastern Khalwa

Beginning of Rabi‘ ‘l-Awwal 1036/20 November 1626

Sijill 112: 469*

This record shows that Hasan Pasha, the ex-governor of Gaza

District, was the inspector of his father's *waqf* in Jerusalem. He appointed on the specified date Shaikh Abu'l-Lutf to the *khalwa*, the position having been left vacant after the death of Shaikh Kamal al-Din.

23/2. Ahmad Pasha assigns the North-Eastern Khalwa for Shaikh Radi al-Din al-Lutfi and for his sons

10 Ramadan 1096/10 August 1685

Sijill 187: 127*

The document is the record of an appointment which includes a summary of fundamental information about the endowment of the *khalwa*. It was registered at the Council of Qadi Sulaiman Efendi and it informs us that the *khalwa* was made *waqf* by Ahmad Pasha for the use of the *Shaikh al-Islam*, Radi al-Din al-Lutfi, and after him for his sons and his descendants. A sum of 1000 *qit'a misriyya* was allotted every year for its benefit. The document includes the names of the descendants of Radi al-Din who occupied the position until it records the voluntary sale of rights (*tafarrugh*) of the position of reader by Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir Zain al-'Arab in favour of his brother, Shaikh 'Abd al-Razzaq Zain al-'Arab.

24/1. Contract to rebuild the Junbalatiyya

End of Jumada 'l-Awwal 1010/26 November 1601

Sijill 83: 51

'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Mahmud ibn Nammar, the master builder in Jerusalem the Noble, being fully competent, declared in the Council of the Religious court of Jerusalem that Ahmad Pasha had already contracted him to rebuild the Khalwa Junbalatiyya. The location of the *khalwa*, together with the cost and the work required, is specified in the document.

24/2. Permission to reside in the Junbalatiyya

8 Muharram 1037/19 September 1627

Sijill 113: 112*

The document is a permit issued by the *qadi* allowing Muhammad Agha, *za'im* (holder of a fief) in the Noble City of Jerusalem, to reside in a chamber situated on the upper platform of the Noble Rock, the *waqf* for which had been set up by the son of Junbalat.

25/1. The *waqf* document of the al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya

15 Ramadan 1013/4 February 1605

Sijill 85: 41-2*

This lengthy *waqfiyya* is unique with respect to its subject, for it is dedicated to the only *madrassa* established in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period. It is divided into three main sections. The first is a foreword that makes up almost half of the document. The second section is the most important, both historically and for the architectural information it contains. It provides us with vital data concerning the identity of the donor, the endowments which he had made as well as details of their features and boundaries, the financial arrangements and the stipulations of the *waqf*. The third section contains the debate after the donor had sought to withdraw the *waqfiyya* and to reclaim the property on theological grounds, as well as the verdict of the judge that the *waqf* was sound and binding. It ends with a long list of witnesses and certification as to the legality of the *waqf*. The second part is translated in full under cat. no.25.

25/2. Sale of old stones to build a cell on the platform of the Dome of the Rock

13 Dhu'l-Hijja 1011/24 May 1603

Sijill 84: 18*

This short record is interesting, for it implies that the stones of al-Madrassa al-Ahmadiyya may be in secondary use. It reveals that Ibrahim ibn al-Hajj Muhammad al-Fakhuri had attested at the Council of the Religious Court, while he was fully legally competent, that he had sold to Farrukh Beg, the Governor of Jerusalem District, one thousand (blocks) of stone. The stones had belonged to the *dirka* under his responsibility located in Jerusalem the Noble. He acknowledged that he had received six large (*kibar*) *ghirsh* in return for the stones. This implies that there were two values of *ghirsh*—a greater and a smaller. It is not clear from the record what was the value of the greater *ghirsh* with respect to the smaller or normal denomination.

28/1. Bairam Jawish restores al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya

5 Shawwal 948/22 January 1542

Sijill 14: 151*

The document, which is written in a most careless script, shows that al-Mawardiyya had deteriorated to such an extent that a sum of 2,000 *'uthmani* spent by al-Sughanji was not enough to repair it. Bairam Jawish, who had become the *mutakallim* of the Mawardiyya, asked the *qadi* for permission to renovate the dome and the vault. Bairam had paid 1,600 *'uthmani* in accordance with the estimate made by Muslih al-Din al-*mi'mar*. In addition 2,000 *'uthmani* had been spent by al-Sughanji. The *qadi* allowed Bairam to recover part of the money from the future income of the endowments.

28/2. Inspection to repair the Mawardiyya

End of Rabi' 'l-Thani 1005/20 December 1596

Sijill 77: 537

This document reveals that Mahmud Zain al-Wafa'i, the *mutakallim* of the Mawardiyya, had come to the Council of Shuja' al-Din Efendi, the *qadi* of Jerusalem the Noble, to inform the court that the *madrassa* was in need of repair, and that there were no funds to restore the building. The situation was so serious that if no urgent action was taken, the *madrassa* was in danger of collapse. He had asked the *qadi* to allow a court inspection of the building in order to estimate the costs before repair work began, and to be allowed to pay the expenses from his own money against future income. The inspection and the estimated cost contains detailed information on the architectural elements of the building.

29. Contract to lease al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya

End of Ramadan 947/28 January 1541

Sijill 12: 697

The document is a four-year contract to lease the building of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya. Taj al-Din Khalifa (the inspector) had leased to Mustafa ibn 'Abdullah of the Yeniceri (Janissary) the whole of al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya, which was situated in Jerusalem the Noble at the lowest part (*suffl*) of 'Aqabat al-Sitt near al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya. The record says that it was so well-known in the neighbourhood that there was no need to give details either of its description or of its boundaries.

30. *Waqf* on Qubbat al-Arwah

15 Sha'ban 1037/11 April 1628

Sijill 113: 639*

This three-line record is an extract from a long *waqfiyya* bearing the name of Muhammad Agha the Administrator (*mutawalli*) of the *waqfs* of al-'Imara al-'Amira (cat. no.15). Muhammad Agha

had made a *waqf* in the sum of 300 *ghirsh asadi*. The expenditure of the income was specified, and among the amounts listed were: (1) 3 *ghirsh asadi* each year for the cost of oil to light the lamp that hangs each night in the Qubbat al-Arwah, located on the north-western side of the platform of the Noble Rock; 2 *ghirsh asadi* were to be allocated annually to pay a man to light the lamp and to serve it.

34/1. Bairam Pasha buys a cell on the platform of the Dome of the Rock

21 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 1038/18 November 1628

Sijill 115: 721*

The record is a copy of a document of sale registered originally at the religious court in Damascus. Although the transaction was carried out in Damascus, it relates to one of the cells on the terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The document gives the names of the vendor (Mustafa Agha) and the purchaser (Bairam, the vizier of Egypt), details of the sale and specifications of the site, including the price, terms and—above all—the name of the architect.

34/2. Bairam Pasha, Vizier of Egypt, donates money for charitable acts

1 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 1037/10 November 1627

Sijill 113: 248*

The record reports that Bairam sent a donation of 1,700 *ghirsh* (gold coins) to Jerusalem to undertake charitable acts for the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa, and for the *maqam* of Ibrahim (Abraham). The document specifies that the donor allocated 1,000 *ghirsh* to al-Aqsa mosque, and that the rest of the money—that is 700 *ghirsh*—was to be used for the restoration of the Great Mosque of Hebron. The money was delivered to the *qadi* by a merchant named as *al-khwaja* (the gentleman) Taha ibn al-Shaikh Musa al-'Asali, in the presence of Muhammad Pasha (the Governor of Jerusalem), Husain Efendi (the *shaikh* of the Haram al-Sharif), and Ahmad Agha.

36. A *tafarrugh* document in respect of Sabil Sha'lan

8 Jumada 'l-Thani 1098/21 April 1687

Sijill 168: 5

For the sum of 8 *ghirsh*, Shaikh Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman ibn Sha'lan had sold his rights to the position of *al-Siqaya* (the office of water supplier) of Sabil Bairam Pasha, the vizier to Shaikh Muhammad ibn Mustafa. Shaikh Muhammad was allocated two '*uthmani*' per day, one in recompense for his position, and the second to buy buckets and ropes. It is interesting to see that the *sabil* today is attributed to Shaikh Sha'lan rather than to Bairam or to one of the previous builders or restorers of the *sabil*.

42. A *tafarrugh* document on the tomb of Sulaiman

End of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1017/7 March 1609

Sijill 89: 84

The document reveals that 'Abd al-Qadir ibn al-Shaikh al-Samin had sold voluntarily to Musa ibn Abu al-Nasr al-Barq his right to the half position of serving the tomb of Sulaiman. The tomb is specified as being located inside the walls of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. Musa was allocated one half '*uthmani*' per day from the money which come from Istanbul every year.

43. *Waqfiyya* of Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar the Master Builder in Jerusalem

13 Rabi' 'l-Awwal 1012/21 August 1603

Sijill 84: 111*

Mahmud ibn Husain ibn Nammar had come to the Council of

the Religious Court, and attested voluntarily that—while sound in body and mind and fully competent legally—he had made as a *waqf* certain of his legal possessions (the details are given in Ch. 36). The *waqf* was to be for the benefit of his three sons and two daughters. The sons, 'Abd al-Muhsin, Karim al-Din, and Hasan, were experts builders in Jerusalem the Noble. The document shows the wealth of Mahmud and it further gives details of his estates in various parts of the city.

44. Inspection of a demolished building and a permit to rebuild it

Beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 1007/25 June 1599

Sijill 80: 106*

Yunus al-Turjaman, commissioned by Farrukh Katkhuda, had come to the court with two brothers, Ibrahim and Ilyas (sons of Jirjis, the Coptic Christian), both builders in Jerusalem. Yunus informed the court that Darwish Biyallah had already reported to the *subashi* of Jerusalem on the collapse of part of the kitchen of the brothers' house in his *hakura*, and that he had drawn their attention to the rebuilding of that part that had taken place. Yunus asked that an inspection be arranged, and the *qadi* accordingly sent his clerk with 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the master builder, to undertake it. While they were reporting their findings back to the court, Sulaiman ibn Ishaq al-Hadad came and informed the court that there was a large crack in the wall of his house, which was built above the vestibule overlooking the house. There was another inspection of the site, and it was recommended that two *dhira'* should be removed from the wall of Sulaiman's house, and that the wall should be supported by two corbel stones. The *qadi* approved the rebuilding of the wall of the kitchen, the recommended reduction and the reinforcement of Sulaiman's house.

45. Re-use of old Roman stones

4 Dhu'l-Hijja 1007/28 June 1599

Sijill 80: 106*

Jamshid Agha, responsible to *al-khass al-sharif* (The Revenues of the Imperial Domain), had come to the court with Ibrahim ibn Jirjis al-Nasrani, bringing four beasts bearing loads of stones. Jamshid accused Ibrahim of stealing the stones from the lands of *al-khass al-sharif*, and from *qasrs* belonging to a Muslim, which were located outside Jerusalem the Noble. Ibrahim rejected the accusation, saying that the source of his stone was from Wadi al-Qattamun (west of Jerusalem). An inspection of this site was ordered, and it was reported to the court that the stones were indeed brought from an ancient Roman wall located near the Wadi Qattamun.

46. An inspection of a water-channel suffering from a leakage of sewage

14 Shawwal 1007/10 May 1599

Sijill 80: 72*

Jamshid, the *subashi* of the city of Jerusalem the Noble, had reported to the *qadi* that the water from the channel which provided Hammam al-Sultan (which was administered under the *waqf* of al-'Imara al-'Amira) with water was contaminated with sewage from Madrasa al-Qastumriyya. He requested that the *qadi* investigate the matter. The *qadi* commissioned a group of people (their names and positions are provided) together with 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Nammar, the Chief Architect of Jerusalem the Noble, to undertake the inspection. They reported their findings back to the court, saying that some of the *qawadis* (pottery pipes) of the latrines were broken; in consequence 'Abd al-Muhsin recommended that the channel above the latrine pipes be rebuilt.

CATALOGUE APPENDIX 1

PART TWO
Arabic texts*

الداخل ومن خارج الزقاق على طول الدهر لا يحصل منها ضرر وان لم ترمم وتبلى يحصل بذلك ضرر عظيم وذكر (١١) المعلم عبد احسن المذكور ورضوان بن عبد الله وكيل الخرج انه في اول يوم قبل الكشف لما اراد تعزيل القناة المذكورة راي (١٢) فوق القناة مقدار ذراع من التراب حاضرا وفوق التراب بعض وسخ وما من الكنيف المذكور هذا ما دل عليه الكشف (١٣) والتحرير بتاريخ رابع عشري شهر شوال سنة سبع والـ (١٤) شهود الحال مولانا عبد القادر جلبي الخلوتي - منلا يوسف الانباري - الشيخ عبد القادر نايب النظر - جعفر جلبي كاتب العمارة - الشيخ شهاب الدين البرق - وغيرهم من الحاضرين (١٥).

* The Arabic texts for this section begin on page 1073. The preparation of these texts has been the work of Dr Yusuf Natsheh.

45. إعادة استخدام احجار قديمة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٤ ذي الحجة ١٠٠٧ / ٢٨ حزيران ١٥٩٩

سجل ٨٠ : صفحة ١٠٦

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشرع الشريف بالقدس العلي النيف اجله الله تعالى حضر لدى مولانا قدوة القضاة والحكام محرر القضايا (١) والاحكام الحاكم الشرعي عبد الرحمن افندي الموقع خطه الكريم اعلاه نظيره دام علاه قدوة الاعيان جمشيد اغا المتكلم يومئذ (٢) على الخاص الشريف بالقدس النيف ومعه ابراهيم بن جرجس النصراني القبطي البنا ومعهما اربعة بهائم محملة عليها (٣) احجار وذكر جمشيد اغا المذكور ان ابراهيم المذكور دائما يخرج الى ظاهر المدينة وياخذ من احجار المسلمين من كرومهم (٤) وقصورهم وقبورهم ومن الاراضي الجارية في الخاص الشريف وسئل سواله عن ذلك فاجاب بانه احضر الاحجار (٥) المذكورة من عراق واد القطمون فطلب جمشيد اغا المومي اليه من مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه ان يندب من قبله احد ينظر من اين (٦) احضر ابراهيم المذكور الاحجار المذكورة فندب من قبله لطف الله بن الحاج احمد بن محمد (٧) المحضر فتوجه وعاد واخبر ان الاحجار المذكورة من سلسلة رومانية بالقرب من القطمون فلما كان الحال على هذا (٨) المنوال كتب ما هو الواقع بالطلب في ذلك تحريرا في رابع شهر ذي الحجة الحرام من شهور سنة سبع والف (٩) شهود الحال - مولانا فخر الخطبا الشيخ عبد الحق بن جماعة - مولانا القاضي غشم بن مكية - مولانا القاضي حسن الجعفري - كاتبه (١٠) .

46. اصلاح قناة مياه لتسرب انجري اليها

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٤ شوال ١٠٠٧ / ١٠ ايار ١٥٩٩

سجل ٨٠ : صفحة ٧٢

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشرع الانور بالقدس الشريف المطهر اجله الله تعالى حضر الى مولانا قدوة القضاة والحكام الشرعي (١) عبد الرحمن افندي الذي سيضع خطه اعلاه نظيره دام علاه جمشيد سوباشي مدينة القدس الشريف وانهى لمولانا الافندي (٢) المشار اليه خلد الله النعم عليه ان قناة الما الوارد ماوها الى حمام السلطان الجاري في وقف العمارة العامرة بالقدس الشريف (٣) المارة من اصطلب المدرسة القسطنطينية الساكن بها مولانا الشيخ ابراهيم المصري واتصل بالقناة المذكورة من كنيف المدرسة المذكورة (٤) وسخ وماء بسبب ذلك يحصل ضرر للمسلمين وطلب الكشف على ذلك وتحريره فندب من قبله لطف الله به فخر الاعيان محمود (٥) اغا محضر باشي القدس الشريف وكاتب الحروف الفقير محمد الغزي والمعلم عبد المحسن بن المعلم محمود بن عمر معمار باشي القدس (٦) الشريف فتوجهوا وصحبتهم جمع غفير من المسلمين ممن سيذكر اسمه بذيله وحصل الوقوف بداخل الاصطبل المذكور بحضور (٧) مولانا الشيخ ابراهيم المزبور فوجد امام الكنيف من تحت قناة الما المذكورة وهي قديمة وكنيف المدرسة الفوقاني بقواديس (٨) متصلة بجائط الاصطبل والذي ينزل في القواديس يدخل الام من تحت القناة المذكورة وبعض القواديس انكسرت من (٩) الحائط اخبر المعلم عبد المحسن المذكور ان الامر قد تم والقناة ركبت فوقها بعد ذلك وانها ان بنيت الام المذكورة فردمت (١٠) واصلحت من

[illegible]

1. 7 : 8. 1

۶۶۵۱ بابت رقم ۵۸ / ۸۰۰۶ یضاحیہ رقم

یتو کسپا ا کسپا ا یسکا

44. کتب علی مدار مہدوم وادان بالیاء

(۳) خیر - خیر : خیر

- في يوم الجمعة ١٢ من شهر ربيع الثاني ١٣٤٠ هـ -

۱- چنانچه در صورتی که در این مورد -

[illegible]

ہم نے تو کبھی جہاد کیا کرتے تھے کہ کبھی

النجح الله مقصده ورحم والده وجده اشهادا شرعيا وهو بحال (٣) الصحة والسلامة والطوعية والاختيار وجواز امره شرعا انه ملك اولاده الخمسة وهم اوسته عبد المحسن (٤) والاوسته كريم الدين والاوسته حسن الرجال الكاملون ورقية وفاطمة المراتان الكاملتان ما هو له وجار في (٥) ملكه وطلق تصرفه وحيازته الشرعية ويده واضعة على ذلك دون المنازع والمعارض الى حين صدور هذا (٩) التملك وذلك جميع الدار القائمة البنا بالقدس الشريف بمحلة الشرف المشتملة على علو وسفل وصهرج معد لجمع ما (١٠) الاشتية ومنافع ومرافق وحقوق شرعية ويحدها قبلة حوش عبد الله المهتدي وشرقا دار بيد المملك المزبور (١١) ومن يشركه وفيه بابها وشمالا المعصرة وتقامه دار بني زريق وغربا دير طايفة اليهود السكناج وجميع (١٢) الحصة الشايعة وقدرها سبعة عشر قيراطا من اصل اربعة وعشرين قيراطا في جميع الدار الملاصقة للدار المبذلة (١٣) بذكرها من جهة الشرق شركة ورثة خليل بن حسونة بحق الباقي المحدود قبلة دار ورثة عبد القادر الدمشقي (١٤) وشرقا زقاق غير نافذ وفيه الباب وشمالا المعصرة الاتي ذكرها فيه وغربا الدار المبدا بذكرها وجميع الحصة (١٥) الشايعة وقدرها ثمانية عشر قيراطا من اصل كامل في جميع الغراس العنب والتين والسفرجل وغير ذلك القائمة (١٦) اصوله بارض بيت جمال ظاهر القدس الشريف من اراضي دير ابو ثور شركة الاوسته عبد المحسن ويحده قبلة (١٧) الطريق وشرقا كرم ابو جابر وتقامه قطعة اولاد الرملوي وشمالا كرم مولانا الشيخ محمد العفيفي وتقامه الكرم (١٨) الاتي ذكره فيه وغربا كرم اولاد الدمشقي وجميع الغراس العنب والتين وغير ذلك القائمة اصوله بالارض المذكورة (١٩) المشهورة بكرم المشايخ المشتمل على مقبرتين ما ويحده قبلة الكرم المبدا

بذكره وتقامه كرم اولاد الدمشقي وشرقا كرم (٢٠) مولانا الشيخ محمد العفيفي المشار اليه وتقامه الكرم المبدا بذكره وشمالا كرم بيد اولاد حسونة وغربا كرم بيد الشيخ (٢١) اسماعيل بن الخريشي ومن يشركه وجميع الغراس العنب والتين القايم اصوله بارض البقعة المعروفة بكرم ابي (٢٢) الياس وجميع القصر المبني بالحجر والشيد والصهرج المعد لجمع ما الاشتية الكاين داخل القصر المذكور القايم (٢٣) البنا بارض الغراس المزبور والمحدود قبلة كرم اولاد الجاعوني ومن يشركهم وشرقا الدرب السالك وشمالا كرم (٢٤) بيد اولاد الجعبي وغربا الدرب السالك وجميع الحصة الشايعة وقدرها ثمانية عشر قيراطا من اصل كامل في جميع (٢٥) الغراس التين والزيتون القائمة اصوله بارض الصلاحية شركة احمد السلواني المحدود قبلة بيد الخوجا محمد الدهنية وشرقا (٢٦) كرم بيد اولاد الشافعي وشمالا كرم بيد الخوجا محمد الدهنية المذكور وغرب ارض بيد اولاد الدمشقي وجميع الحصة الشايعة (٢٧) وقدرها تسعة عشر قيراطا وثن قيراط من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع الغراس العنب والتين والمشمش واللوز (٢٨) وغير ذلك القايم اصوله بارض الصلاحية شركة بني الداجوني بحق الباقي ويحده قبلة باطن البيكاوي وشرقا كرم اولاد اللوقيش (٢٩) وشمالا كرم اولاد ابي حامد وغربا قاعة الخنابلة بجميع حقوق ذلك كله وطرقه وجدره ولكل حق هو لذلك شرعا المعلوم ذلك عندهم (٣٠) العلم الشرعي النافي للجهالة شرعا تملكها صحيحا شرعيا بينهم على حكم الفريضة الشرعية للذكر مثل حظ الانثيين مقبولا من كل منهم لنفسه (٣١) قبولا شرعيا وثبت ما نسب الى المملك المذكور والقابلين المذكورين لدى مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه بشهادة شهوده اخره وبصريح (٣٢) الاعانة اف لديه ثمة تا ش عا ح كمة عه حه

سليمان ابن شعلان بحكم فراغه له عن ذلك في يوم تاريخه ادناه بحسن اختياره ورضاه الايل ذلك للفارغ المزبور بموجب التولية (٦) الشرعية الصادرة عن قدوة القضا والحكام مولانا مصطفى افندي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف سابقا المؤرخ في اليوم الرابع عشر من ربيع (٧) الاول الانور مولد سيد البشر الشفيق المشفع في المحشر والمنشر لسنة سبع وسبعين والف واذن له مولانا وسيدنا الحاكم الشرعي المشار اليه بمباشرة الوظيفة (٨) المزبورة وقبض معلومها المعين اعلاه وثن السلب والادلية من محصول الوقف الشريف وبلاستابة عند الحاجة تعينا واذنا شرعيين (٩) مقبولين شرعا وذلك بعد أن يعرض الشيخ ابراهيم الفارغ المزبور من الشيخ محمد المفروغ له المرقوم نظير فراغه له عن ذلك ثمانية غروش قبضها منه (١٠) [في] تاريخه حسب اعترافه بذلك قبضا شرعيا تحريرا في اليوم الثالث من جمادى الثانية من شهور سنة ثمان وسبعين والف (١١) شهود الحال - الشيخ زكريا - الشيخ مصطفى - الشيخ ولي الدين - الشيخ علي - الشيخ ابو الفتح - كاتبه (١٢) ٠

37. تفرغ عن نصف وظيفة خدمة قبر النبي سليمان

محكمة القدس الشرعية

نهاية ذو القعدة ١٠١٧ / ٧ كانون اول ١٦٠٨

سجل ٨٩ : صفحة ٨٤

سبب تحرير الحروف بالمجلس الشرعي المحرر

المرعي اجله الله تعالى قرر مولانا قدوة القضاة والحكام محرر القضايا والاحكام (١) الحاكم الشرعي المولى الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره مولانا الشيخ نصره الاسلام دام علاه حامل هذا الكتاب الشرعي

(٢) وناقل ذا الخطاب المرعي موسى بن ابي النصر البرق في نصف وظيفة خدمة قبر سيدنا سليمان عليه صلاة الملك (٣) المنان الكاين بداخل سور المسجد الاقصى الشريف والمعبد العلي المنيف بما لذلك من المعلوم وقدره في كل يوم (٤) نصف عثمانى مع ما لها من الصر الوارد في كل سنة من قسطنطينية المحمية عوضا عن عبد القادر بن الشيخ محمد السمين (٥) بحكم فراغه له عن ذلك في يوم تاريخه ادناه بحسن اختياره ورضاه واذن مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه (٦) دامت نعم الباري عليه لموسى بن ابي النصر المزبور في المباشرة في نصف وظيفته المزبورة وفي الاستابة عند الحاجة (٧) وقبض المعلوم المعين اعلاه تقرير واذنا صحيحين شرعيين وتعهد موسى المذكور للفارغ المزبور بالقيام بجميع (٨) خدمة قبر نبي الله تعالى المومى اليه ما دامت الوظيفة مستقرة باسمه وتعهدا مرضيا بتاريخ ختام العقدة الحرام (٩) من شهور سنة سبع عشرة والف (١٠) شهود الحال - المزبورن - كاتبه (١١) ٠

43. وقفية محمود بن حسين بن نمر معمار باشي

بالقدس الشريف

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٣ ربيع الاول ١٠١٢ / ٢١ آب ١٦٠٣

سجل ٨٤ : صفحة ١١١

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشريعة الغرا

المحروسة بالقدس الشريف اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا عمدة النواب وزبدة العلما (١) ذوي الالباب الحاكم الشرعي صديقي افندي الموقع خطه اعلاه نظيره دام علاه اشهد عليه الاوسته محمود بن المرحوم (٢) الاوسته حسين بن نمر معمار باشي بالقدس الشريف

تسلما شرعيا فموجب ذلك برت ذمة الخواجا طه الزبور من المبلغ المرقوم ومن كل جزء منه البراة الشرعية براة شرعية (٢٠) تحريرا في غرة ربيع الاول الانور من شهور سنة سبع وثلثين والى من الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها افضل الصلوة واتم التحية (٢١) شهود الحال - طه العسيلي - شيخ الاسلام السيد عبد القادر المفتي بالقدس الشريف - شيخ سليمان الداودي - شاهين جلبي كاتب الصخرة المشرفة - الحاج محمد الترجمان - الشيخ عبد القادر بن المرحوم الشيخ ابن غضية - الفقير عمر (٢٢) ٠

36. تفرغ عن وظيفة السقاية لسبيل شعلان

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٨ جمادى الثاني ١٠٩٨/٢١ نيسان ١٦٨٧

سجل ١٦٨ : صفحة ٥

قرر مولانا وسيدنا افتخار القضاة المدرسين عمدة العلما العاملين حلال مشكلات الدين الكارع من حياض الدين والتقوى الحاكم الشرعي المولى (١) الحاج عمر افندي ابن عبد الغني الموقع خطه الكريم باعالي نظيره دامت فضايله ومعاليه حامل هذا الرقيم وناقل ذا الخطاب المستقيم مفخر الصالحين الشيخ (٢) محمد ابن الشيخ مصطفى الشهير نسبه المبارك بابن عقبة وظيفة السقاية في سبيل الوزير المكرم المشير المفخم المرسوم المغفور له بيرام باشا طاب ثراه (٣) وجعل الجنة ماواه الكاين بالمسجد الاقصى الشريف والمعبد العلي المنيف سفلى درجة الصخرة المشرفة شرفها الله تعالى في الجهة الغربية بما لها من [المعلوم] (٤) وقدره في كل يوم عثماني وثمان سلب وادليه عثماني من محصول الوقف الشريف عوضا عن منصرفها الشيخ ابراهيم ابن المرحوم (٥) الشيخ

قاضي البلد المقدس وحاكم الوقف بذلك المعبد الاقدس الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره دام (٨) علاه ليصرف الاف غرش في عمارة ما يراه محتاجا الى العمارة بالمسجد الاقصى من صهاريج وممرات القبتين الشريفتين (٩) قبة الصخرة الشريفة وقبة الاقصى من جامات واصلاح رصاص واخشاب وغير ذلك ويصرف السبعماية غرش فيما يراه (١٠) محتاجا الى العمارة والمرة في مسجد ابي الانبياء الكرام وشيخ المرسلين العظام حضرة ابراهيم الخليل على نبينا وعليه وعلى ساير الانبياء (١١) والمرسلين افضل الصلوة والسلام فاحضر الخواجه طه المذكور المبلغ انحرر معه وربعة من حضرة الوزير المشار اليه ضمن كيسين من (١٢) الجلد محتومين بمجلس مولانا الافندي المومى اليه بحضرة امير الامرا الكرام كبير الكبرا الفخام سالك مسالك الصدق والعدالة ناهج (١٣) مناهج الشجاعة والبسالة مولانا محمد باشا المحافظ بالديار القدسية ومولانا فخر الصلحا الناسكين مولانا حسين افندي شيخ حرم القدس (١٤) الشريف وبحضور احمد اغا المعين من قبل مولانا الوزير المومى اليه وعد المبلغ الزبور فنقص عما عين اعلاه الف قطعة مصرية وستماية (١٥) قطعة مصرية فذكر الخواجا طه المودع الزبور ان النقص بسبب ان المعاملة الجارية بين اهل مصر كل ثلثين قطعة مصرية تحسب باحد وثلثين قطعة (١٦) واحضر كل واحد من مفخر المدرسين مولانا الشيخ فخر بن المرحوم شيخ الاسلام زكريا افندي مفتي القدس الشريف سابقا ومحمد بن ابراهيم (١٧) ٠٠٠ والحاج خليل بن عبد العربي واخبروا مولانا الافندي المومى اليه ان المعاملة الجارية بين اهل مصر كل ثلثين قطعة مصرية تحسب (١٨) باحد وثلثين قطعة اخبارا مرعيا ولما تحرر الحال على هذا المتوال تسلم مولانا المومى اليه المبلغ المذكور المحضر من الخواجا طه (١٩) الزبور

ذلك على يد فخر اقرانه عبد المحسن ابن المرحوم المعلم محمود (٩) رئيس المعمارية بالقدس الشريف وذلك جميع الحجرة اللطيفة على طرف صحن الصخرة المشرفة من الجهة الغربية (١٠) تجاه قبة المعراج باعلى سطح حجرة مولانا الشيخ نصرة الاسلام الكاينة بالحجرة سفلي سطح الصخرة المزبورة اتجاها باب القطانين احد ابواب (١١) حرم القدس التي بنى كاسلوب حجرة المرحوم احمد باشا المشتملة بالحجرة المزبورة على مخدع لطيف وتحتها حجرتان ومنافع (١٢) شرعية وعرضها وطولها كحجرة احمد باشا المزبور بحق ذلك كله المعلوم ذلك عندهما وصفا وحدود العلم الشرعي اشترا (١٣) وبيعا شرعيين مشتملين على الايجاب والقبول الشرعي بضمن قدره لذلك ستماية قرش من القروش الفضة الكبار ونصف ذلك (١٤) حفظا لاصله وبيانا لجملته ثلاثماية قرش جميع الثمن المزبور حال مقبوض بيد البايع من الموكل المومى اليه القبض الشرعي (١٥) بعد النظر والخبرة والتعاقد الشرعي على ذلك والتسلم والتسليم لذلك بالطريق الشرعي وما كان في البيع من درك وتبعه فضما[نه] (١٦) على البايع المرقوم حيث يوجبه الشرع الخفيف وتقتضيه احكام الشريعة المطهرة وتصادق على ذلك كله التصديق الشرعي وثبت (١٧) ما نسب الى المتبايعين المشار اليهما لدى مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه بشهادة شهوده اخره وتصريح الاعتراف لديه بذلك (١٨) كله ثبوتا شرعيا وحكم ايده الله تعالى بموجب ما ثبت عنده من ذلك حكما شرعيا اوقعه على وجهي المتبايعين ايقا[عنا] (١٩) شرعيا بالتماس شرعي تحريرا في حادي عشرين شهر ربيع الاخر من شهور سنة ثمان وثلثين سنة ثمان وثلثين (هكذا) والى من الهجرة النبوية وحسبنا [الله] (٢٠) شهود الحال - مثال فخر الاماجد مصطفى بلوكباشي - مثال فخر الاعيان مصطفى اغا محضر

باشي - مثال فخر الاقران محمد بن جمعه الزحمان - مثال فخر الاقران رضوان بن عبد الله يكنجيري - مقال فخر الاقران يوسف ابن عبد الله يكنجيري - مثال كاتب الحروف عمر بن الاسط (٢١) مثال ابو الفضل بن مصطفى - غيرهم من الحاضرين (٢٢) ٠

34/2. حجة ارسال اموال وقفية من بيرم باشا

لفعل الخير بالقدس والخليل

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١ ربيع الاول ١٠٣٧ / ١٠ تشرين ثاني ١٦٢٧

سجل ١١٣ : صفحة ٢٣٨

سبب تحرير الحروف هو انه بانجلس الشرعي اغرر المرعي اجله الله تعالى لما قصد حضرة الوزير المكرم والمشير الافخم صاحب (١) الخيرات الساعي في عمل الميراث بيرام باشا يسر الله [له] من الخيرات ما يشا كافل الديار المصرية صينت عن البلية فعل خير باول القبلتين (٢) وثاني الكعبتين وثالث الحرمين بالصخرة والمسجد الاقصى التي فضايله لا تعد ولا تحصى وعقام ابي الانبياء الكرام حضرة الخليل على (٣) نبينا وعليه وعلى ساير الانبياء والمرسلين افضل الصلاة والسلام يبقى اثره ذخيرة له عند مولاه ويرجو الثواب في دنياه (٤) واخره وجهاز من المال الف غرش وسبعماية غرش منها مائة غرش وثمانية وثمانون غرشا وربيع غرش اسدية ومنها مائة غرش (٥) وتسعة عشر غرشا ريبالا والباقي قطع مصرات يعدل كل ثلثين قطعة منها غرشا صحبة فخر التجار عمدة السادة الاخيار الخواجة (٦) طه ابن المرحوم الشيخ موسى العسيلي ليسلم المبلغ المزبور لحضرة من ورد مياه العلم وكرع من حياض العدل والشفقة على (٧) المسلمين مولانا احمد افندي

نفذت مولانا وسيدنا قدوة القضاة والحكام شيخ
مشايخ

الاسلام محمد امين افندي

في ٢١ شهر جمادى الثاني سنة ١٠٣٨

مثال

الامر كما ذكر فيه ثمقه الفقير اليه سبحانه

وتعالى

عبد الرحمن بن عبد العالي القاضي بدمشق

الشام

عفى عنه ختمه مدور

الحمد لله وبه اكتفى (١) بمجلس الشريعة

الغرا بدمشق المحروسة اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا

وسيدنا قاضي القضاة ملاذ العفاة شيخ مشايخ

الاسلام قدوة الائمة العظام محرر (٢) القضايا

والاحكام يميز الحلال عن الحرام مويد شريعة سيد

الانام عليه افضل الصلوة واتم السلام الحاكم الاكمل

الموقع خطه الكريم اعلاه بلغه الله (٣) تعالى ما يتمناه

اشترى وكيل شرعي عن الوزير الاكرم والمشير

الافخم قدوة الوزرا في العالم مدبر امور الامم محرر

احكام السيف والقلم (٤) مالك الراي وحسن

التدبير حضرة بيرام باشا الوزير كافل مصر المحروسة

سابقا دام اجلاله . . . قدوة الاماجد والاكابر

مستجمع الامجاد (٥) والمكارم محمد اغا ابن حسين

جاوش باشي حضرة الوزير المشار اليه الثابت توكيله

بالخصوص الاتي فيه لدى مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه

بشهادة (٦) فخري الاقران محمد اغا ابن يونس

بيرقدار واحمد بن مصلي من جماعة الموكل المومي اليه

الثبوت الشرعي بمال موكله دون مال نفسه من فخر

الاماجد (٧) والاعيان مصطفى اغا ابن محمد من

المتفرقة بالباب العالي فباعه ما هو جار في ملكه

وجوزه وانشاه من ماله وصلب (٨) حاله بالالات

والمون والمشملة على احجار واتربة وقصرمل وغير

اجارة صحيحة شرعية (٥) مشتملة على الايجاب

والقبول تحمل اجرة كل سنة في سلخها حسبما توافقا

على ذلك وثبت مضمون التواجر بشهادة شهوده

اخره لدى مولانا القاضي (٦) تقي الدين الحنبلي

خليفة الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف ايده الله تعالى

ثبوتا شرعيا بالطريق الشرعي وحكم بموجب ما ثبت

عنده ومن (٧) موجه لزوم التواجر المقر اعلاه الى

انقضا مدته المعينة اعلاه وعدم قبول الزيادة في الاجرة

حكما شرعيا عالما بالخلاف (٨) بتاريخ ختام رمضان

سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة شهود الحال - كاتبه -

شمس الدين بن ربيع - يحيى الديري (٩) -

30. وقف محمد اغا على قبة الارواح

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ شعبان ١٠٣٧ /

سجل ١١٣ : صفحة ٦٣٩

ويصرف في كل سنة ثلاثة (٢٤) غروش في

ثمن زيت يشعل في كل ليلة بقنديل يوضع بقبة

الارواح الكائنة بصحن الصخرة الشريفة من جهة

الشمال الى جهة الغرب على بسط السنة من

المغرب الى الصباح ويصرف في كل سنة غرشين

لرجل يتعاطى شعل (٢٥) القنديل وخدمته . . .

الخامس عشر من شعبان لسنة سبع وثلاثين

والف ٠٠٠ (٢٦) -

34/1. شراء بيرام باشا خلوة بسطح الصخرة من

مصطفى اغا

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢١ ربيع الاخر ١٠٣٨ / ١٨ تشرين ثاني ١٦٢٨

سجل ١١٥ : صفحة ٧٢١

الخمسة خمسة سلطاني وما هو لعمل خزائن (٢٣) به سلطاني وثلاثون قطعة مصرية فرجعا واخيرا مولانا الافندي المشار اليه بذلك اخبارا شرعيا فعند ذلك اذن (٢٤) مولانا الافندي المشار اليه لمولانا السيد شرف الدين المومى اليه في صرف القدر المذكور اعلاه وهو من غير تكرار مائة سلطاني (٢٥) واحد وثمانون سلطانيا من ماله وصلب حاله في عمارة الاماكن على الوجه المشروح اعلاه ليكون له دينا على رقبة المدرسة (٢٦) المزبورة اذنا شرعيا مقبولا من السيد شرف الدين المزبور قبولا شرعيا تحريرا في اواخر شهر ربيع الثاني لسنة خمسة والـ (٢٧) شهود الحال - مولانا القاضي زكريا المقرئ - ابراهيم بن الحاج محمد الزحمان - كاتبه (٢٨) ٠

29. حجة تاجير الزاوية المحمدية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

ختم رمضان ٩٤٧ / ٢٦ كانون ثاني ١٥٤١

سجل ١٢ : صفحة ٦٩٧

اجر مولانا مفخر الكتاب والمحررين تاج الدين خليفة ابن خضر اليازجي زيد قدره ماله ولاية ايجاره وقبض اجوره بالطريق الشريع (١) لمصطفى ابن عبد الله الانكشاري بقلعة القدس الشريف زيد قدره فاستاجر منه بماله لنفسه دون غيره وذلك جميع (٢) الزاوية المحمدية الكائنة بالقدس الشريف بادنى عقبة الست بالقرب من المدرسة الماوردية ولها شهرة في مكانها تغني عن وصفها (٣) وتحديد الجارية تحت نظر مولانا الموجه المزبور اعلاه بالتذكرة الشريفة لمدة اربعة سنوات كوامل في عقدين اول المدة (٤) [نهار] تاريخه واخرها انقضاؤها الاجرة عن طول المدة المعينة اعلاه مبلغ ٧٢٠ عثمانية [سياقت] حسابا عن كل سنة مبلغ ١٨٠ عثمانية [سياقت]

نمر معمارباشي بالقدس الشريف للكشف على ذلك وتحريره (١٠) وتخمين ما يحتاج الى صرفه فتوجهما وصحبتهما المتولي المومى اليه وحصل الوقوف بداخل المدرسة المزبورة وكشفت كشفا شافيا (١١) تاما وافيا ظاهرا وباطنا وعلوا وسفلا وقصارة بيوت المدرسة ساقطة وكان ما يحتاج الى صرفه بتخمين المعلم محمود (١٢) المزبور مبلغ قدره مائة سلطاني واحد وثمانون سلطانيا قطعة مصرية يعادل كل سلطاني اربعين قطعة مصرية تفصيل (١٣) ما هو لضرب اسطحة المدرسة المزبورة قصرمل بما فيه جواره ومغفله واجرة معلمين وفحول ومونة اربعين سلطانيا (١٤) وهولند ارض ساحة المعزل الجواني قصرمل سلطانيان وما هو لمد ارض البيت الصغير حمرا وقصارته وعمل باب له (١٥) اثنا عشر سلطانيا وما هو لمد ارض الساحة التي على باب قصرمل ثلاثة سلطانية وما هو لمد ساحة المنزل الوسطاني (١٦) سلطانيان وما هو لمد ارض البيت الكبير اربعة سلطانية وما هو لقصارته اربعة عشر سلطانيا وما هو لعمل باب (١٧) كبير له جديد من خشب بحري سلطانيان وما هو لتبليط الساحة التي على باب البيت المزبور اثنا عشر سلطانيا (١٨) ونصف سلطاني وما هو لمد ارض الايوان الكبير الكائن تجاه البيت الكبير المزبور حمراء ثلاثة سلطانية ونصف سلطاني (١٩) وما هو لقصارة الايوان المزبور ثلاثة عشر سلطانيا وما هو لترميم وتعمير حيطان البيوت ظاهرا وباطنا احد وعشرون (٢٠) سلطانيا وما هو لعمل ابواب بيوت وطاقت ثمانية سلطانية وثلاثون قطعة وما هو لمد ارض البيت الكائن بالايوان (٢١) المزبور اعلاه حمرا بعد ضرب حرارة ومغلقه اربعة سلطانية وما هو لمد ارض المجموع الذي به المحراب سبعة سلطانية ونصف (٢٢) سلطاني وما هو لقصارته خمسة وعشرون سلطانيا وما هو لعمل جامات في طاقاته

28/2. كشف لزيم المدرسة الماوردية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اواخر ربيع الثاني ١٠٠٥ / ٢٠ كانون أول ١٥٩٦

سجل ٧٧ : صفحة ٥٣٧

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشرع الانور
بالقدس الشريف المطهر اجله الله تعالى هو انه حضر
لدى مولانا وسيدنا افتخار قضاة الاسلام (١) سيد
الموالي العظام صدر اساطين العلماء الاعلام معدن
العلم والفضل والكلام حسنة الليالي والايام وارث
علوم الانبياء الكرام (٢) حجة الله تعالى على الايام
خادم شريعة سيد الانام عليه الصلاة والسلام الحاكم
الشرعي شجاع الدين افندي الموقع خطه الكريم
اعلاه نظيره (٣) دام علاه مولانا العلامة العمدة
الفهامة زبدة الصالحين المدققين مفيد الطالبين فخر
المصدرين السيد شرف الدين ابن مولانا وسيدنا (٤)
شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين عين اعيان العلماء العاملين
حجة المتناظرين لسان المتعلمين امام النحاة
والاصوليين شيخ القرا والمحدثين بقية السلف الكرام
(٥) السيد محمود زين الدين الوفائي ادام الله تعالى
ايامه ورفع في بروج السعادة اعلامه وهو المتكلم على
وقف المدرسة الماوردية الكاينة (٦) بالقدس الشريف
الحمية وانهى ان المدرسة المزبورة محتاجة الى التعمير
والزيم وان بها بعض اماكن متشقة ومتداعية الى
السقوط (٧) وان تركت على حالها تهدم ويفوت
غرض الواقف وانه لا وقف لها ليعمرها من محموله
وطلب مولانا الافندي المشار اليه الكشف (٨) على
ذلك وتحريره والاذن بعمارته من ماله وصلب حاله
ليكون ديناً له برقة المدرسة المزبورة فتدب من قبله
لطف الله كاتب (٩) الاصل مولانا القاضي زكريا
المقري والاوستة محمود بن المرحوم المعلم حسين بن

لشاه (٤) حسين بن عبد الله الينكرجي بقلعة القدس
الشريف ودفع شاه حسين للحاج سنان المزبور القدر
الذي اصرف في عمارة المدرسة المزبورة (٥) بموجب
سجل صدر سابق على تاريخه مسورخ في سادس
عشرين شوال سنة اربع واربعين وتسعمائة ثم ان شاه
حسين المزبور نا (٦) وتفرغ عن التكلم على المدرسة
المزبورة لفخر الجاوشية بيرام بن مصطفى الجاويش
زيد قدره وقبض منه القدر المزبور (٧) اعلاه القبض
الشرعي حسب اعترافه بذلك بشهادة شهوده
الاعتراف الشرعي وقرر في التكلم على المدرسة
بموجب تذكرة شريفة بيده (٨) تشهد له بذلك ثم ان
بيرام جاويش المزبور استاذن من مولانا الافندي صالح
بن القدوة زيني مولى محروسة قدس شريف ومدينة
(٩) سيدنا الخليل عليه السلام زيد فضله في العمارة
بالمدرسة فاذن له في العمارة فصرف من ماله وصلب
حاله في عمارة المدرسة والقبو (١٠) في ثمن قصرمل
وشيد واجرة معلمين وفحول ومون وغير ذلك الف
وستماية عثمانية [سياقت] الصرف الشرعي بشواهد
شرعية فصار جملة ما هو متجمد (١١) لبيرام المزبور
على ذمة الوقف ثلاثة الاف وستماية عثمانية
[سياقت] ليرجع بذلك على رقة الوقف وعلى هذا
اوقع التحرير وجرى ٠٠٠ يكون ٠٠٠ العمارة (١٢)
السابقة من الحاج سنان ومن الجاويش المزبور الماذون
في العمارة من قبل الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ضرورية
وعلى هذا (١٣) وقع التحرير وحرر في خامس شهر
شوال سنة ثمان واربعين وتسعمائة (١٤) شهود الحال
- كاتبه - خداوردي - رجب التزجان - علي الديري
٠(١٥)

عشرة والـف من هجرة سيد الانام عليه اكمل التحية والسلام (٦٣) شهود الحال - شهدت بذلك كتبه ٠٠٠ الفقير - شهدت بذلك كتبه محمد بن جماعة - شهدت بذلك كتبه عبد الله الغزي - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير شافعي الغزي - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير محمد بن العارفين - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير محمد بن محمد الامام - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير ابو الفتح بن ابي اللطف - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير ابو حسن محمد - (٦٤) شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير محمود الحلبي - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير محمد الغزي - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير ابو الهدى - شهدت بذلك كتبه محمد الجاعوني - شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير مصلح الدين ابن اسماعيل - شهدت بذلك كتبه محمد شاهين - شهدت بذلك كتبه حسن بن حلي - شهدت بذلك كتبه عبد القادر بن خياط (٦٥) شهدت بذلك كتبه الفقير مصطفى بن فخر الدين (٦٦) .

جهة الشرق وعدتها الف حجر منها اربعماية حجر سلب [والباقي] (٣) بنايات من احجار الدركسة الكاينة بالقدس الشريف التي هي تحت تكلمه بالطريق الشرعي بثمن قدره ستة غروش كبار الثمن حالا مقبوض بيده وصدقه (٤) على اقراره ٠٠٠ فخر امثاله يحيى بن حسن الصوفي المندوب في ذلك من قبل مولانا مير اللوا المشار اليه التصديق الشرعي وتصادقا بذلك على ذلك (٥) وثبت الاشهاد عليهما بذلك ثبوتا شرعيا تحريرا في ثالث عشر شهر ذي الحجة لسنة احد عشر والـف (٦) شهود الحال - مولانا الشيخ غشم بن مكية - مولانا الشيخ محمد الغزي - ٠٠٠ محمد السقطي كاتبه (٧) .

28/1. اقرار برام جاويز في التكلم على المدرسة الماوردية واصلاحها

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٥ شوال ١٢٩٨ / ٢٢ كانون ثاني ١٥٤٢
سجل ١٤ : صفحة ١٥١

السبب الداعي الى كتابة هذا السجل هو انه بعد ان قرر مولانا الافندي حسن بن حسين الحنبلي المولى لقضا قدس [شريف] (١) سابقا الحاج سنان المعروف بالصوعنجي؟ الرومي في التكلم على المدرسة الماوردية بالقدس الشريف تقريراً شرعياً حسبما يشهد له بذلك السجل ٠٠٠ (٢) السابق على تاريخه وصرف الحاج سنان المزبور من ماله واصلب حاله في عمارة المدرسة المزبورة بتخمين المعلم حسين بن نمر المعمار الفين عثمانية [سياقت] (٣) الصرف الشرعي بشواهد شرعية الشاهد بذلك السجل السابق على تاريخه بشهادة مولانا الافندي ثم ان الحاج سنان المزبور تفرغ عن التكلم على المدرسة

25/2. بيع حجارة لبناء حجرة بجناح الصخرة (المدرسة الاحمدية)

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٣ ذي الحجة ١٠١١ / ٢٤ ايار ١٦٠٣
سجل ٨٤ : صفحة ١٨

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشريعة الغرا بمحروسة القدس الشريف اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا قدوة النواب الحاكم الشرعي محمود افندي الموقع خطه اعلا نظيره دام [علاه] (١) اقر ابراهيم بن الحاج محمد الفاخوري اقررا شرعيا وهو بحال يعتبر شرعا انه باع لمولانا قدوة الامراء الكرام عمدة الكبرا الفخام صاحب العز والنصر والاحترام (٢) فرخ بيك مير لواء القدس الشريف دام عزه لاجل عمارة بنا الحجرة الكاينة بجناح الصخرة الشريفة من

وسلم وقد (٢٠) خاطبه خالق الكون من السماك الى السماك لولاك لولاك ما خلقت الافلاك فيا عجا من ابن ادم كيف ما يعتبر عما مضى من القرون وما ساقهم الى المساق (٢١) سائق المنون وصاروا كخيال ساد كانهم لم يلبثوا ساعة من نهار فالذكي اللبيب ذو القرينة الناقدة والفطن الاريب صاحب البصيرة النافذة (٢٢) من تمسك بجبل الاعتصام قبل ان تقرب عروة العمر من الانفصام ويشرف بشرف اليقظة والانتباه واصفى الى نداء المريان للذين امنوا ان (٢٣) تخشع قلوبهم لذكر الله فزجر نفسه الامارة عن المناهي بازمة الزواجر والنواهي وتدارك ما فات من عمله قبل انقطاع امله بحلول اجله وتفكر اليوم لغده (٢٤) واصلح دفاتر اعماله بيده ومن البشارة الواضحة لدى العاقل ما وقع في قوله عز من قائل من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها ومن جاء بالسينة فلا يجزي الا مثلها (٢٥) ومن قوله عليه الصلاة والسلام ما انتظمت منازم شرعة بحسن الانتظام ليس من دنياك الا ما اكلت فافيت او لبست فابليت او تصدقت فابقيت وقال (٢٦) صلى الله عليه وسلم ما احمر الورود واخضر الاس المرء تحت ظل صدقاته يوم القيامة حتى يقضى بين الناس ولا شك ان الصدقة فدية للمعاصي يوم يوخذ المجرمون (٢٧) بالاقدام والنواصي ولقد شرف الله سبحانه وتعالى وتواتر على عباده بره وتوالى بشرف سلوك هذه الطريقة والفوز بهاتيك السعادة الانيقة مظهر الخيرات (٢٨) والحسنات مبدع المبرات والصدقات طالب الاجر المقيم في جنات النعيم الجناح الجميل صاحب القدر الجليل منبع الجود والسخا معدن اللطف والعطا (٢٩) حضرة احمد باشا ابن المرحوم المبرور رضوان باشا ابن مصطفى باشا رحم الله تعالى اسلافه وابقا بالعز والسعادة اخلافه حيث اراد ان ينخرط في (٣٠) سلك ذوي الخيرات الحسان رجاء للرضوان

من ربه المستعان فافر واعرف في مجلس الشريعة الغرا ومحفل الطريقة النيرة الزهرا بانه قد انشاء من بقاع (٣١) الخيرات السنية وابنية الحسنات البهية باجل العزائم واكمل النيات واقرى الصرايم واتم الطويات المدرسة الرقيقة الفايفة الحاوية لبدايع الصنائع الراقية (٣٢) التي بناها بين مسطبة الكرك والدرج البراني بحرم الصخرة الشريفة من الجانب الشرقي بمدينة القدس الشريف شرفها الله الملك اللطيف المشتعلة على حجرة صغيرة (٣٤) جنبها بئر ما وامامها جنيينة وفوقها بيت كبير يقال له درسخانة امامها صفة فوقها ثلاث قباب ودهليز فوقه قبة المستغنية عن التحديد والتوصيف لشهرتها (٣٤) [في مكانها] عند الوضيع والشريف ووقف لمصالح المدرسة المزبورة ما كان منخرطاً في سلك ملكه الصحيح ومنسلكا في سمت حقه الصريح وذلك جميع المنزل الداخلي (٣٥) الذي اشتره بماله من المراتين المدعوتين بعائشة وفاطمة ابنتي الحاج حسن الواقع في محلة باب حطة من محلات المدينة المزبورة المشتمل على طبقات ثلاث (٣٦) اما الطبقة السفلى فحاوية على اصطبل وثلاث بيوت امامها ساحة واما الطبقة الوسطى مشتملة على خمس بيوت امامها ايضا ساحة وفيها بئر ما واقع بجانب السلم (٣٧) [صفحة ٤٢] المبني بالحجر وكنيف واما الطبقة العليا فمنطوية على ثلاث بيوت متصل بعضها ببعض وقدامها ساحة في طرفها القبلي بيت وعلى كنيفين المحدود بالحرم (٣٨) الشريف قبلة وبالمدرسة الجاولية شرقا وبالطريق السالك شمالا وغربا بمحلة الحدود والحقوق وهو سلم كل الموقوف الموصوف الى من نصبه متوليا لاجل (٣٩) التسجيل والتكميل وهو سابق مضمار البلاغة ومبادر ميدان الفصاحة المولى علاء الدين النيازي عامله الله بلطفه الجلي وهو تسلم منه تسلما صحيحين شرعيين (٤٠) وتصرف فيه على اساليب الوقفية الشرعية والقوانين المرعية وذلك

الشريفة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ رمضان ١٠١٣ / ٤ شباط ١٦٠٥

سجل ٨٥ : صفحة ٤١ - ٤٢

باسمه تعالى يستفتح كل امر ذي بال
وبذكره يستنتج كل مرام على وجه الكمال لمحمد
حمدا به تتزايد انواع النوال وتنزل البركات واصناف
الافضال فسبحان من (١) تقدس ذاته عن ادراك
العقول والاذهان وتنزه عن مشابهة سكان بقعة
الاسكان وخلق ادم عليه السلام من طين ثم جعل
نسله من سلالة من ماء مهين وعلمه (٢) الاسماء كلها
في مكتب التكوين وجعله خليفة في الارض بالعز
والتمكن واسس ببيان قبول الخيرات على صفاء
الطويات وخلوص النيات ونور بصائر (٣) اولي
الالباب بنور الانتباه ورفع درجات الذين انفقوا في
سبيل الله وكثر اجر حسنة صدرت عن وفور الرغبة
وخلوص الحجة كمثّل حبة انبت سبع سنابل (٤) في
كل سنبل مائة حبة وعمر العامة الواقفين ببابه وما
غيب سايلا مد يديه الى جنبه وصير بنا المساجد
والمدارس اولى الوسائل النامية الى وصول (٥)
الدرجات العالية في جنة عالية قطوفها دانية ووفر اجر
من تقرب اليه باصناف الحسنات بغير حساب واعد
لهم جنات مفتحة لهم الابواب وجعل كل (٦) امرء
جائبا لكل رزق مقسوم تمتد الى اجل معلوم ووفق من
ارتضاه لسلوك مسلك المبرة ٠٠٠ توفيقا ووقف الجنة
على المتولين لاستكمال (٧) الحسنات وقفا انيقا ذلك
فضل الله يوتييه من يشا والله ذو الفضل العظيم
والصلاة والسلام الايمان الاكملان ما دام الملوان
ودار القران (٨) على سيد سيد اساس جده ابراهيم
وبني نبي على ذلك الاساس القويم القديم فصير

اسلام قصر عز اقصر سلافة قصد كل كفار اثم
فصار قصرا مشيدا (٩) بل حصنا حصينا من دخله
كان امنا من عذاب يوم اليم وعلى اله الاشراف
 واصحابه الذين هم ذوو اللطاف المتولون لكتابة
الوحي (١٠) ودراسته ورعاية الشرع وحراسته ما
قطعت الدفاتر بلسان الاقلام واستحكمت الاوقاف
بقضا والولاة والحكام اما بعد (١١) فهذا كتاب
مبناه صواب وذا خطاب معناه مستطاب معرب معربه
ومبنيه ويفصح صريحه ومكنيه عن ذكر ما هو انه لما
كانت دار الدنيا الدنية (١٢) مدار كل الرزية والبلية
لا بقا فيها لاحد من البرية اذ محالب المنية تنشب كل
حي بالسوية كل من عليها فان وان كان ذا انصار
واعوان (١٣) لا يبقى فيها سلطان ولا وزير ولا يخلد
فيها قاض ولا امير عرضوها في معرض زوال ونفوذها
على شرف الافتعال محبتها مع محتتها متداخلة (١٤)
ورحمتها مع زحمتها متشاكلة لا يفيد العيش عيشها ولا
ينفع ذا الجيش جبشها كم من ملك ملك الارض
بمشارقتها ومغاربتها وزعم انه يستوفي (١٥) مطالب
النفس وماربها اذ فاجاه المنون فلم يذل شيئا من ذلك
فان كل شيء سوى وجه الله هالك وكم من طالب
جاه جاءه الاجل فابطل الامل (١٦) ومسا امهل فقد
من بين الاقران والاتراب وما حواه ما حواه من
الخزائن عز دفنه تحت التراب اين الملوك الماضية في
القرون الخالية (١٧) لم تنجهم الحصون الحصينة ولا
الابنية العالية فامست باجمعها فايته فانية وهم امسوا
برمتهم رمية بالية فهل ترى هم من باقية الا اين
قيصر وايوانه (١٨) ثم الا اين كسرى وديوانه اما
كانت دار دارا صرحا ممددا اما كان قصر قصر
قصرا مشيدا فاذا اختلسهم المنون صارت هباء منثورا
بل صارت (١٩) كان لم يكن شيئا مذكورا اذ جائهم
الموت وهم عنه غافلون وحيل بينهم وبين ما يشتهون
من بقي في هذا العالم ولم يبق فيه النبي صلى الله عليه

24/1. مقاطعة لعمارة الخلوة الجنبلاطية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

ختم جمادى الاول ١٠١٠ / ٢٦ تشرين ثاني

١٦٠١

سجل ٨٣ : صفحة ٥١

الحال - مولانا الشيخ غشم بن مكية - مولانا الشيخ
محمد المصري - ابراهيم بن محمد التزجان - الفقير
حسن بن محمد الجنبلي (٩)٠

24/2. حجة تقرير سكن بالحجرة الجنبلاطية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٨ محرم ١٠٣٧ / ١٩ ايلول ١٦٢٧

سجل ١١٣ : صفحة ١١٢

سبب تحرير الحروف انه بمجلس الشرع
الشريف الانور بالقدس الشريف المطهر اجله الله
تعالى قرر مولانا وسيدنا العبد الفقير الى (١) سبحانه
الامل منه منه واحسانه الراجي عفوه وغفرانه مولانا
الحاكم الشرعي المولى احمد افندي بن عوض الموقع
خطه الكريم (٢) اعلا نظيره دام فضله وعلاه لحامل
هذا الكتاب وناقل ذا الخطاب المرعي قدوة الاكابر
والاعيان حاوي المكاريم [المكارم] (٣) العرفان محمد
اغا الزعيم بمدينة القدس الشريف وظيفة السكن
بالحجرة الكاينة باعلا سطح الصخرة الشريفة
بالجانب الغربي (٤) النسوب ايقاف ذلك وترتيبه
لابن جنبلاط عوضا عن منصرفها المرحوم شيخ
الاسلام بركة الانام زكريا (٥) افندي المفتي بالقدس
الشريف بحكم وفاته الى رحمة الله تعالى والتحلال ذلك
عنه واذن له مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه دامت (٦) نعم
الباري عليه في سكن الحجرة المزبورة تقريرا واذنا
صحيحين شرعيين مقبولين شرعا تحريرا في ثامن شهر
محرم (٧) الحرام لسنة سبع وثلين والى الف (٨) شهود
الحال - شيخ طه الديري - شيخ صالح العلمي - شيخ
سليمان الداودي - الحاج عمر التزجان (٩)٠

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشريعة الانور
بالقدس الشريف المطهر اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا
افتخار قضاة الاسلام معدن الحكم والكلام خدام
شريعة سيد الانام عليه السلام (١) الحاكم الشرعي
محمد افندي الموقع خطه الكريم باعاليه دامت فضايله
ومعاليه ونال ما يتمناه ويرتجيه اقر المعلم عبد المحسن
بن المعلم محمود بن غر معمار باشي بالقدس الشريف
(٢) اقاررا صحيحا شرعيا وهو بالاوصاف المعبرة
شرعا ان حضرة امير الامراء الكرام كبير الكبرا
الفخام صاحب العزة والمجد والاحتشام كهف الملة
الزاهرة وموتمن الدولة (٣) الباهرة الاسد الاسيد
والبطل الاشد المختص بمزيد عناية الملك الامجد
حضرة الباشا احمد اعز الله انصاره وضاعف احسانه
كان قاطعة سابقا على عمارة الخلوة الكاينة (٤)
بسطح الصخرة الشريفة المعروفة بالجنبلاطية بخمسين
سلطانا ذهبا وعلى قصارتها وابوابها وابواب خزانتها
وطاقتها بعشرين سلطانا ذهبا وقاطعة ايضا على (٥)
عمارة مصطبة الجوزة الكاينة بالمسجد الاقصى
الشريف بعشرة سلطانية ذهبا فيكون جملة المبلغ
المذكور جميعه ثمانون سلطانا ذهبا وانه قبض المبلغ
(٦) المذكور جميعه من حضرة مولانا الباشا المشار
اليه القبض الشرعي وصدقه على اقارره فخر الاعيان
سليمان جاويش بن رستم المندوب في ذلك التصديق
(٧) الشرعي فلما كان الحال على هذا المنوال سطرنا
ما هو الواقع ليكون تمسكا عند الحاجة اليه تحريرا في
ختم شهر جمادى الاولى سنة عشرة والى الف (٨) شهود

فسيح الجنان (٣) قرر الشيخ العلامة العمدة الفهامة سليل العظام شيخ ابي اللطف ابن سيدنا ومولانا شيخ الاسلام اوحده (٤) فضلا الانام صدر المدرسين مفيد الطالبين محي ما درس من معالم الدين ناهج مناهج المعقول والمنقول الشيخ اسحق في الحجرة التي (٥) كان انشاها حضرة المرحوم والد الناظر الموصى اليه اعلاه دام علاه وهي التي كانت بيد المرحوم شيخ كمال الدين لانحلالها (٦) عنه وانتقاله الى رحمة الله تعالى وهي التي بيت المقدس الشريف وبماها من المعلوم شاهد به الاستيثار؟ تقريراً وابقا شرعيين (٧) والاعتماد على خط مولانا الناظر المشار اليه وختمه حجة فيه وعمدة تحريراً في اوايل شهر ربيع الاول سنة ست وثلاثين والف (٨) ٠

(توقيع) حسن

مير لوا غرة سابقا

23/2. تقرير حجرة احمد باشا الموقوفة على الشيخ رضي الدين اللطفي وذريته

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٠ رمضان ١٠٩٦ / ١٠ آب ١٦٨٥

سجل ١٨٧ : صفحة ١٢٧

لدى مولانا شيخ مشايخ الاسلام سليمان

افندي دام علاه

لما كان من الموقوف من قبل المرحوم امير الامراء الكرام احمد باشا محافظ غزة هاشم سابقا كان تغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان وكان من الجاري في وقفه وخيراته بموجب (١) شروط وقفه المعمول به والممول عليه شرعا جميع الحجرة الواقعة بسطح الصخرة المشرفة شرفها الله تعالى وزادها شرفا بالصف الشمالي الموقوف من قبل الواقف (٢) المزبور

الحجرة المزبورة على شيخ الاسلام الشيخ رضي الدين اللطفي ثم من بعده على اولاده وذريته بما لها من المعلوم وقدره في كل سنة الف قطعة مصرية منها (٣) مائة قطعة ثمن زيت يسرج في قنديل بالحجرة المزبورة والبقية في نظير قراءة القاري في كل يوم ما تيسر من القرآن العظيم بالحجرة الشمالية المذكورة التي انشاها (٤) المرحوم احمد باشا ووقفها وشرط في وقفها على المرحوم الشيخ رضي الدين ثم من بعده على ولده فخر الخطباء العظام يوسف افندي بن الرضي اللطفي والحال (٥) ان يوسف افندي الرضي توفي الى رحمة الله تعالى وانحلت عنه الحجرة المزبورة فوجد من ذريته فخر القضاة المكرمين الشيخ عبد القادر (٦) بن فخر الخطباء الكرام الشيخ زين العرب اللطفي فعند ذلك قرر مولانا شيخ الاسلام المشار اليه الشيخ عبد القادر المزبور في وظيفة (٧) قراءة ما تيسر في كل يوم من كلام الله تعالى المنيف بالحجرة الكاينة بسطح الصخرة المشرفة بما لها من المعلوم المعين اعلاه بموجب شرط الواقف المعمول (٨) به والممول عليه عوضا عن جده لامة فخر الخطباء العظام يوسف افندي الرضي اللطفي بحكم وفاته الى رحمة الله تعالى وانحلال ذلك عنه (٩) واذن مولانا وسيدنا الحاكم الشرعي المشار اليه اخلا الله النعم عليه للشيخ عبد القادر اللطفي مباشرة الوظيفة بالحجرة المزبورة في كل يوم (١١) وبقبض معلومها المعين اعلاه من تولي الوقف المزبور والاستتابة عند الحاجة تقريراً واذنا صحيحين شرعيين مقبولين شرعا تحريراً في ثالث (١١) عشر شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ست وتسعين والف (١٢) شهود الحال - نورالدين - شيخ ولي - شيخ موسى - شيخ احمد - شيخ صنع الله - شيخ عبد الرحمن - شيخ احمد - شيخ فخر الاسلام (١٣) ٠

الاسلام شيخ السادة القادرية بالقدس الشريف في
وظيفة الخلوة وقف (٢) المرحوم احمد باشا تغمده الله
برحمته المخلولة عن الشيخ ابو السعود الغزي بوفاته
لكون ان وظيفة الخلوة (٣) المرقومة على شرط
الواقف المشار اليه بموجب كتاب الوقف لمن يكون
شيخا للسادة القادرية بالقدس الشريف وقد (٤)
اطلنا على اجازة الشيخ نصره الاسلام الموصى اليه
لمشيخة السادة القادرية وقرناؤه على وظيفة الخلوة
المذكورة واذا (٥) ان يتناول علوفته في كل سنة
وقدره ستمائة قطعة مصرية ونظير التنوير ثمانون قطعة
مصرية كما هو شرط الواقف (٦) وقد كتبنا له هذه
التقرير تمسكا بيده عملا بشرط الواقف تحريرا في
غرة محرم الحرام سنة ١٠٧٧ (٧) قيدت بالتاريخ
المزبور اعلاه (٨)

مثال

صورة لخصت من كتاب الوقف حسب ما جرى

حرره الفقير محمد المولى بمدينة رملة فلسطين

هذا كتاب شرعي ملخص من كتاب وقف
ملك الامراء الكرام عمدة الكبراء الفخام صاحب
الخيرات والمبرات بالميراث خلافة غفر له المرحوم (١)
احمد باشا مير لواء غزة هاشم نور الله ضريحه وجعل
صوب الغمام ٠٠٠ (٢) الذي انشا ورسم لمصارف
الخلوات التي بناها وسبلها بمسجد بيت المقدس وعين
لكل واحدة جماعة من علماء بيت المقدس (٣) وجعل
لكل [منها] مصرفا من اصل وقفه كما يشهد به
كتاب وقفه الثابت المضمون المورخ في شهر رمضان
المعظم من شهور سنة (٤) تسع والـ الف امر مولانا
الحاكم الشرعي الواضع خطه الكريم اعلاه دام علاه
بنقل ما يتعلق بالخلوة الغريبة من كتاب (٥) الوقف
المذكور فنقل مضمونه انه عين الخلوة الغريبة والخلوة
التي سفلها لمولانا قدوة السالكين نسل الاولياء (٦)
العارفين الشيخ ابو السعود الغزي مدة حياته وعين له

علوفة من ريع الوقف في كل سنة ستمائة قطعة
مصرية فضة (٧) ثم من بعده لمن يكون شيخ السادة
القادرية بالقدس الشريف من ذرية ولي الله تعالى
الشيخ محمد ابو العون الغزي وعين (٨) البوابة
للخلوتين المذكورتين والفراشة لمولانا الشيخ نصره
الاسلام ابن المرحوم الشيخ ابو الهدى الغزي وعين
(٩) له في كل سنة من ريع الوقف مائة قطعة فضة
مصرية مدة حياته ومن ثم من بعده لمن يختاره شيخ
القادرية من (١٠) ذرية الشيخ محمد ابو العون وعين
له ثمن سرج لتنوير قناديل الخلوة العليا على بابها من
المغرب الى العشاء ثمانين (١١) قطعة مصرية وعين
لزميم ابواب الخلوتين في كل سنة اربعين قطعة
مصرية انتهى فهذه الشروط وهذا التعيين (١٢) سطر
بكتاب الوقف المورخ اعلاه رحم الله الواقف
المذكور امين (١٣) ٠

23/1. حسن باشا الناظر الشرعي على وقف والده

احمد باشا

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اوايل ربيع الاول ١٠٣٦ / ٢٠ تشرين ثاني ١٦٢٦

سجل ١١٢ : صفحة ٤٦٩

قيد في زمن تولية مولانا محمد افندي ابن

احمد في (١) ثالث شهر ربيع الاول الانور (٢)

سبب تحرير الحروف وموجب تسطيرها هو

ان سيدنا (١) ومولانا امير الامراء الكرام كبير
الكبرا الفخام صاحب القدر والاحترام والعز والمجد
والاحتشام صاحب سعادة حسن باشا (٢) وهو
الناظر الشرعي على وقف والده المقام العالي المرحوم
احمد باشا تغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان واسكنه

منه وتسلمها تسلماً شرعياً بالسعر الواقع الاتي (١٧) في يوم تاريخه بالقدس الشريف ونواحيه بمبلغ قدره ستمائة سلطانيا يعدل كل سلطاني اربعين قطعة مصرية (١٨) كل قنطار بستين سلطانيا ليودي ذلك لموكله مولانا الامير احمد بيك المشار اليه من مال الوقف في العام (١٩) المستقبل اذنا شرعياً محرراً تحريراً مقبولاً من مولانا عبد الباقي بيك الناظر المومي اليه قبولاً شرعياً (٢٠) وعلى ما هو الواقع سطر وجرى ذلك وحرر في رابع عشر شهر شعبان المكرم من شهور سنة سبع والـ (٢١) شهود الحال - مثال جرى الاذن الشريف كما في طي هذا السطور [شطب] غقه الفقير محمود الحسني شيخ الحرم المكي المحرم سابقاً - مثال وقع ذلك بحضور السنجق جاد الله المفتي بالقدس الشريف - مثال وقع ذلك بحضور القيم محمد بن جماعة الحقيير - الفقير السيد احمد - الفقير منلا حسن (٢٢) القيم عبد القادر بن داود - مولانا القاضي غشم بن مكية - حسن الله المغربي - وقع ذلك بحضور اسحق ابي اللطف - وكتبه محمد الرضي القيم (٢٣) ٠

22/3. تقرير شيخ السادة القادرية بخلوة احمد باشا

الغربية ونقل ملخص من اصل كتاب الوقف

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢٧ ذي الحجة ١٠٧٧ / ٢٠ حزيران ١٦٦٧

سجل ١٦٧ : صفحة ٤٢٢

قيدت بالاذن الشرعي الصادر عن مصطفى افندي في

٢٧ شهر ذي الحجة سنة ١٠٧٧

سبب تحرير هذه الوثيقة الانيقة هو انا قرنا

حامل هذا الكتاب وناقل ذا الخطاب فخر السالكين

نسل (١) الاولياء المكرمين مولانا الشيخ نصره

(٣) الشريف لم يبق فيه شي من الزيت ليشعل في الصخرة الشريفة والمسجد الاقصى الشريف وان هذه الجمعة لم يوجد عندهم زيت (٤) يشعلون به القناديل وذلك يودي الى تعطيل المسجد من المصلين وطلبوا احضار الناظر فحضر مولانا قدوة (٥) الاماجد عمدة ارباب المحامد مولانا عبد الباقي بيك ناظر الحرمين الشريفين والصخرة الشريفة ووقف السيد الخليل (٦) وثم حضر جمع كثير من العلما الاعلام مشايخ الاسلام والخاص والعام ممن سيضع خطه الكريم فيه وساله مولانا الافندي (٧) المشار اليه ادام الله النعم عليه عن الزيت فذكر له احتياج المسجد الشريف للزيت واشعاله فاخبر بانه لم يكن في البير المعد (٨) لجمع الزيت شي وذلك لان السنة السابقة لم يحصل من قرى الوقف المعتاد حصول الزيت منها شي لعدم الشتاء العام (٩) السابق ولوجود الجراد الذي جا في السنة السابقة واكل زيتون جبل القدس الشريف على عمومته من قرى الوقف وغيره (١٠) وبذلك حصل الاحتياج والمضايقة وسال موالينا مشايخ الاسلام المومي اليهم فاخبروا بتطبيق ذلك واقتضى (١١) الحال الاستدانة على جهة الوقف بما يشترى به زيتا لشعل الصخرة الشريفة والمسجد الاقصى الشريف على العادة السابقة (١٢) لتقام الصلوات وتودى العبادات خصوصاً في شهر رمضان المعظم قدره وحرمة فعند ذلك استخار (١٣) الله تعالى مولانا الافندي المشار اليه كثيراً واتخذ هادياً ونصيراً واذن لمولانا عبد الباقي بيك الناظر المومي اليه في الاستدانة (١٤) فاستدان من وكيل امير الامرا الكرام الفخام رافع لوا العدالة في الافاق محي رسوم الامارة بالاتفاق (١٥) مولانا احمد بيك مير لوا غزة ادام الله سعده وعزه هو قدوة الاكابر والاعيان عمدة اولى الفخر والشان فرخ (١٦) كتخد عشرة قناطير زيتاً بالوزن القدسي مترك على العادة اتباعها

بعض كتبه المعتمدة واذا بنى خلوة في البقعة المذكورة (١٦) صارت ملكا له والحالة ما ذكر والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم وكتبه الفقير شرف الدين بن عبد القادر الحنفي الازهري (١٧) حامدا مصليا مسلما وذلك جميع البقعتين من ارضي المسجد الاقصى الشريف الكائنتين (١٨) بجانب سطح الصخرة المشرفة من الجهة الشمالية الفاصل بينهما الموازين الكائنة تجاه باب حطة احد ابواب (١٩) المسجد الشريف وذرع مساحة البقعة الغربية قبلة بشام تسعة اذرع وشرقا بغرب تسعة اذرع كذلك (٢٠) والشرقية قبلي بشام سبعة اذرع وثلاث اذرع وشرقا بغرب كذلك سبعة اذرع وثلاث اذرع كل ذلك بسذراع (٢١) العمل المعلوم ذلك عندهما العلم الشرعي النافي للجهالة شرعا اجارة شرعية لينتفع الموكل المشار اليه بذلك ويبنى بكل بقعة (٢٢) خلوتين لاقامة الصلوات فيها ولذكر الله تعالى ودرس العلوم الشرعية ونحو ذلك لمدة ستين سنة كوامل هلايات (٢٣) عربيات متوالية الشهور والاعوام في ستين عقدا كل عقد يلي ما قبله على الولاء والترتيب اول المدة غرة (٢٤) سنته وتاريخه واخرها انقضاؤها باجرة قدرها ستمائة قطعة مصرية حسابا عن كل سنة عشر قطع مصرية ودفع الوكيل (٢٥) المزبور من الاجرة المذكورة مبلغا قدره مائة قطعة مصرية وخمسون قطعة مصرية عن اجرة مدة خمسة عشر سنة (٢٦) على حكم السلف والتعجيل فقبض ذلك منه بيده باعترافه القبض الشرعي وبعد انقضاء الخمسة عشر سنة تحل اجرة كل سنة من سني (٢٧) المدة المزبورة في ختامها وصدر التواجر بينهما بايجاب وقبول شرعيين بالطريق الشرعي وذلك وهو ما ذكر (٢٨) من التواجر المزبور بعد ان ثبت لدى مولانا الحاكم المومى اليه بشهادة كل واحد من الشمسي محمد بن احمد النجودي (٢٩) بالمسجد المنيف والشهابي احمد بن

محمد بن الزين الذين عرفهما مولانا الحاكم المومى اليه وقبل شهادتهما وعمل بها وعول عليها (٣٠) لما راي في قبولها شرعا ان المسجد الاقصى الشريف محتاج الى التعمير والرميم وان ليس ثم يومئذ مال لجهة الوقف (٣١) المنيف يعمر منه وان في ايجار ذلك حظ ومصلحة عايد نفعها على جهة الوقف شرعا ثبوتا شرعيا بالطريق الشرعي بوجه الماجر المزبور واعذاره (٣٢) في ذلك الاعذار الشرعي وثبت مضمون التواجر وما كانت به النية لدى مولانا الحاكم المومى اليه ثبوتا شرعيا وحكم بموجب ما ثبت (٣٣) عنده ومن موجه صحة التواجر المزبور اعلاه وصيرورة ما يبنى ملكا للموكل المشار اليه حكما شرعيا تحريرا في اواخر المحرم الحرام سنة سبع والف (٣٤) شهود الحال - مولانا القاضي زكريا المصري - مولانا القاضي غشم بن مكية - ابراهيم الرحمان - كاتبه (٣٥) .

22/2. حجة استدانة زيت من احمد باشا لجهة

وقف المسجد الاقصى الشريف

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٤ شعبان ١٢/١٠٠٧ اذار ١٥٩٩

سجل ٨٠ : صفحة ٢٨

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشرع الانور بالقدس الشريف المطهر اجله الله لدى مولانا قدوة قضاة الاسلام سند الموالي العظام (١) صدر اساطين العلما الاعلام حجة الله على الانام الحاكم الشرعي الاعدل الاكمل احمد افندي الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره دام (٢) علاه هو انه لما حضر جماعة مستنكرة من خدام الصخرة الشريفة والمسجد الاقصى الشريف وذكروا ان البير المعد لحزن الزيت بالمسجد

والحكام محرر القضايا والاحكام الحاكم الشرعي ابو بكر افندي (٢) الخنفي الموقع خطه الكريم اعلاه نظيره دام علاه وبلغه ما يتمناه استاجر وكيل مولانا الجناب العالي والكوكب المنير (٣) المتلاي حامل رايات الفخار حاوي نهايات الحمد والافتخار ملك امراء الافاق محيي قواعد رسوم الامارة (٤) بالاتفاق كهف الملة الزاهرة موطن الدولة الباهرة احمد بيك مير لواء غزة ادام الله تعالى سعده وعزه (٥) مولانا قدوة الاكارم حاوي المكارم حسين جلبي ابن المرحوم قدوة الاماجد نصح جاويش مير علم بلواء (٦) القدس الشريف الثابت وكالته عنه في هذا الخصوص لدى مولانا الحاكم المومي اليه (٧) اسبغ الله تعالى نعمه عليه دون مال نفسه من مولانا الشيخ عبد القادر ابن محمد نايب الناظر على وقف المسجد الاقصى (٨) الشريف فاجره في عقود متعددة ماله ولاية ايجاره وقبض اجوره بالطريقة الشرعية حسبما دل على صحة ايجار (٩) ذلك فتوى شريفة من مولانا شيخ الاسلام بركة الانام عمدة المشايخ الكرام الشيخ شرف الدين مفتي السادة (١٠) الخنفيه بالديار الغزية مضمونه ما تقول العلماء ائمة الدين رضي الله عنهم اجمعين في المسجد الاقصى اذا كان (١١) له فنا واسع يستغني عنه الناس في الصلاة في بقعة منه واحتاج المسجد الى عمارة وليس له ما يعمر منه فهل (١٢) اذا اجر الناظر عليه بقعة منه لمدة معلومة باجرة معلومة ليتخذها المستاجر خلوة للذكر الله تعالى ولدرس العلوم الشرعية (١٣) فيها فهل تصح اجارته لذلك واذا قلتم بصحة الاجارة هل اذا بنى المستاجر الخلوة المذكورة تصير ملكا او لا افتونا ماجورين (١٤) اياكم الله تعالى الجنة بمنه وكرمه امين ومعلم عليه ما لفظه الحمد لله من ممد الكون استمد العون نعم تصح الاجارة المذكورة (١٥) على الوجه المذكور كما قاله الامام الناطقي رحمه الله تعالى في

تغييره من متواله فالله طليبه وحسيه ومجازيه يوم التناد يوم عطش الاكباد يوم يكون الله تعالى هو الحكم (٤٥) على العباد فمن بدله من بعدما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم ولما تكامل ذلك وثبت اشهاد الواقف المشار اليه على نفسه بذلك لدى مولانا الافندي المشار اليه (٤٦) ثبوتا شرعيا اراد الواقف المومي اليه الرجوع عن وقفه الزبور واراد ان يسترد المبلغ الموقوف المذكور محتجا بان وقف النقد غير محكم ٠٠٠ صحته عن الامام (٤٧) الاعظم وترافع الواقف والمتولي لدى مولانا الافندي المشار اليه وتداعيا في ذلك كله فلما ٠٠٠ مولانا الافندي المشار اليه اعلاه المتداعين ولاج له او يحكم احتج (٤٨) المتولي المدعى عليه حكم ايد الله تعالى احكامه ورفع في بروج السعادة اعلامه بصحة وقف المبلغ المذكور على قول من يرى صحة وقف النقد وهو الامام ٠٠٠ (٤٩) رضي الله عنه حكما صحيحا شرعيا تاما محررا مرعيا مع علمه بالخلاف الواقع بين الائمة الاشراف تحريرا في ثامن شهر شوال سنة اثنين والالف (٥٠) شهود الحال - القاضي ابو الهدى الشافعي - القاضي زكريا ابن المعري - ابراهيم بن الحاج محمد الزحمان - كاتبه (٥١) ٠

22/1. حجة استتجار احمد باشا لبقعتين في المسجد

الاقصى لبناء خلوتين

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اواخر محرم ١٠٠٧ / ٢ ايلول ١٥٩٨

سجل ٧٩ : صفحة ٣١٢

هذه حجة صحيحة شرعية ووثيقة صريحة مرعية ناطقة بذكر ما وقع وتحرر بمجلس الشرع الانور بالقدس الشريف المطهر (١) اجله الله تعالى وعظمه وحماه وكرمه لدى مولانا قدوة القضاة

ويدعو الشيخ محمد الاتي ذكره فيه ما شاء من الادعية الماثورة ويهدي ثواب ذلك في صحايف النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ومن ثم في صحايف اخي الواقف المشار اليه (٢٧) هو صاحب العز والتمكين قدوة الخواص والمقربين معتمد الملوك والسلاطين زيكر اغا بباب السعادة ادام الله تعالى ايامه الزاهرة وجمع له بين خيرى الدنيا والاخرة (٢٨) ثم في صحايف الواقف المشار اليه ادام الله تعالى نعمه عليه ثم في صحايف امواتهما واموات المسلمين اجمعين فما هو لشيخ القرا الاتي ذكره في كل سنة تسعة دنانير (٢٩) سلطانية وما هو بقية السبعة القرا لكل شخص منهم في كل سنة اربعة سلطانية ونصف سلطاني ويصرف المتولي المذكور لكاتب غيبة القرا المذكورين في كل سنة (٣٠) اربعة دنانير سلطانية ونصف سلطاني ويصرف لمفرق الاجزا الشريفة والداعي في كل سنة اربعة دنانير سلطانية ونصف سلطاني ويصرف عن زيت يسرج في قناديل بالحجرتين (٣١) المذكورين في كل سنة اربعة سلطانية ونصف سلطاني ويصرف بقية الربح المزبور وهي ثلاثة دنانير سلطانية في رسم حجج الحاسبة على مال الوقف ورسم امضا الدفتز وخرج ومقبوض (٣٢) وشرط الواقف المومى اليه احسن الله اليه شروطا نص عليها فوجب العمل بها والمصير اليها منها انه عين الدرويش علي بن خضر المشد بالمسجد الاقصى (٣٣) الشريف متوليا على وقفه هذا مدة حياته ثم من بعده للارشاد فالارشاد من ذريته ومنها انه عين مولانا شيخ الطريقة ومورد السلوك والحقيقة عمدة السالكين زبدة المالكين (٣٤) قطب العارفين مولى المريدين الشيخ ابا السعود ابن المرحوم فخر الصالحين قدوة الراشدين الشيخ ابي الهدى ابن المرحوم سيدنا قطب العارفين غوث الملهوفين ولي الله تعالى (٣٥) في العالمين الشيخ ابي العون الغزي سليل سيدنا ومولانا عمر بن

الخطاب رضي الله تعالى وارضاه شيخ القرا المزبور مدة حياته اطل الله تعالى بقاءه وضاعف له وارفضاه (٣٦) ثم من بعده للارشاد فالارشاد من ذريته ثم من بعدهم للارشاد فالارشاد فمن سيوجد من ذرية ولي الله تعالى الشيخ ابي العون المزبور ومنها انه عين السبعة قرا المزبورين وهم مولانا (٣٧) شيخ الطريقة والحقيقة الشيخ ابو الهدى الغزي وولده مولانا شيخ الاسلام بركة الانام الشيخ عناية الله ومولانا فخر الصالحين الشيخ تاج العارفين ابن مولانا الشيخ ابي السعود المشار اليه (٣٨) ومولانا امام المسلمين الشيخ هداية الله الغزي ومولانا الشيخ محمود بن حامد ومولانا قدوة الناسكين الشيخ شافعي الغزي وفخر الناسكين الشمسي محمد شمس الدين ابن الدرويش علي المزبور (٣٩) مدة حياتهم ومن مات منهم من ذرية الشيخ ابن العون المشار اليه يقرر ولده فيها ان كان له ولد والا فيقرر عوضه مولانا الشيخ ابي السعود المزبور بمعرفة مولانا الحاكم الشرعي (٤٠) الشريف ومنها انه عين مولانا العلامة خطيب الخطبا وفصيح البلغا الشيخ عبد الحق بن جماعة كاتب غيبة القرا المزبورة ومنها انه عين مولانا فخر الفضلا الشيخ محمد ابن الشيخ عناية الله الغزي (٤١) في تفريق الاجزا الشريفة وداعيا بعد فراغ القرا من القراءة ومنها انه عين الزين صالح ابن الدرويش على المزبور لشغل القناديل بالحجرتين المزبورتين ومنها ان (٤٢) المتولي على هذا الوقف ان لا يعطي مال الوقف لظالم ولا لمتجوه ولا لمن يعسر الخلاص منه ومنها اذا انقرضت ذرية المتولي المعين المزبور يقرر مولانا الشيخ المزبور (٤٣) [صفحة ١٣٠] في التولية بمعرفة الحاكم الشرعي بالقدس الشريف اجماله ومنها انه اذا توفى كاتب الغيبة المعين اعلاه يقرر عوضا عنه الارشاد فالارشاد من اولاده وقد تم هذا الوقف (٤٤) ولزم على شروطه المشروحة فيه فمن سعى في ابطاله او

الفضل والمنة ان الله اشترى من المؤمنين انفسهم واموالهم بان هم اجنة وصح عنه صلى الله عليه وسلم (٥) برواية العدول والثقات انه قال اذا مات ابن ادم انقطع عمله الا من ثلاث وعلى اله وصحبه الذين اشتهروا عن ساق الاجتهاد (٦) وقاموا بنصرة الدين القويم على نيل المراد وراقبوا في مباشرة امور المسلمين خفى اللطاف وعدلوا ووزعوا العطايا ومعادن الاوقاف (٧) على مستحقيها بالانصاف وما يبذلوا صلاة لقايلها جزيل الثواب وتوفيه اجره يوم الحساب ما رفع اكف الضراعة بالابتهاال الى الله (٨) تعالى رافع بلغه اماله ووقف ابتغا لوجه الله تعالى واقف وحبس ماله وبعد فقد تحرر بمجلس الشرع الانور بالقدس الشريف (٩) اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا قدوة قضاة الاسلام سند الموالي العظام صدر اساطين العلما الاعلام خادم شريعة سيد الانام عليه الصلاة (١٠) والسلام الحاكم الشرعي الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره دام علاه ان ملك امرا الافاق محيي قواعد رسوم الامارة بالاتفاق صاحب العزيمة (١١) والمجد والخيرات المحفوف بعواطف لطايف الملك العلام اسلام بيك مير لوا القدس الشريف ادام الله تعالى له العز والتشريف لما علم (١٢) ان اولى ما ادخره العبد ليوم تشخص فيه الابصار الصدقة الجارية على ممر الاعصار لاسيما صدقات الاوقاف التي تعدل كل قيراط (١٣) من ثوابها جبل احد او قاف رغب قبل ارتحاله الى الدار الآخرة في عمل صالح يلبسه في الجنة الخلل الفاخرة ورهب من هيب النار الحرة (١٤) اعتماد على قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم اتقوا النار ولو بشق تمرة واشهد على نفسه الكريمة في حال حياته وصحته وسلامته ونفاذ تصرفاته بشهادة (١٥) الواضعين خطوطهم فيه بلغه الله تعالى من سعادة الدارين ما يومله ويرتجيه انه وقف وحبس وسبل وابد ما هو له وجار في ملكه وطلق تصرفه (١٦) وحيازته

الشرعية وهو من الفضة القطع المصرية الجارية في المعاملة يوم تاريخه ادناه خمسمية سلطاني يعدل كل سلطاني اربعين قطعة مصرية نصيف (١٧) وذلك حفظا لاصله وضبطا لجمسته مايتا سلطاني وخمين سلطانيا افرز ذلك من ماله وسلمه الى متولي وقفه الاتي ذكره فيه وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحسبا مرعيا (١٨) لاينمحي اسمه ولا يندرس رسمه ولا يضيع عند الله الكريم ثوابه واجره بل كلما مر عليه زمان اكده وكلما اتى عليه دهر واوان ابده واخلده يجري الحال (١٩) ذلك كله ابد الابددين ودهر الداهرين الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين انشا الواقف المشار اليه اسبغ الله تعالى في الدارين نعمه عليه (٢٠) وقفه هذا على جهات بر عينها وهي ان المتولي على الوقف يعامل في مال الموقوف بمعرفة شيخ القرا الاتي ذكره عليه في كل سنة بالمراجعة العشرة (٢١) دنانير باحد عشر دينار ونصف دينار ويتقي بذلك شبهات الربا ويقبض ربحه في المعاملة الراجعة فضة او ذهبا فيكون جملة ربح المال المزبور خمسة (٢٢) وسبعون سلطانيا يصرف منها المتولي على الوقف المزبور لنفسه مقابل خدمة التولية في كل سنة تسعة دنانير سلطانية حسابا عن كل يوم قطعة مصرية ويصرف في (٢٣) كل سنة لثمانية من قرا يحسنون القراءة والتجويد احدهم شيخ يبدأ بهم القراءة ويختم بهم مبلغا وقدره اربعون سلطانيا ونصف سلطاني وعليهم ان يجتمعوا في ضحوة (٢٤) كل يوم بالحجرة العلوية التي شرع الواقف في انشائها الكاينة بالمسجد الاقصى الشريف بجوار سطح الصخرة الشريفة من جانب الغرب يقرأ كل شخص منهم جزءا كاملا من كلام (٢٥) الله تعالى المجيد ويختموا القراءة بسورة الاخلاص والمعوذتين وفاحة الكتاب واوايل سورة البقرة الى قوله تعالى واولئك هم المفلحون ويهللوا ويصلوا على النبي صلى (٢٧) الله عليه وسلم

20. تقرير في وظيفة السكن والقراءة في حجرةمحمد اغا

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٧ جمادى الاولى ١٠٣٨/٢ كانون ثاني ١٦٢٩

سجل ١١٥ : صفحة ١٦٦

بالمجلس الشرعي المخرر المرعي اجله الله تعالى قرر مولانا وسيدنا العالم الكبير العامل التحرير محرر دقايق التفسير ومقرر قواعده احسن تقرير اقضى قضاة (١) الاسلام اولي ولاية الانام معدن العلم والكلام وارث علوم الانبياء الكرام سيد الموالي العظام صدر اساطين العلماء الائمة (٢) مميز الحلال من الحرام محرر الاحكام بالاحكام ماضي النقض والابرار شيخ مشايخ الاسلام العالم العامل الفاضل الكامل (٣) الفاصل بين الحق والباطل الحاكم الشرعي المولى محمد امين افندي بن المرحوم توفيق الموقع اعلا نظيره دام فضله وعلاه (٤) لحامل هذا الكتاب الشرعي وناقل ذا الخطاب المرعي قدوة العلماء زبدة الفضلاء ذخيرة الفقهاء عمدة النبلاء بدر العلوم المتتالي (٥) كوكب الفضل الطالع في افق المعالي مولانا على افندي ابن المرحوم حسين بك وظيفة السكن بالحجرة الكاينة (٦) بحرم القدس الشريف ووظيفة قراءة سورة يس من كلام الله القديم صبيحة كل يوم بالحجرة فوقانية تجاه باب (٧) الجنة احد ابواب الصخرة الشريفة والحجرة التي تحتها بداخل الجنة التي بها والانتفاع بالجنة واشجارها واهداء (٨) ثوابها الى روح سيد المرسلين عليه افضل الصلوة والسلام المنسوب ايقاف ذلك كله لقدوة الخواص (٩) والمقربين معتمد الملوك والسلطين محمد اغا دار السعادة العظمى طاب ثراه بما لوظيفة قراءة يس من المعلوم وقدره (١٠) في كل سنة اثنا عشر

سلطاننا ذهبنا عوضا عن المرحوم حسين افندي شيخ حرم القدس الشريف بحكم وفاته (١١) الى رحمة الله تعالى والحلال ذلك عنه واذن مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه بمباشرة السكن بالحجرة المزبورة والانتفاع (١٢) بالحجرة التي تحتها مع الجنة المزبورة واشجارها وبمباشرة قراءة سورة يس وقبض المعلوم المعين لها (١٣) وبلاستابة عند الحاجة تقريراً واذنا صحيحين شرعيين مقبولين شرعاً تحريراً في سابع جمادى الاولى سنة ثمان وثلاثين والى الف (١٤) شهود الحال - الشيخ خير الدين الجاعوني - الشيخ مصطفى العلمي - الشيخ سليمان الداودي - الشيخ نصر الله - الشيخ زكريا الديري - الشيخ شرف الدين الديري (١٥) .

21. وقفية اسلام بيك على حجرته بسطح الصخرةالمشرفة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٨ شوال ١٠٠٢/٢٧ حزيران ١٥٩٤

سجل ٧٦ : صفحة ١٢٩ - ١٣٠

حمدا لمن فتح للواقفين بابه ابواب الرحمة لمفتاح كرمه ومنح من ساير المحسنين من عباده مزيد افضاله ونعمه ومن على المخلصين بما وقفه لفعل (١) بالقربات المرضية وانعم عليه بما اهمه الاستعداد للمعاد قبل حلول النية ليكون من الفايزين يوم العرض العظيم يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون الا من اتى (٢) الله بقلب سليم احمده سبحانه حمد من وقف الاعمال الصالحة فاضحت تجارتها في الدارين رابحة واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا (٣) شريك له الها وعد كل منافق خلفا وكل ممسك تلفا واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله الهادي الى طريق الفلاح والمرشد الى سبيل الهدى (٤) والنجاح الذي انزل عليه ذو

19/3. الاذن الشرعي باصلاح السماع خانة

بالزاوية المولوية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٩ ذي الحجة ١١٣٧/٢٨ آب ١٧٢٥

سجل ٢٢٠ : صفحة ١٤٣

لما كان صدر الاذن الشرعي والاشارة من صدر الاكارم والاماجد الفخام صاحب الخيرات حضرة الحاج (١) مصطفى افندي دفتر امين الجنب عين السادات والمدرسين العظام زبدة العلما الفخام فروع الشجرة الزكية درة عقد السيادة (٢) المحمية طراز العصابة الهاشمية السيد محب الدين افندي نقيب السادة الاشراف بالقدس الشريف حالا بقصارة السماع خانه بمولوية (٣) القدس الشريف وتجديد تختابوشها وصار الكشف عليها بحضور جمع غفير من المسلمين التقاة وبحضور المعمار باشية الاتي (٤) ذكرهم فوجد ساير قصارتها واقعة وخشب التختابوشها كله تالف وبيت الخلا منهدم على البيت التحتاني ومنقضي (٥) بنا البيت التحتاني ليعاد عليه بيت الخلا المزبور لكونه لازم وضروري وقريب الى السماع خانة ووجد حايط (٦) المطبخ محتاج ولازم للنقض والاعادة وان ذلك كله ضروري وحيث ان الامر بالبنا المشار (٧) اليه قصده الثواب وفعل الخير فليكن له ذلك الثواب بتعمير ذلك حضر يوم تاريخه ادناه جناب السيد (٨) محب الدين المومى اليه وذكر مولانا الحاكم الشرعي المشار اليه انه اتم تعمير ذلك كله على احسن حال وطلب (٩) من مولانا الحاكم الشرعي ان يعين معه من يكشف على ذلك فعين مولانا الحاكم الشرعي من جانبه كاتبه الفقير (١٠) محمد فيض الله الخالدي وحسن بشه الجوخدار والسيد فتح الدين وكيل محضر باشي فتوجهوا

للكشف على ذلك وصحبهم (١١) كل واحد من ابراهيم ومحمد وعبد الكريم معمار باشية القدس الشريف وحصل الكشف والوقوف على (١٢) السماع خانة وعلى بيت الخلا وعلى البيت الذي سفله وعلى حايط المطبخ فوجد السماع خانة مقصورة (١٣) بالقصارة الجديدة وتحت بوشها جميعه جديدا ووجدت ساير اخشاب الابواب طاقتها وابوابها (١٤) جديدة ومحددة بالاخشاب الجديدة ووجد بيت الخلا بنيا بالبنا الجديد ووجد البيت الذي سفله (١٥) مبنيا جديدا وحايط المطبخ مبنيا بالبنا الجديد وحن المعمارية المذكورون ما صرف السيد محب الدين (١٦) افندي المومى اليه في تعمير وبنا ذلك في ثمن شيد واخشاب وحديد وكتان ولوازم واجرة معلمين (١٧) ومونة ونجارين وموتتهم بمبلغ قدره مائة وخمسون غرسا اسدية فذكر حضرة السيد محب الدين افندي (١٨) المومى اليه انه صرف في تعمير ذلك كله مائة غرش وستة عشر غرشا اسدية فقط فتعجب المعمارية والجماعة الحاضرة (١٩) مجلس الكشف من حسن تديره في العمارة المذكورة وعاودوا واخبروا بذلك كله مولانا الحاكم الشرعي المومى (٢٠) اليه اخبارا شرعيا وانه حصل النفع الكلي للسادة الدراويش القاطنين بالمولوية وتزايد خير الدعا لمن كان (٢١) سببا في هذا الخير الجزيل وذلك بحضور كل واحد من الدراويش رسول شيخ السادة المولوية والدرويش (٢٢) محمد والدرويش مصطفى وجماعة من المسلمين التقاة فعند ذلك سطر ما هو الواقع ليكون سنداً بيد حضرة السيد محب (٢٣) افندي المومى اليه وحرر بتاريخ تاسع عشر ذي الحجة الشريفة لسنة سبعة وثلاثين ومائة والفس (٢٤) .

يندرس رسمه ولا يضيع عند الله ثوابه واجره بل كلما مر عليه زمان اكده وحيثما اتى (١٤) عليه دهر واوان اطره واخلدته يجري الحال على ذلك كذلك ابد الابدين ودهر الداهرين الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن (١٥) عليها وهو خير الوارثين انشا الواقف المشار اليه افاض الله ساير النعم عليه وقفه على السادة المولوية المقيمين بالقدس (١٦) براويتهم المنسوبة اليه الكاينة بمدينة القدس الشريف ابدا ما داموا ودايما ما بقوا جيلا بعد جيل فاذا تعذر ذلك (١٧) كانت وفقا على فقراء المسلمين من امة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم اينما كانوا وحيثما وجدوا وشرط الواقف المومى اليه التولية (١٨) على وقفه هذا لحضرة فخر الصالحين عمدة الناسك منهل الواردين ولي الفقرا والمريدين مولانا محمد افندي شيخ السادة المولوية (١٩) بحروسة القدس الشريف المحمية مدة حياته احياء الله تعالى الحيوية الطيبة ثم من بعده لمن يكون شيخا عليهم واذا ال للفقراء فلمن يراه (٢٠) القاضي بمدينة القدس الشريف ولما سلم مولانا الباشا الواقف المشار اليه الوقف المزبور اغدود تسليمنا يناسب (٢١) مثله الى مولانا محمد افندي المتولي على الوقف المزبور وهو تسلمه من الواقف المشار اليه تسليمنا سعى ٠٠٠ ادعى الواقف المشار اليه على (٢٢) المتولي المومى اليه بان الوقف المسفور وان كان صحيحا عند الجمهور الا انه غير لازم عند من هو شمس فلك الاجتهاد الماهد (٢٣) مهاده الشريعة احسن مهاده السراج الوهاج لكافة العباد حضرة ابي حنيفة النعمان خدمه في اعلى غرف الجنان الحور والعلمان (٢٤) والحال اقتضى رجوعي عما صنعت فرجعت عن هذه الوقفية واستردته الى الملكية فعارضه المتولي بان صحة الوقف (٢٥) عند الامام المرقوم وان كانت عارية عن وصف اللزوم لكنها مصادقة للزوم عند الامامين الهمامين والصدرين

(٢٦) البدرين القمقامين الناسكين مثل هذه المعاني على اشد المباني ابي يوسف يعقوب الامام الثاني ومحمود الحسن الشيباني (٢٧) حفا بالمن السبحاني واللفظ الرباني ولا ريب في صحة الوقف عندهما رحمهما الله تعالى ولا سيما بعد التسليم الى المتولي (٢٨) المرسوم لايفارق الوجوب واللزوم وطلب الحاكم باللزوم على رايهما الفايق المعلوم فلما راي مولانا الحاكم المشار (٢٩) اليه اسبغ الله تعالى ظلال نعمه عليه ان جانب الوقف اولى بالاعتبار ودليل الصحة واللزوم اجري الاختيار بعدما امعن (٣٠) النظر في كلام الجانبين امعانا حقيقا وتامل في تمسكات الفريقين تاملا دقيقا فحكم وقضى علما بالخلاف بالصحة (٣١) واللزوم في الخصوص والعموم حكما صحيحا شرعيا وقضاء مبرما مرعيا فصار وفقا لازما صحيحا وحسبا (٣٢) موبدا صريحا ليس لاحد يومن بالله واليوم الآخر ويعلم انه الى ربه صاير ان يسعى (٣٣) [صفحة ٣٠٣] في تبديله ونقضه وتحويله فمن بدله من بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم واجر الواقف على (٣٤) الله الحي القيوم الكريم جرى ذلك وحرر ورقم وستر في سادس ثاني الربيعين لسنة ثلث وثلثين والـ (٣٥) شهود الحال - مولانا الشيخ طه الديري - مولانا الشيخ خير الدين ابن الجاعوني - مولانا مصطفى جلبي العلم - مولانا الشيخ عبد الله الديري - مولانا الشيخ صالح الدهان - فخر اقرانه احمد الزحمان - الفقير زكريا الديري (٣٦) ٠

منه واحسانه (١) الراجي عفوه وغفرانه السيد الكبير
السند التحرير محرر دقايق التفسير مقرر قواعده
احسن تقرير اقضى قضاة الاسلام اولى ولاية الانام
معدن (٢) العلم والكلام وارث علوم الانبياء الكرام
سيد الموالى العظام صدر اساطين العلماء الاعلام ميمز
الحلال من الحرام ماضي النقص (٣) والابرار شيخ
مشايخ الاسلام سلاله الاشراف العظام خلاصة آل
عبد مناف الفخام والحاكم العادل العالم العامل
الفاضل الكامل الفاضل (٤) بين الحق والباطل الحاكم
الشرعي المولى شيخ محمد افندي ابن المرحوم السيد
محمود الحسيني الموقع خطه الكريم باعالي نظيره
دامت فضاييله (٥) ومعالیه اشهد على نفسه الكريمة
حضرة امير الامراء كبير الكبراء الفخام صاحب العز
والنجد والاحترام صاحب اذبال الوقار (٦) والاحتشام
المختص بزيد عناية الملك العالم سالك مسالك
الصراحة والعدالة ناهج مناهج الشجاعة والبسالة
راكب سهوة المجد (٧) طارقا وتليدا ممتطي ذروة
السعد قديما وجديدا صاحب الخيرات ومنيع المبرات
مولانا محمد باشا المحافظ حالا بمدينة القدس الشريف
(٨) دايم العز والتشريف وهو في صحة جسمانه
وثبات جنانه ان وقف وحبس وسبل وابد وخلد ما
هو له ومنتظم في سلك (٩) ملكه ويده واضعة عليه
لحين صدور هذا الوقف دون المنازع والمعارض وذلك
جميع الحاكمة المشتملة (١٠) على غراس تين وورد
ولوز وغير ذلك الكاينة بمحلة باب العامود بالقرب
من راس الفصيلة بمدينة القدس الشريف المحدودة قبله
بالطريق (١١) السالك وشرقا الطريق وفيه الباب
وشمالا الطريق السالك وغربا دار بيد ابن فركاح
وقمامه دار خليل بن فواد بجميع (١٢) حقوق ذلك
كله وطرقه وجدره ومرافقه ومنافعه وما يعرف به
وينسب اليه وبكل حق هو لذلك شرعا وفقا صحيحا
شرعيا (١٣) وحسبا صريحا مرعيا لا ينمحي اسمه ولا

عن وقفه يد ملكه وحيازته ووضع عليه يده نظره
وامانته فصار وقفا موبدا محرما موكدا فلا (٤٠) يحل
لاحد يومن بالله واليوم الآخر ان ينقض هذا الوقف
المزبور ويغير هذا الشرط المبرور ومن فعل ذلك فانه
سبحانه وتعالى طليبه (٤١) ومجازيه وحسيبه ويكافيه
بفعله يوم التناد يوم عطش الاكباد ومن يسع في ابقائه
وتقريره على موجهه وتحريره (٤٢) [صفحة ٥٥٢]
برد الله مضجعه وفي غرف الجنان اضجعه وجعله من
الفرحين المستبشرين بالجنة ووقاه بكرمه من النيران
بمنه فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على (٤٣) الذين
يدلون ان الله سميع عليم ولما تكامل ذلك وتم ما
هنالك ثبت مضمونه لدى مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه
اعلاه بشهادة شهوده (٤٤) اخره وحكم بموجه
حكما صحيحا شرعيا بعد تقديم دعوى شرعية
صدرت في ذلك بالطريق الشرعي احرر المرعي تحريرا
في اوائل شهر رجب المرجب (٤٥) سنة خمس
وتسعين وتسعمائة شهود الحال - مولانا القاضي
اسماعيل - الخواجة يونس - عبد الرقيم المصري - منلا
يوسف الانباري - مولانا منلا علي - مولانا محمود
سمرقندي - التجهان (٤٦) ٠

19/2. وقفية حاكورة من قبل محمد باشا علي

السادة المولوية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢ ربيع الثاني ١٠٣٦/٢١ كانون اول ١٦٢٦

سجل ١٠٧ : صفحة ٣٠٢ - ٣٠٣

لدى مولانا شيخ محمد افندي

سبب تحرير الحروف هو انه بالجلس

الشرعي احرر المرعي اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا

وسيدنا العبد الفقير الى ربه الغني سبحانه الامل منه

في النقد المذكور في كل سنة العشرة باحد عشر ونصف معاملة (١٧) شرعية يتقي بها الربى ان فضة فضة او ذهابا فذهبا لمن يشق بوفائه وديانته وادابته وامانته بالرهن المنقول الوافي او الكفيل القادر (١٨) الكافي ويصرف من الربح الحاصل وقدره خمسة وسبعون سلطاني من غير التباس بالمعاملة الجارية بين الناس خمسة انفار من (١٩) الدراويش المولوية المقتفين اثر صاحب التعرف والاذكار سلطان العارفين مولانا منلا خنكار المقيمين بالخانقاة المولوية التي انشاها (٢٠) مولانا الواقف بالقُدس الشريف الكائنة بمحلة بني زيد تابع محلة باب العمود احدهم يكون شيخا واماما وقاريا يقرأ كتاب المشوي (٢١) المنسوب لسلطان العارفين وبرهان المحققين مولانا منلا جلال الدين قدس الله سره واثان مودنان بالمنارة الكائنة بالخانقاة المذكورة (٢٢) وواحد فراشا وشعالا وواحد بوابا وشرط شروطا منها ان يكون فخر الصلحا المسلمين الشيخ مصطفى مصلح الدين الشيخ الشهير بعلمي (٢٣) ددة شيخ الطائفة المولوية شيخا بالخانقاة الخمية واماما بالجامع الذي بها وقاريا لكتاب المشوي وله من العلوفة في كل يوم سبعة (٢٤) دراهم عثمانية ما هو في نظير معلوم المشيخة وقراءة المشوي اربعة دراهم وما هو في مقابلة الامامة ثلاثة دراهم وعين الواقف المزبور (٢٥) على وقفه هذا متوليا مولانا درويش عبد القادر المولوي بن المرحوم احمد جلبي الخلوتي لعلمه بديانته وعفته وامانته وعينا له من المعلوم له في كل يوم (٢٦) درهما عثمانيا ثم من بعده لمن يكون متصفا بالعفة والديانة والاستقامة والصيانة وان يكون القاضي محمد ابن المرحوم القاضي بدر (٢٧) الدين الشافعي ناظرا على وقفه هذا حسبة من غير علوفة في مدة حياته ثم من بعده لا يوجه لاحد وان يصرف المتولي المزبور لنفسه في كل يوم (٢٨) درهم

عثماني ويصرف للشيخ والقاري والامام ما عين اعلاه ويصرف للمودنين في كل يوم اربعة عثمانية سوية بينهما والشعال والفراش (٢٩) عثمانين وللرباب عثماني وان يكون كل واحد من الانفار الخمسة مولويا روميا افاقيا وعين العزل والنصب لمولانا علمي دده وان يكون (٣٠) ناظرا على المتولي والناظر ثم من بعده لمن يكون اهلا لذلك متصفا بصفاته يجري الحال في ذلك ابد الابدين ودهر الداهرين (٣١) الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين اخرج الواقف المزبور وقفه هذا عن يد ملكه وابانه عن حيازته وملكه وسلمه للمتولي المزبور (٣٢) فتسلمه منه تسلما شرعيا بحضور شهود اخره وجعله وقفا على ما قرر وحبس على ما حرر ووقع اجر الواقف على الله يوم يجزي الله المتصدقين (٣٣) ولا يضيع اجر المحسنين وقبل المتولي المزبور ذلك من الواقف قبولا شرعيا ثم لما ال الامر والحال على هذا المنوال عند مولانا (٣٤) الحاكم المشار اليه رجع مولانا الواقف المومي اليه عن وقفه هذا وقصد عود المبلغ المزبور للملكه وادعى على المتولي المذكور وقال ان وقف النقود (٣٥) عند كل احد من جمهور الائمة باطل وما في ضمنه من الشرايط وطلب من المتولي المذكور المبلغ المزبور ووقع بينهما منازعة فحكم مولانا الحاكم المومي اليه اعلاه دام فضله وعلاه (٣٦) بصحة وقف النقد ولزومه في خصوصه وعمومه على قول محمد الانصاري من اصحاب زفر وعلى قول الامام محمد وابي يوسف رضي الله عنهما واستقام ما في (٣٧) ضمنه من الشروط من غير خلل ولا سقوط وبرات ضمان ما اخذه المتولي حكما شرعيا عالما بالخلاف الواقع بين الائمة الاشراف (٣٨) فصار هذا الوقف المزبور وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحسبا موبدا مرعيا سلما للمتولي بحيث لا يجوز تعديله ولا يسوغ تغييره ورفع (٣٩) مولانا الواقف المشار اليه

15/7. إعادة فتح العمارة العامرة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢ رمضان ١٠٣٦ / ٣ ايار ١٦٢٧

سجل ١١٢ : صفحة ٤٧٦

ثم فتحت العمارة وفرق طعامها بحضور
مولانا (١) شيخ الاسلام صدر الموالي العظام احمد
افندي (٢) قاضي القدس الشريف وذلك في زمن
٠٠٠ على اغا الاسباهي (٣) بالباب العالي في ثاني
رمضان المبارك سنة ١٠٣٦ (٤)٠

19/1. وقفية خداوردي بك على الدراويش المولوية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اوائل رجب ٩٩٥ / ٧ حزيران ١٥٨٧

سجل ٦٦ : صفحة ٥٥١ - ٥٥٢

الحمد لله الذي من وقف على باب كرمه
وجوده سبل له الهداية واطلع سعوده ومن حبس
نفسه عن الشهوات قابله بجزيل الثوابات وقبول
الصدقات (١) ومن حرم عليه الركون الى هذه الدنيا
الدنية ابدله الخلود في غرف جنانه العلية احمده حمد
من وقف للاعمال الصالحة فاضحت تجارته في
الدارين رائجة (٢) واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده
لاشريك له الهاد عن كل منفق خلفا وكل ممسك تلفا
واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله الهادي الى طريق
الفلاح والمرشد الى (٣) سبل النجاة والتجاح الذي
انزل عليه ذو الفضل والمنة ان الله اشترى من المؤمنين
انفسهم واموالهم بان هم الجنة وعلى اله واصحابه ما
وقف بعرفات (٤) محرم وكبر وهلل ووقف ملكه
واوقف وحبس وسبل وسلم تسليما وبعد فان اولي ما
ادخره العبد ليوم تشخص فيه الابصار الصدقة الجارية

على عمر (٥) الاعصار لاسيما صدقات الاوقاف
الذي يعدل كل قيراط من ثوابها جبل قاف ولما علم
الجناب الكبير العالي والكوكب المضي المتلالي حازر
(٦) المائر والمفاخر والفائق بالاجتهاد في طلب
الثوابات على الاول والاخر احد اركان الدولة
والمشهور بشدة العزم والرجولة الاسد الاسيد (٧)
والبطل الاشد حامل رايات الجهد والافتخار ملك
الامرا الكبار مولانا خداوردي بك الشهير بسابي
سيفين مير لوا القدس الشريف (٨) ادام الله دولته
الزاهرة وجمع له بين خيري الدنيا والاخرة ما وعد
الله به المتصدقين من جزيل الثواب ومجازاتهم على ما
قدموه الى انفسهم (٩) من العمل يوم يقوم الحساب
رغب قبل ارتحاله الى الدار الاخرة في عمل صالح
يلبسه في الجنة الحلل الفاخرة ورهب من هيب النار
الحررة اعتمادا (١٠) على قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم
اتقوا النار ولو بشق ثمرة امر باحكام هذا الوقف
الموبد والحبس المحرم المخلد الذي لاينسخ حكمه ولا
يندرس رسمه (١١) ولا ينقطع بره ولا يضيع عند الله
اجره ابتغا لمرضاته وثوابه وطلبا للزلفى يوم رجوعه
الى الله ومابه يوم يجزى المتصدقين ولا يضيع (١٢)
اجر المحسنين واشهد على نفسه الزكية في حال صحته
وسلامته المرضية انه وقف وحبس وايد وتصدق من
خالص ماله تقبل الله صالح اعماله (١٣) جميع المبلغ
النقد الفضة السالم من الغش وقدره اربعمائة غرش
تعديل خمسمائة سلطاني كاملة بالنقد الجاري يومئذ في
المعاملة (١٤) نصف ذلك تحقيقا لاصله مايتا غرش
وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحسبا موبدا مرعيا اخرج ذلك
من ماله وطيب حاله وسلمه لتولي (١٥) وقفه الاتي
ذكره فيه ليصرف ريعه في مصارف البر التي عينها
بالشروط التي بينها الواقف المذكور اعظم الله له
الاجور وقفه (١٦) هذا على جهات بر عينها وشرط
العمل بها وبينها على ان المتولي الاتي ذكره فيه يعامل

بحسن اختياره ورضاه تحريرا في خامس عشر شهر ذي
الحجة سنة احدى عشر [والف] (٢) المزبورون (٣)

قفل العمارة العامرة 15/5.

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٨ صفر ١٠٣٦ / ٢٩ تشرين اول ١٦٢٦

سجل ١١٢ : صفحة ٤٧٦

لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم وانا
لله وانا اليه راجعون (١) كان تعطيل طعام العمارة
الكائنة بالقدس الشريف وقطع خبزها المعتاد (٢) في
يوم الخميس ثامن شهر صفر سنة ست وثلاثين والف
وحصل (٣) للفقراء والمجاورين بالقدس غاية الضرر
وسبب ذلك ان متوليها (٤) المدعو اصلان اغا توجه
مسافرا الى جهة طرابلس ولم يترك (٥) وكيلا يعتمد
عليه ولم يظهر احدا على شي من مال الوقف (٦)
شهد - الفقير خير الدين - الفقير صالح الدهان -
الفقير محمد بن احمد نايب الشرع بالقدس (٧) .

15/6. تعيين متولي جديد للعمارة العامرة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ صفر ١٠٣٦ / ٥ تشرين ثاني ١٦٢٦

سجل ١١٢ : صفحة ٤٧٦

وفي يوم الخميس خامس عشر صفر (١)
ورد الخبر بتولية محمد علي (٢) السباهي بالبواب
العالي (٣) على ٠٠٠ بالقدس (٤) وقيدت صور
براته (٥) مورخة بتاسع محرم (٦) سنة ست وثلاثين
والف (٦) ٠٠٠ عن يد وكيله (٧) فخر الاعيان علي
اغا (٧) .

العمارة بمضور قدوة الاماجد والاكارم ولي بيك
المتولي (١٢) على وقف العمارة المذكورة وجم غفير
من المسلمين التقاة الموحدين فوجد القبو الكبير
المستطيل قبلي بشام المعد (١٣) لربط السدواب
الكائن داخل الخان المذكور يصلح ان يكون طاحونا
ويسد البابان الذي احدهما من الجهة (١٤) القبلية
والثاني من الجهة الشمالية ويفتح له باب من الجهة
الشرقية من داخل العمارة العامرة ويحصل بذلك
(١٥) نفع كلي لجهة الوقف فلما اتفقت الاراء على
ذلك اذن مولانا الافندي المومي اليه لولي بيك المتولي
المذكور (١٦) ان يعمر القبو المذكور طاحونا كما
شرح اعلاه امثالا للامر الشريف السلطاني فقبل
ذلك ولي بيك المتولي (١٧) المذكور قبولا مرعيا
وعلى ما هو الواقع سطر وجرى ذلك وحرر في عاشر
شهر رجب الفرد (١٨) شهود الحال - مولانا القاضي
غشم بن مكية - الشيخ عبد القادر نايب الناظر -
رضوان عبد الله وكيل الخرج - صالح بن معين
الكرارجي - المعلم عبد المحسن ابن المعلم محمود بن
نمر معمار باشي - باكير بن ولي الرومي - ابراهيم
الرضي كاتبه (١٩) .

14/5. تقرير في رغيف خبز العمارة العامرة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ ذي الحجة ١٠١١ / ٢٦ ايار ١٦٠٣

سجل ٨٤ : صفحة ١٨

قرر الحاكم المشار اليه حامل هذا الكتاب
وناقل ذا الخطاب الحرمه عائشة ابنة علي الانطاكي في
رغيف من الخبز صباحا ومساء من خبز العمارة
العامرة بالقدس [الشريف] (١) عوضا عن بروانة بن
عبد المعز بحكم فراغه عن ذلك في يوم تاريخه ادناه

15/3. الامر بتعمير طاحون داخل العمارة العامرة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٠ رجب ١٠٠٧/٦ شباط ١٥٩٩

سجل ٧٩ : صفحة ٤٧٥

سبب تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشريعة الغرا
بمحروسة القدس الشريف اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا
قدوة قضاة الاسلام سند الموالي العظام صدر (١)
اساطين العلما الاعلام حجة الله على الانام الحاكم
الشرعي احمد افندي الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره
دام فضله وعلاه لما ورد الامر الشريف (٢)
السلطاني والحكم المنيف الخاقاني نفذ بالعون الرباني
والسر الصمداني خطاب لمولانا اقضى قضاة المسلمين
اولى ولاية (٣) الموحدين ينبوع الفضل واليقين حجة
الحق على الخلق اجمعين المختص بمزيد عناية الملك
المعين قاضي القدس الشريف (٤) دامت فضايله الى
يوم الدين ولقدوة الاماجد المتولي على اوقاف العمارة
العامرة بالقدس الشريف ان افتخار (٥) الخواص
والمقربين عمدة اصحاب العز والتمكين معتقد الملوك
والسلاطين انيس الحضرة السلطانية جليس الدولة
(٦) السنية الخاقانية المختص بمزيد عناية الملك الاعلى
باب السعادة غضنفر اغا دام عزه ارسل الينا دفتر
بالقضايا (٧) من جملة ما فيه ان العمارة العامرة
بالقدس الشريف طاحونها خارج العمارة وبذلك
يحصل ضرر على دقيقتها (٨) وعليف دوابها وانك
تامر المتولي ان يعمر طاحونا داخل العمارة من مال
الوقف ويكتب دفتر بالمفردات (٩) بجميع الخرج
ومعضي ويجهز الى باب سعادتنا مورخ الامر الشريف
المومي اليه في السابع والعشرين من (١٠) جمادى
الآخرة سنة احدى والـ الف قوبل ذلك بمزيد القبول
وتوجه مولانا الافندي المشار اليه بنفسه (١١)
الكريمة الى العمارة المذكورة وحصل الوقوف في خان

جلبي - محمد بن معصي الترجمان - وغيرهم من
الحاضرين - القاضي ابو العون الديري (١٣) ٠

15/2. قضية قفل العمارة العامرة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ ربيع الاول ٩٩٣/١٨ آذار ١٥٨٥

سجل ٦٤ : صفحة ٢٦٧

صورة وثيقة قيدت باذن حاكمها سبب
تحرير الحروف بمجلس الشريعة المطهر الغرا بمحروسة
القدس الشريف اجله الله تعالى حضر لدى مولانا
عمدة قضاة (١) الاسلام خادم شريعة سيد الانام عيه
الصلاة والسلام الحاكم الشرعي الذي سيضع خطه
الكريم باعاليه مد الله تعالى ظله (٢) وزاد معاليه هو
سيدي محمد افندي دامت معاليه الشيخ محمد بن
مصطفى شيخ العمارة بالقدس الشريف مع جماعة من
خدام (٣) العمارة من الطباقين واصحاب الخبرات
والفقرا وانها ان العمارة قد خلص ما فيها من
الغلال واختل (٤) نظامها وتغيرت احوالها لكثرة
المتولين عيها وفي كل مدة دون ستة اشهر يتغير
متوليها ويأتي (٥) اليها غيره فلم يبق فيها بهذا
الاعتبار غلال ولا ارز ولا سمن ولا ملح وانها في يوم
تاريخه ادناه (٦) قد قفلت لانه لم يكن بها شي يفرق
واحضروا المفاتيح للمجلس الشرعي وطلبوا تسجيل
(٧) ذلك وان يعرض حالها لمن له ولاية النظر فيها
وان متوليها يوم تاريخه الحاج محمد بن لطفي فسجل
ذلك بطلبهم (٨) ليكون تمسكا عند الحاجة اليه
تحريرا في سادس عشري شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثلاث
وتسعين وتسعمائة (٩) شهود الحال - القاضي ابراهيم
- شيخ مصطفى ٠٠٠ - الشريف مفضي الترجمان -
كاتبه (١٠) ٠

الحجرات العلوية الكاينة بالرباط المزبور مطبخا ومرتقا ثم ان ربحان المزبور حضر من مدينة غزة واحضر صحبته صورة الدفتر الشريف السلطاني من السجل المحفوظ (٣٩) بمحكمة غزة ولم يجد بالسجل صورة شرط الواقف ولما تكامل ذلك وتحقق ما هنالك ولم يبرهن المدعى عليه على مدعاه وظهر عجزه عن اقامة البرهان بمدعاه (٤٠) تبين وظهر وثبت لدى مولانا الافندي كاينا من كان (٤١) بموجب الدفتر الشريف السلطاني المبينة اعلاه وشرط الواقف المزبور وان الدار المحدودة الموصوفة اعلاه مخلفة عن بiriam جاويز المزبور اعلاه (٤٢) بموجب ما عين وبين اعلاه بيانا وظهورا وثبوتا شرعيين بالطريق الشرعي بوجه المدعى عليه اعلاه وسئل عن دافع شرعي فلم يبيده وحكم بموجب ما ثبت (٤٣) عنده ومن موجهه جريان الدار المحدودة في ملك الموكلات المذكورات اعلاه وبقية وراث بiriam جاويز المزبور بينهم على حكم الفريضة الشرعية وانتزعت الدار المزبورة من يد المدعى عليه وسلمت للمدعين فتسلماها التسليم الشرعي حكما شرعيا اوقعه الشرعي بعد اعتبار ما وجب اعتباره (٤٤) شرعا تحريرا في ثاني عشر شهر ذي القعدة سنة اثنين وثمانين وتسعمائة (٤٥) شهود الحال - مولانا السيد محمود بن ابي الوفا - كاتبه - الشهابي احمد الحريري - مصطفى اغا الرومي - حسن كريم بن حمرون - مولانا حبيب خليفة - صلاح الدين بن نسيبة - مولانا القاضي شرف الدين الشافعي - مولانا القاضي [ابو العون] الديري (٤٦) ٠

15/1. الأمر بتوسعة مطبخ العمارة العامة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٦ ربيع الاول ٩٦٧ / ٦ كانون اول ١٥٥٩

سجل ٣٩ : صفحة ٣٠ - ٣١

سبب تحرير الحروف وموجب تسطير صنوف انه لما برز الامر الشريف السلطاني نفذ بالعون الرباني بتوسعة بنا مطبخ العمارة العامة (١) بالقدس الشريف من ضيقه وعدم سعته وعدم مصارف الدخان فيه وذلك يتضرر الخدام به فامتثل الامر الشريف وشرع في العمارة (٢) امتثالا للامر الشريف وبني في كل موقد شوارخ احتكمها الاستاذ حسين بن نمر معمارياشي بالقدس الشريف وهما موقده الارز والقمحية (٣) وسلط الشواربخ من منافذ احتكمها من الحايط القبلي بحيث انه قطع الضرر عن الخدم ثم من يوم تاريخه ادناه توجه (٤) قدوة الامرا الكرام مختار الكبرا العظام حضرة مولانا قيطاس بك مير لوا القدس الشريف زيد عزه ومولانا قدوة قضاة الاسلام (٥) زبدة ولاية الانام افندي عبد الرحمن قاضي القدس الشريف زيد فضله الى العمارة العامة وحصل الوقوف على البنا المزبور بمحضرة جمع من المسلمين وثقة الموحدين ومولانا سنان خليفة شيخ العمارة النيفة ومولانا درويش على الوكيل من قبل فخر (٧) الاماجد طورغود اغا المتولي على العمارة المزبورة زيد مجده فوقفا على البنا المزبور فوجداه (٨) [صفحة ٣١] انه قبل البنا كان يستعمل من الخطب في كل يوم لطبخ الارز والقمح مائة وثلاثون رطلا قدسيا في يوم تاريخه (٩) وبعد التوسعة يحتاج الى زيادة في وقيد الخطب وقدرها في كل يوم اربعون رطلا قدسيا واستاذن مولانا ملك الامرا المومي اليه (١٠) ومولانا الافندي المشار اليه صرف الزيادة فاذا له في ذلك واذا في الصرف في كل يوم مائة وسبعون رطلا قدسيا خوفا من (١١) التعطيل اذن شرعيا مقبولا بالطريق الشرعي وحرر في سادس شهر تاريخه وقيد في تاسع شهر ربيع الاول سنة سبع وستين وتسعمائة (١٢) شهود الحال - عبد القادر

إما تـ[بحريم] (٢٠) وكان يتصرف فيها تصرف الملاك في املاكهم ومات وهي باقية على ملكه الى حين وفاته وان الذي ال الى موكلاتهما المذكورات اعلاه من الدار المحدودة اعلاه بطريق (٢١) الارث الشرعي من قبل مورث الموكلات المزبورات اعلاه سبعة قراريط ونصف قيراط على ما يبين فيه فمن ذلك ما جره الارث الشرعي الى ليلا المزبورة نصف الثمن (٢٢) وقدره قيراط ونصف قيراط وما جره الارث الشرعي الى الاختين هما خديجة وست الدنيا بقية الحصة وقدرها الربع ستة قراريط سوية بينهما الايلولة الشرعية (٢٣) وان زكريا خليفة المدعى عليه اعلاه وضع يده على الدار المزبورة اعلاه وسكن فيها بغير حق وبغير طريق شرعي وطلبها رفع يده عن الحصة المزبورة وتسليمها لهما وسئل (٢٤) عن ذلك فاجاب بالاعتراف بوضع يده على الدار المزبورة اعلاه وانه ساكن بها وان بيرام جاويش الزبور عمرها وانشاها وسكن بها في حال حياته قبل وفاته وانتفع بها ساير [الانتفاعات] (٢٥) الشرعية الملكية وانه بعد ذلك وقفها واحققها بوقفه وعينها من جملة وقفه بصك الوقف المقيد صورته بمحكمة غزة اخروسة بالسجل اخروس وبصورة الدفتر الشريف السلطاني] (٢٦) وانه شرط في صك الوقف المزبور السكن بالدار لشيخ الرباط كائنا من كان وانه الان مستحق وظيفة المشيخة وهو ساكن بالدار المزبورة على موجب شرط الواقف (٢٧) فلم يصدقاه على ذلك وادعيا ان الواقف شرط السكن لشيخ الرباط الذي انشاه الواقف المزبور الكاين بمدينة القدس الشريف باخط المزبور بالطبقة اللطيفة الراكبة على الرباط المزبور في (٢٨) صورة الدفتر الشريف السلطاني ولم يشترط له السكن بالدار وطلب من المدعى عليه ثبوت مدعاه واحضار شرط الواقف المزبور وصورة الدفتر الشريف السلطاني

الشاهد (٢٩) بمدعاه فطلب المهلة ليحضر صورة شرط الوقف من مدينة غزة فامهل عليه ليحضرها ووجه ربحان بن عبد الله لاحضارها من غزة وتنازعوا وتداعوا بينهم (٣٠) وطلب كل منهم الكشف على الدار المزبورة وفصل هذه الدعوى بينهم على الوجه الشرعي فتوجه مولانا الافندي المشار اليه بنفسه الكريمة وصحبته فخر الاقران سباهي جاويش من (٣١) جانب ملك الامراء المومى اليه اعلاه دام عزه وجمع من المسلمين الثقة الموحدين الاتي تعين اسمائهم اخر هذا الكتاب الى الدار المتنازع [عليها] وكشفوها كشفا شافيا تاما كافيا وأشار اليها بالدعوى ٢٠٠٠ (٣٢) على الوجه المشروح اعلاه ثم بعد ذلك ابرز محمد جاويش من يده شرط الواقف الثابت المحكوم بصحته من قبل قضاة الاسلام النافذ الاحكام المتصل بمولانا الحاكم (٣٣) المومى اليه دام عزه اتصالا شرعيا المورخ في اوائل شهر ذي الحجة الحرام من شهور سنة سبع وسبعين وتسعمائة وصورة الدفتر الشريف السلطاني وعرضهما على مولانا الافندي بمحضر ملك الامراء [المومى] (٣٤) اليه فقراهما قراءة كاملة وتقرر عنده مضمونهما وعبارتهما ومقتضاهما فلم يجد الدار المزبورة معينة بكتاب الوقف ولا احققها الواقف بكتاب وقفه ولا وجدها ايضا [في] (٣٥) الدفتر الشريف ووجد مقيدا بصورة الدفتر الشريف ما صورته ومنها ان يكون شيخ الرباط ساكنا في الطبقة التي هي فوق الرباط بلا اجرة ولا وجد الدار (٣٦) المحدودة الموصوفة اعلاه مقيدة بصورة الدفتر المزبور اعلاه ووجد مقيد الصورة الدفتر الشريف الطبقة اللطيفة الراكبة بعلو الرباط المزبور ملاصقة للمجمع (٣٧) الكاين بالرباط المزبور من جهة الشرق المعدة لسكن شيخ الرباط المزبور وبها طاقة بشباك حديد مظلة على الشارع وعلى باب الرباط وهي خارجة عن الدار المزبورة (٣٨) ووجد بقرب

وكرمه هو انه لما ورد مكتوب شريف من حضرة امير الامراء الكرام كبير الكبراء العظام صاحب العز والدولة والاحترام المخصوص بمزيد عناية (٢) الملك العلامة شام بكلربكي حضرة درويش باشا يسر الله له من الخيرات ما يشاء لحضرت جناب امات ماب اياالت نصر اب دولة انتساب ملكي النصال؟ [١٠٠] الخصال صاحب العز والاقبال (٣) المخصوص بمزيد عناية الملك المتعال حضرة سليمان بيك مير لواء القدس الشريف دام عزه واقباله واجر بالسعد افعاله واقواله واشرف قضاة الاسلام اعدل ولالة الانام (٤) صدر القضاة والحكام معدن الفضل والكلام المخصوص بمزيد عناية عواطف الملك العلامة افندي عبد القادر الحاكم المولى بقضاء القدس الشريف الواضع خطه الكريم اعلاه (٥) دام فضله وعلاه وبلغه ما يتمناه عن يد قدوة الامائل محمد جاويش بن قراكوز من جاويشان شام زيد قدره من خلاصة مضمونه وعبارة مفهومة اسماع دعوى محمد جاويش (٦) الاتي شرحه فيه وفصلها بينه وبين خصمه على الوجه الشرعي سابق على تاريخه امتثل الامر الشريف وادعى محمد جاويش المزبور اعلاه بالوكالة الشرعية من قبل زوجته خد[بجة] (٧) خاتون بنت المرحوم بيرام جاويش ابن مصطفى الزعيم بلوا القدس الشريف تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان وعز والدتها ليلا خاتون بنت المرحوم عباد جاويش [من] (٨) جاويشان شام كان طاب ثراه في ذلك وفيما ياتي ذكره فيه على الوجه الاتي يانه فيه وكالة شرعية مطلقة مفوضة الى رايه مقبولة شرعا الثابت توكيله عنها في ذلك كله (٩) بموجب الوثيقة الشريفة المورخة في سادس عشر شوال سنة تاريخه ادناه المتصلة بمولانا الافندي المتداعي لديه ادام الله نعماه عليه اتصالا شرعيا بطريقه الشرعي وفخر الامائل حسين جلبي ابن نصوح (١٠) جاويش مير لواء علم

بلوا القدس الشريف زيد قدره بالوكالة الشرعية من قبل زوجته ست الدنيا خاتون بنت بيرام جاويش المزبور اعلاه الثابت (١١) عنها في ذلك شهادة عبد الله جلبي ابن الحاج محمد الخلوتي وريحان ابن عبد الله معتوق نصوح جاويش لدى مولانا الحاكم المومى اليه اعلاه دام علاه الثبوت الشرعي بطريقه الشرعي على زكريا [خليفة] (١٢) ابن سيدي وقالوا في تقرير دعواهما ان من جملة المخلف عن المرحوم بيرام جاويش المشار اليه رحمة الله عليه جميع الدار العامرة الكاينة بمدينة القدس الشريف (١٣) سفلى عقبة الست عند مفارق الطرق تجاه الجشمة الراكبة على الشارع السلطاني المشار اليها بالدعوى المشتملة على ساحة سماوية مبلطة بالبلاط المزني المحكم (١٤) بها قاعتين احدهما قبلية بها طاقة قبلية مطلة على الشارع العام يفوق [يفوه] بابها شمالا والاخرى شمالية بها طاقة شمالية مطلة على الشارع وبها ايضا مخ[دع] (١٥) يفوه بابها مقبلا وايوان غربي يفوه بابها شمالا ومنافع ومرافق وحقوق شرعية المتوصل اليها من باب الرباط الاتي ذكره فيه بحق الاستطراق المحددة (١٦) بتمامها وكماها من القبلة هو الشارع وتماه دار اولاد سالم وشرقا دار اولاد ابن نسيبة وتماه دار مولانا مصطفى جلبي ناظر الحرمين الشريفين سابقا ١٠٠ (١٧) بحده وتمته ايضا بعض اماكن المدرسة القسطنطينية سكن الشيخ ابراهيم بن المعري وشمالا هو الشارع وفيه باب الرباط المتوصل منه الى الدار المزبورة بحق (١٨) الاستطراق الشرعي وغربا رباط المرحوم بيرام جاويش المزبور وفيه بابها وان بيرام جاويش المزبور في حال حياته قبل وفاته الى رحمة الله تعالى عمر الدار المحدودة اعلاه (١٩) وانشأها وصرف على عمارتها من ماله وصلب حاله الى ان صارت على هيئتها التي هي عليها الان مستحقة البقا والدوام محرمة بمحرمة الشرع الشريف

12. وقف قرية بيت ساحور على كتاببرام جاويش

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٧ شوال ٩٤٨ / ٢٤ كانون ثاني ١٥٤٢

سجل ١٤ : صفحة ١٥٥

بين يدي مولانا الافندي صالح بن القدوة
 زيني مولى محروسة قدس شريف ومدينة سيدنا الخليل
 عليه السلام زيد فضله اشهد عليه فخر الجاوشية بريم
 (١) بن مصطفى الجاوش زيد قدره اشهادا شرعيا
 وهو بحال الصحة والسلامة والطوعية والاختيار من
 غير اكراه ولا اجبار وعارفا بمعنى الاشهاد (٢) وما
 يترتب عليه شرعا انه وقف وحبس وابد وحرم
 وتصدق ما هو له وجار في ملكه وشاهد له بذلك
 مستند شرعي بخط كاتبه ثابت لدى مولانا وسيدنا
 (٣) اقضى القضاة العون العلمي المالكي مورخ في
 عشري الحجة سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة ويده
 واضحة على ذلك الى حين صدور هذا الوقف وذلك
 جميع (٤) الحصة الشائعة وقدرها النصف والربع ثمانية
 عشر قيراطا من جميع الغراس العنب والتين وغير ذلك
 القايم اصوله بارض قرية بيت ساحور النصارى (٥)
 المعروف في محلة بدير الرعوات [الرعاة] وحده بتمامه
 وكماله من القبلة ارض كشف ومن الشرق خلا ومن
 الشمال خلا كذلك ومن الغرب خلا كذلك (٦)
 شركة عباد بحق الربع الباقي بجميع حقوق ذلك كله
 وطرقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وبكل حق هو
 لذلك شرعا على الكتاب الكاين به مدفن الوقف
 (٧) الكاين بخط وادي الطواحين الذي حده من
 القبلة الدرب السالك ومن الشرق الدرب وفيه بابها
 ومن الشمال دار وقف الشركسية ومن الغرب دار
 سكن (٨) اولاد المرحوم الشيخ محب الدين بن ابي

الوفا وجعل الناظر المزبور النظر في ذلك كله لنفسه
 مدة حياته ثم من بعده يكون النظر في ذلك لددردار
 القلعة (٩) بالقدس الشريف كاينا من كان ثم من
 بعد الدردار بالقلعة يكون النظر في ذلك لمولانا
 الحاكم الحنفي بالقدس الشريف كاينا من كان (١٠)
 ورفع الوقف عن ذلك يد ملكه ووضع يد ولايته
 وقفا صحيحا شرعيا ٠٠٠ الوصف المنسوب اعلاه
 وعلى الناظر المزبور [٠٠٠] ان يبدأ في عمارته
 وممرته (١١) وما فيه بقا عينه ونموه ومهما فضل بعد
 ذلك يصرف في عمارة المكتب ومهما فضل بعد
 ذلك ٠٠٠ يصرف لفقير الاطفال المتصدي لتعليم
 الايتام وان المكتب (١٢) المزبور الموقوف عليه اعلاه
 وقفا على الايتام وثبت جريان الوقف بشهادة شهوده
 لدى مولانا الافندي المشار اليه اعلام دام (١٣) علاه
 ثبوتا شرعيا بوجه الوقف واعذاره في ذلك الاعذار
 الشرعي وحكم بموجب ما ثبت عنده ومن موجه
 صحة الوقف المشروح اعلاه ونفوذه (١٤) ولزومه
 حكما شرعيا بالطريق الشرعي تحريرا في سابعة شهر
 شوال سنة ثمان واربعين وتسعمائة (١٥) شهود الحال
 - كاتبه - شهاب الدين الديري - علي الديري
 (١٦) ٠

13. حجة دعوى محمد قراكوذ على زكريا خليفة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٢ ذي القعدة ٩٨٢/٢٣ شباط ١٥٧٥

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥٢

هذه حجة صحيحة شرعية ووثيقة صريحة
 مرعية يعرب مضمونها المكنون وينبي معناها المصون
 عن ذكر ما وقع وتحرر بمجلس الشريعة المطهرة الغرا
 ومحفل الطريقة النيرة الشريفة (١) بمحروسة القدس

شهود الحال - كاتبه - مولانا علي جلي بن الشيخ
محمد الكاتب (٧)٠

11/11. وقف بيرم جاویش علی الزاویة الیونسیة

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ صفر ٩٤٧ / ٢٢ حزيران ١٥٤٠

سجل ١٢ : صفحة ٢٦٤

بین یدی مولانا اقضى قضاء الانام محقق
القضايا والاحكام صالح ابن القدوة الزيني مولى
محرمسة القدس الشريف (١) ومدينة سيدنا الخليل
حضر مفخر الاماثل بيرم ابن مصطفى التيماري
واشهد عليه انه اوقف من ماله (٢) [مبلغ] مائة
وخمسين قبرصيا ذهبا المحضرة صحبته مجلس الشرع
الشريف على ان يصرف من ذلك خمسين قبرصيا فيما
تحتاج اليه (٣) [الزاوية] الیونسیة وغيرها بالقدس
بخط واد الطواحين بالقرب من التششمه والمائة
قبرصي تصرف في بنا حجر برسم (٤) الصادر الاجل
علا الدين بن المجرى اعزه الله تعالى ورحم والده
حسبما دفع له ذلك بطريق التولية (٥) حسبما اقامه
متوليا على صرف القدر المزبور الاقامة الشرعية
المقبولة الدفع الشرعي بالقبض الشرعي (٦) بمحضرة
شهوده وان مفخر الاماثل بيرم المزبور اخرج القدر
المزبور من ملكه وجعله وقفا موبدا محرما (٧) وطلبت
البينة من المتولي على وقف دعواه فاحضر كل من
سيدي احمد بن يحيى الانطاكي واسيا ابن حبيب (٨)
وشهدا على بيرم الوقف المزبور انه وقف القدر المقرر
اعلاه على الحكم المعين اعلاه وقفا شرعيا حسبما
(٩) اقاما شهادتهما على ذلك بوجهه فعند ذلك
اعذر في شهادتهما الاعذار الشرعي وثبت جريان
ذلك كله لدى (١٠) مولانا الافندي المشار اليه

اعلاه دام علاه ثبوتا شرعيا بعد تقديم دعوى شرعية
بوجه بيرم المذكور واعداله (١١) في ذلك الاعدال
الشرعي بعد ان جعل له النظر على ذلك لنفسه مدة
حياته ثم من بعده لمن يكون دزدارا بقلعة (١٢)
القدس الشريف كائنا من كان ثبوتا شرعيا وحكم
ادام الله ايامه الزاهرة وجمع له بين خيرى الدينسا
والاخرة (١٣) بموجب ما ثبت وصح عند نفوذه
ولزومه حكما شرعيا عالما بالخلاف فيما فيه الخلاف
تحريرا (١٤) في سادس عشر شهر صفر سنة ٩٤٧
شهود الحال (١٥) كاتبه - رجب بن يحيى الانطاكي -
احمد بن يحيى الانطاكي - الشيخ شهاب الدين بن
الدهان (١٦)٠

11/12. تقرير بيرم جاویش لاسيا ابن حبيب في

وظيفة تعليم الاطفال

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ صفر ٩٤٧ / ٢٢ حزيران ١٥٤٠

سجل ١٢ : صفحة ٢٦٤

اشهد عليه بيرم المذكور اعلاه بما اليه في
ذلك من النظر الشرعي انه قرر اسيا ابن حبيب
المذكور اعلاه ان يعطا تعليم (١) قراءة الاطفال
بالزاوية الیونسیة المذكورة اعلاه وان يكون له في
تعاطي تعليم الاطفال (٢) لقراءة القرآن الشريف في
كل نهار يمضي عثمانيان وانه ممنوع من الاخذ من
الاطفال تقريرا صحيحا (٣) شرعيا مقبولا من اسيا
لنفسه قبولا شرعيا تحريرا في تاريخه اعلاه [١٦ صفر
سنة ٩٤٧] شهود الحال (٤) كاتبه رجب بن يحيى
الانطاكي - احمد بن يحيى الانطاكي - الشيخ شهاب
الدين بن الدهان (٥)٠

القعدة الحرام (٤) من شهور سنة اثنين وثمانين
وتسعمائة (٥) شهود الحال - كاتبه - مولانا القاضي
ابو النصر الديري - مولانا القاضي علي الحنفي زيد
فضله - الفقير يوسف ابن محمود - الفقير ابو النصر
الديري - الفقير ابو العون الديري (٦) ٠

11/10. حجة كشف على فعول وما صرف من مواد

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٥ ربيع الاول ٩٦٧/٥ كانون اول ١٥٥٩

سجل ٣٩ : صفحة ٦٢

سبب تحرير حروف وموجب تسطير
صنف انه حضر لدى مولانا الافندي عبد الرحمن
زيد فضله محي الدين خليفة بن الحاج حسين الوكيل
الشرعي عن قبل بيرام جاويز (١) المتكلم على
اوقاف المصريين بالقدس الشريف وطلب الكشف
على ضبط عدة الفعول والمعلمين وما صرف من
الشيد والقصرمل وغيره في عمارة خان باب القطانين
وعمارة (٢) اسطحته المجاورة لحوش السعيد فندب
عن جنبه وكاتبه العبد الفقير اسماعيل الشافعي فتوجه
الى المحل المزبور فوجد به في نهار الثلاثاء سبعة فعول
ومعلم ومجاري (٣) واحد وفي نهار الاربعاء كذلك
وكان ما استعمل في العمارة المزبورة في اليومين
المزبورين من الشيد خمسون قفة عنها خمسة قناطير
الثلث منها ٣٥ بارة وقصرمل (٤) خمسون قفة الثلث
عنها ١٠ بارة وثمان مكناس وخيطان ١٤ بارة واجرة
حير في اليومين لنقل الشيد والقصرمل ستة حير ١٢
بارة وثمان اربع قفاف ٤ بارة وثمان مونة (٥) في
اليومين ١٠ بارة لاغير ذلك ولا سواه هذا ما دل
عليه الكشف والتحرير جرى ذلك وحرر بتاريخه
اعلاه [٥ ربيع الاول سبع وستين وتسعمائة] (٦)

رسم شهادته ادنى الاسجل المسطر اولاً باعاليه
علامة الاداء والقبول على الرسم المألوف (٤) في مثله
شرعاً ما نسب لمولانا عمدة قضاة المسلمين اولى ولاية
الموحدين معدن الفضل والحكم واليقين الخفوف بعناية
الملك المعين افندي (٥) مصلح الدين المولى بقضا
القدس الشريف الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره دام
فضله وعلاه وبلغه ما يتمناه ويرتجيه من الثبوت
والحكم المزبور اعلى التوقيع (٦) في ثامن شهر ربيع
الاول الانور سنة سبعين وتسعمائة اتصالاً شرعياً
بطريقه الشرعي وانه ايده الله تعالى وادام تاييده
ورزقه من الخير مزيدة نفذ جميع (٧) ما نسب الى
مولانا الافندي مصلح الدين المولى اليه اعلاه دام
علاه تنفيذاً شرعياً بطريقه الشرعي واشهد على نفسه
الكرامة بذلك فشهدت له لديه وعليه في تاسع
عشرين ذي القعدة ٩٨٢ (٨) شهود الحال - كاتبه -
مولانا القاضي ابو النصر الديري (٩) ٠

11/9. مقابلة الوقفية

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢٩ ذي القعدة ٩٨٢/١٢ اذار ١٥٧٥

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥١

قوبلت (١) هذه النسخة المباركة على
اصلها المنقولة منه المسطرة بورق حموي ملصق ببعضه
ببعض باطنا وظاهراً اصلاً وفصلاً ورسوماً وعلامات
(٢) الاحكام فصحت بحسب الطاقة والامكان وبالله
المستعان وعليه الاعتماد وثبت فضل المعاملة لدى
مولانا اشرف قضاة الاسلام اعدل الانام (٣) صادر
القضاة والاحكام الافندي عبد القادر قاضي القدس
الشريف زيد فضله بشهادة شهوده اخره الثبوت
الشرعي بالطريق الشرعي وحرر في تاسع عشرين ذي

11/7. اسجال القاضي مصلح الدين ابن عوض

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اواخر ربيع الثاني ٩٧٠ / ٢٦ كانون اول ١٥٦٢

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥١

وباعلا

هذا الاسجال المزبور اعلاه علامة الحاكم المثبت له ما

صورته

الامر فيه كما ذكر والشان! منه على ما زبر

حرره الفقير حسين بن علي الحنفي المولى بالقدس

الشريف خلافة

عفى عنهما العافي

الله تعالى تاييده (٦) ورزقه من الخير مزيده نفذ
حكمه المزبور تنفيذا شرعيا واجازه وامضاه والنزم
العمل بمقتضاه اجازة وامضا صحيحين شرعيين
بالطريق الشرعي فشهدت عليه (٧) كتب بتاريخ
اواخر بيع الثاني سنة سبعين وتسعمائة (٨) شهود
الحال - يحيى الديري - اسماعيل ابي بكر - الفقير ابو
العون الديري (٩) ٠

11/8. اسجال القاضي الشافعي عبد القادر

محكمة القدس الشرعية

٢٩ ذي القعدة ٩٨٢ / ١٢ آذار ١٥٧٥

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥١

وباعلى هذا الاسجال علامة الحاكم المزبور الشافعي

ما صورته

الامر كما ذكر فيه حرره الفقير مصلح الدين ابن

عوض المولى بقضا القدس الشريف

عفى عنهما

وباخر اسجال مولانا اشرف قضاة الاسلام
الافندي محي الدين عبد القادر المولى بقضا القدس
الشريف الواضع خطه الكريم اعلى نظيره ما صورته
هذا ما اشهد به على نفسه الكريمة (١) العطفة
الرحيمة حرسها الله تعالى وحماها وصانها وتولاها
مولانا اشرف قضاة الاسلام اعدل ولاة الانام صدر
القضا والحكام والمخصوص بمزيد عناية عواطف
لطائف الملك (٢) العلام افندي عبد القادر الحاكم
الموقع خطه الكريم اعلا نظيره دام فضله وعلاه وبلغه
ما يتمناه من حضر مجلس حكمه العزيز بمدينة القدس
الشريف من السادة المعدلين (٣) بها انه اتصل به
بالطريق الشرعي احرر المرعي بشهادة من رقم له

ومعنة هذا الاسجال المعين اعلاه بالوقفية

المزبورة اسجال علي الافندي مصلح الدين ابن

عوض المزبور يمينه مضمونه اشهد على نفسه (١)

الكريمة حرسها الله تعالى من الاسوا سيدنا ومولانا

عمدة قضاة المسلمين اولى ولاة الموحدين معدن

الفضل واليقين مويده شريعة سيد المرسلين (٢) عليه

افضل الصلوة واتم التسليم افندي مصلح الدين

الموقع خطه الكريمة اعلا نظيره دام فضله وعلاه وبلغه

ما يتمناه انه ثبت عنده ثبت الله (٣) مجده وصح

لديه احسن الله اليه بالطريق الشرعي احرر المرعي

بشهادة من رقم له تلو رسم شهادته ادنى الحجة

الشرعية المسطرة ييسرته رقم التادية والقبول على

(٤) الرسم المألوف في مثله شرعا ما نسب لنايه

مولانا عمدة النواب القاضي حسام الدين الحنفي

الموقع خطه الكريم اعلاه يسرة نظيره من الثبوت

والحكم (٥) المعين يسرته على ما بين وفصل وشرح

يسرته المنسوب ذلك اليه المشهود به عليه الواقع في

تاريخه ادناه ثبوتا شرعيا بالطريق الشرعي وانه ادام

11/6. اقرار تاج الدين السكري ببراءة ذمة

بيرام جاويش

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اواخر ربيع الثاني ٢٦/٩٧٠ كانون اول ١٥٦٢

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥١

وبظاهر الوقفية المزبورة ادنى الاسجال
 المزبورة ادنى يمينه ما صورته بعد الحمد لله على نعمة
 هذه حجة صحيحة شرعية ووثيقة شرعية مرعية
 ناطقة بذكر (١) ما وقع وتحرر بمجلس الشريعة الغراء
 بمحروسة القدس الشريف شرفه الله تعالى وعظمه
 لدى مولانا قدوة النواب الحاكم الحنفي الموقع خطه
 الكريم اعلاه نظيره دام فضله (٢) وعلاه وبلغه ما
 يتمناه اشهد عليه المعلم علاني الدين ابن المرحوم
 المعلم تاج الدين عبد الوهاب بن المرحوم الحاج احمد
 الشهير نسبه بابن السكري اشهادا شرعيا (٣) بحسن
 اختياره عن طيب قلب وانشراح صدر طايعا مختارا في
 صحة منه وسلامة وجواز الامر الشرعي من غير
 اكراه ولا اجبار انه صدق على صحة (٤) ما باعه
 والده المزبور في حال حياته قبل وفاته الى رحمة الله
 تعالى للمرحوم فخر الاكابر بيرام جاويش بن مصطفى
 من اعيان الزعما بلوا القدس الشريف سابقا (٥)
 وهو الواقف المشار اليه بكتاب الوقف المبرور
 المسطور باطنه وهو جميع الحصة الشايعة وقدرها
 النصف اثني عشر قيراطا من اصل اربعة وعشرين
 قيراطا في المصينة (٦) المعينة باطنه وجميع الحصة
 الشايعة وقدرها النصف اثني عشر قيراطا من اصل
 اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع الخوش الكاين باطنه
 بجميع (٧) حقوقهما وطرقهما وما يعرف بهما
 وينسب اليهما متصل بهما ومنفصل عنهما وبكل حق
 هو لذلك شرعا المحدودان باطنه وعلى نفوذهما

وجريانهما (٨) من اهله في محله على وجه الصحة
 واللزوم وعلى براءة ذمة المرحوم بيرام جاويش المزبور
 باطنه لوالده من جميع الثمن عن نصف المصينة وعن
 نصف (٩) الخوش المحدودين باطنه البراءة الشرعية
 التصديق الشرعي لاحق له في الخصتين المزبورتين
 باطنه ولا في شي منهما ولا استحقاقا ولا دعوى ولا
 طلبا (١٠) بوجه ولا سبب ولا حصة ولا نصيبا ولا
 دعوى لهما فيهما بحصة ولا تملك ولا بهية ولا تمسك
 له بحجة سابقة ولا بينة ناطقة ولا (١١) بوجه من
 الوجوه الشرعية مطلقا وقبل منه ذلك سفر بن
 مصطفى اخو بيرام جاويش المزبور باطنه وعبدى ابن
 قباط؟ الوصيين على ايتام المرحوم (١٢) جاويش
 المزبور باطنه قبولاً شرعياً وجعل له في نظير ذلك
 خمس سلطانية ذهب ونصف سلطاني مقبوضة بيده
 القبض الشرعي بحضرة شهوده (١٣) جمالة شرعية
 وابراء ذمته منها ابرا شرعياً مطلقاً عاماً مقبولا
 بالطريق الشرعي وثبت مضمون ذلك كله مولانا
 الحاكم المشار اليه بشهادة شهوده (١٤) اخره ثبوتاً
 شرعياً بوجه كل منهم واعذاره في ذلك الاعذار
 الشرعي وانه ادام الله تعالى تاييده ورزقه من الخير
 مزيده حكم بموجب ما ثبت عنده حكماً شرعياً
 (١٥) الواقعه بشروطه الشرعية ايقاعاً شرعياً بالطريق
 الشرعي تحريراً في اواخر شهر ربيع الثاني سنة سبعين
 وتسعمائة (١٦) شهود الحال - يحيى الديري - الفقير
 ابو النصر الديري - اسماعيل الشافعي شهد بذلك
 عندي - حرره الفقير ابو العون الديري (١٧) ٠

11/5. تقرير بيرام جاويز لعلاء الدين الخلوتيبوظيفة الكتابة على وقفه

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٨ ربيع الاول ٩٧٠ / ١٥ تشرين ثاني ١٥٦٢

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٥٠

مثال علامة القاضي الميثب والمنفذ

الامر كما ذكر فيه حرره الفقير مصلح الدين افندي

المولى بقضا القدس الشريف عفى عنهما

الحمد لله رب العالمين (١) ويظهر الوقفية

اسجل مولانا الحاكم الميثب لها والمنفذ لحكم حالها

الاتي ذكر اسمه فيه مضمونه هذا ما اشهد به على

نفسه المطمينة الزكية العفيفة المرضية حرسها الله

تعالى وحماها (٢) وصانها وتولاها مولانا عمدة قضاة

المسلمين اولى ولاية الموحددين معدن الفضل والحكم

واليقين اخفوف بعناية الملك المعين افندي مصلح

الدين المولى بقضا القدس الشريف الموقع خطه الكريم

[اعلاه] (٣) نظيره دام علاه وبلغه ساير ما يرتجيه

ويتمناه انه ثبت عنده ثبت الله مجده وصح لديه

احسن الله اليه بالطريق الشرعي المخرى المرعي بشهادة

من رقم له تلو رسم شهادته ٥٠٠ (٤) الوقف المبرور

المشروح اعلاه رقم التادية والقبول على الرسم

المالوف في مثله شرعا مضمون اشها[د] مولانا قدوة

قضاة الاسلام زبدة ولاية الانام افندي عبد الرحمن

المولى لقضا (٥) القدس الشريف سابقا زيد فضله

وهو المشار اليه باطنه على نفسه الكريمه بجميع ما

نسب اليه باطنه من الثبوت والحكم المزبورين اعلاه

المنسوب ذلك اليه المشهود (٦) به عليه الواقع في

اوايل شهر ذي الحجة الحرام من شهور سنة سبع

وستين وتسعمائة ثبوتا شرعيا بالطريق الشرعي وانه

ادام الله تعالى تايده ورزقه من (٧) مزيدة نفذ حكم

مولانا الافندي المشار اليه باطنه تنفيذا شرعيا بطريقه

الشرعي وذلك بعد ان استخار الله تعالى الواقف

المزبور باطنه كثيرا واتخذ هاديا ونصيرا ٥٠٠ (٨)

مولانا فخر العلماء زبدة الفضلا عبد القادر جلبي ابن

المرحوم مولانا قدوة الراشدين زبدة الصلحا الناسكين

الشيخ علاي الدين ابي الحسن علي الخلوتي زيد

فضله ورحم (٩) سلفه وابقا خلفه في وظيفة الكتابة

على وقفه المشروح باطنه مدة حياته ثم بعده يكون

لاولاده واولاد اولاده واولاد اولاد اولاده وشروط

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المقيدة بكتاب وقفه المزبور باطنه واذن له في المباشرة

والاستابة عند الحاجة وقبض المعلوم وقدره في كل

يوم عثماني (١١) وهو المقيد باطنه تقريراً واذنا

وشروطا صحيحين شرعيين بالطريق الشرعي وقبل منه

ذلك مولانا عبد القادر جلبي المشار اليه اعلاه لنفسه

قبولا شرعيا بطريقه الشرعي وصدق مولانا عبدي

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دام علاه بموجب السجل الواقع في تاريخه ادناه

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فتيها وبوابا بعد بواب وكاتب بعد كاتب وهلمنا جرا
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بواب الرباط المزبور اعلاه يفرش بالجمع الشمالي
ثلاثة بسط من البسط الموقوفة اعلاه اثنان منها
بالجمع المزبور (١٠٢) البراني والبساط الثالث يفرش
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(١٠٣) حفظها في حرز مثلها شرعا ومنها ان الواقف
المشار اليه اعلاه شرط لنفسه الادخال والاخراج
والزيادة [والنقصان] (١٠٤) وليس لغيره من بعده
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(١٠٥) وحيازته ووضع عليه يد نظره وولايته وصار
وقفا محرما بخرمات الله الاكيدة مدفوعا عنه بقوته
السديدة فلا يحل لا [حد] (١٠٦) يومن بالله واليوم
الاخر ويعلم انه الى ربه الكريم صاير ان ينقض هذا
الوقف ولا يغيره ولا يبدله ولا يعطله ولا يسعى في
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يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون (١٠٩) الا من اتى الله
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من (١١٠) الفرحين المستبشرين الذين لاخوف
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الصحة واللزوم فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فانما اثمه على
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[ذلك] (١١٢) كله لدى مولانا وسيدنا قدوة قضاء
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سيدنا [خليل] (١١٤) الرحمن عليه السلام الموقع
خطه الكريم اعلى اصله المتوقع رضى مولاه دام
فضله وعلاه وبلغه ما يتمناه ثبوتا صحيحا شرعيا بعد
تقديم دعوى (١١٥) شرعية صدرت في ذلك
بالطريق الشرعي بوجه الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه
واعذاره في ذلك الاعذار الشرعي وانه ادام الله تعالى
ايامه واعزز افضيته (١١٦) واحكامه حكم بصحة
ذلك حكما شرعيا مسولا فيه مستوفيا شرايطه
الشرعية وواجهه المعتبرة المرضية بعد اعتبار ما
(١١٧) وجب اعتباره شرعا وجرى ذلك وحرر في
اوايل شهر ذي الحجة الحرام من شهور سنة سبع
وستين وتسعمائة احسن الله تعالى ختامها
٠٠٠ (١١٨) بخير امين والحمد لله وحده (١١٩)
شهود الحال - الفقير محمد التميمي ابو الوفا الحنفي -
الفقير عثمان العلمي المالكي - مولانا القاضي محي
الدين - اسماعيل بن ابي الحكم الشافعي - الفقير علي
بن علي ابي هريرة - حرره الفقير الحقير ابو العون
الديري - شهدت بذلك - مرقوم هما شهدا بذلك
عندي (١٢٠) ٠

انشاء وعمره وصرف عليه من ماله وصلب حاله الكاين بمدينة القدس الشريف سفل عقبة الست بمفارق الطريق بالقرب من الششمة (٧٧) الكاينة هناك الملاصقة للمدرسة الماوردية الكاينة بالقدس الشريف المحمية وعلى مصالح المكتب خانه الكاين باخل المزبور اعلاه الكاين به المدفن الذي (٧٨) انشاء الواقف وعمره واعده لدفنه ودفن اولاده وذريته ونسله وعقبه وشرط الواقف المزبور اجزل الله له الاجور في وقفه هذا (٧٩) شروطا نص عليها ووجب العمل بها والمصير اليها منها انه جعل النظر على وقفه هذا والولاية عليه لنفسه مدة حياته احياء الله تع (تعالى) (٨٠) حياة طيبة ثم من بعده لاولاده واولاد اولاده وذريته ونسله وعقبه الارشد منهم فالارشد ومنها ان الناظر على هذا الوقف (٨١) المزبور يصرف من ريعه في عمارة الرباط المزبور اعلاه وفي عمارة المكتب خانه وفي مرمتها والاصلاحهما وما فيه بقا عينها ومنها ان (٨٢) الرباط المزبور يكون معدا لسكن الفقرا الصلحا المجردين يسكن كل واحد منهم في حجرة ويصرف له الناظر على الوقف المزبور في كل يوم درهما (٨٣) عثمانيا ويعطي طاسة من الطاسات الموقوفة اعلاه يستعملها في مدة اقامته بالرباط المزبور وعند سفره يسلمها لبواب الرباط المزبور ومنها (٨٤) ان يكون بالرباط المزبور اعلاه شيخ على الفقرا المقيمين به ويكون متصفا بالديانة والعفة والصيانة وعليه ان يقرأ في كل يوم بالجمع الذي انشاه (٨٥) الواقف المزبور اعلاه بالرباط المذكور بالجهة الشمالية سورة عم وسورة الاخلاص والمعوذتين وفاتحة الكتاب ويهلل ويهدي ثواب ذلك الى حضرة (٨٦) النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم الى حضرة ابيه سيدنا الخليل عليه السلام ثم الى روح الواقف المشار اليه احسن الله اليه ووالديه واولاده وذريته (٨٧) وامواته واموات المسلمين اجمعين ومنها

ان الناظر على هذا الوقف يصرف للشيخ بالرباط المزبور من ريع الوقف في كل يوم (٨٨) خمسة عثمانية ومنها ان لا يكون احدا بالرباط المزبور اعلاه مدرسا ولا يصرف ريع الوقف المزبور اعلاه الا على الوجه المزبور ومنها (٨٩) ان الناظر على هذا الوقف المزبور يصرف من ريعه لبواب الرباط المزبور في كل يوم عثمانين وعليه تنظيف الرباط المزبور وكنسه وفرشه (٩٠) وتنظيف مرتفقاته وغلق بابه وفتحه وعليه ايضا حفظ الطاسات والبسط المعين عدتها اعلاه ومنها ان يصرف لفقير الاطفال (٩١) كاينا من كان في كل يوم ثلاثة عثمانية مع سكنه بالدار الملاصقة للمدفن المزبور اعلاه التي هي من جملة وقف الواقف المزبور اعلاه مدة حياته من (٩٢) غير اجرة ومنها ان يصرف في ثمن زيت برسم تنوير الرباط المزبور والمدفن المذكور في كل يوم درهما عثمانيا ومنها ان يصرف (٩٣) للواقف المزبور في نظير وظيفة النظر على وقفه هذا في كل يوم اربعة عثمانية واذا ال الوقف الى اولاده وذريته يصرف الناظر [نظير] (٩٤) [صفحة ٦٥٠] وظيفة النظر في كل يوم اربعة عثمانية ومنها ان يصرف لكاتب يضبط محصولات الوقف واخراجاته في كل يوم درهم عثماني ومنها انه جعل [النظر] (٩٥) على وقفه هذا بعد انقراض ذريته لناظر الحرمين الشريفين اعني الناظر على اوقاف سيدنا خليل الرحمن عليه م (السلام) وعلى اوقاف المسجد الاقصى الـ[شريف] (٩٦) كاينا من كان وان يصرف له في نظير معلوم الوظيفة المزبورة من محصولات الوقف المزبور في كل يوم ثلاثة عثمانية ومنها ان الناظر على هذا الوقف المزبور ٠٠٠ (٩٧) وفاة الواقف المشار اليه بجمع محصولات الوقف المزبور بمعرفة الشيخ بالرباط المزبور اعلاه وفقير الاطفال في كل عام ان امكن اجتماعهم وان تعذر ذلك بحضور (٩٨) احدهم ومنها انه مهما

لحم ومن الغرب ارض النجمة وتقام الحد القبلي ارض خريطون الجاري ذلك في ملك الواقف (٥٤) [صفحة ٦٤٩] المشار اليه اعلاه بموجب وثيقة شرعية مورخة في رابع شهر رمضان الشريف سنة ثلاث وخمسين وتسعمائة وستة عشر طاسة نحاس روميات (٥٥) وخمس بسط رومية وجميع القرية وارضها المعروفة بصيخان تابع غزة اخروسة المشتعلة على اراضي سهل ووعر ومعتمل ومعتل (٥٦) واقاصي واداني ومصايف ومشاتي وابار ودمنة عامرة برسم سكني فلاحها وحدود اربعة تحيط بكاملها وتحصرها فالاول (٥٧) منها وهو القبلي ينتهي الى اراضي قرية العصفيرية وارضها قرية عود والثاني ينتهي الى قرية رسم الابدال وتقامه رسم ابي سيف والثالث (٥٨) وهو الشمالي ينتهي الى اراضي قرية رسم ابي سيف المذكور والرابع وهو الغربي ينتهي الى قرية زيود المشرفة الفاصلة بينهما الطريق وجميع (٥٩) الحصنة الشايعة وقدرها اربعة عشر قيراطا من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع اراضي مزرعة بيت طفا من عمل غزة اخروسة بالقرب (٦٠) من قرية بربر المشتعلة على اراضي واقاصي واداني وسهل ووعر ومعتمل ومعتل ومقرب ومزدرع وحقوق وطرق وحدود اربعة (٦١) الاول منها وهو القبلي الدرب الفاصل بينهما وبين ارض هوج والثاني وهو الشرقي ارض كفير عقب والمرشان والثالث (٦٢) وهو الشمالي ارض شعرتا ووادي الحلي والرابع وهو الغربي ارض الجلطة وجميع عمارة الخان المعروف بدار الوكالة بمدينة (٦٣) غزة اخروسة بحارة القياسنة قديما والان بحارة الزيتون المقابل لخان ابن مفلح وقف المرحوم السلطان قايتباي المشتعل على حقوق وطرق (٦٤) ومرافق الذي يوضع به البضائع والقبان من قديم الزمان من مدة مديدة تزيد على سبعين سنة سابقة على تاريخه وبجده بتمامه وكمالته من (٦٥)

القبلة ينتهي الى حوش ابن ابي حماد وتقامه حاكورة ابن ابي سويدان ومن الشرق ينتهي الى الشارع الاعظم وفيه باب الخان المزبور وتقامه رسم حوانيت الحجارين (٦٦) ومن الشمال الساحة الكشف منحصر الاغنام قديما ومن الغرب ينتهي الى الممر هناك وجميع ما بقي من بنا الطاحون وابنيها وانقاضها والارض الكشف (٦٧) المنسوبة اليها التي اصلها حجري رحاء مطبقين الراكبة على نهر نبي الله تعالى سيدي رويل عليه السلام تابع مدينة الرملة المدفع ماوه عنها (٦٨) والمنصرف الى طريق اخر المحصورة هي والارض بمحدود الاربعة من القبلة النهر المزبور ومن الشرق والشمال الارض الكشف ومن الغرب الوادي (٦٩) الجاري به النهر المزبور ومساحة الارض المذكورة فدان واحد بالفدان المصري حسبما يشهد له بذلك مستند شرعي سابق على تاريخه وهذه القرية (٧٠) والحصنة من المزرعة وخان الوكالة وبنا الطاحون المحدود ذلك جميعه اعلاه فقد ابتاع ذلك كله الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه بالمبلغ الموقوف اعلاه وقدره (٧١) من غير تكرار مائة الف درهم عثماني وخمسون الفا على حكم ما شرطه حين اوقف المبلغ المزبور اعلاه وهو ان يشتري به عقارات حصرية ويلحقه (٧٢) بوقفه هذا وبريت ذمته من المبلغ المزبور اعلاه ومن كل جزو منه البراة الشرعية بالطريق الشرعي وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وتحببسا (٧٣) مخلدا مرعيا وايقافا دائما ابدا سرمديا لا يوهب ذلك ولا شي منه ولا يملك تقرب به واوقفه خالقه ومولاه وقدمه ذخيرة (٧٤) لنفسه مما افناه لما ابقاه لا ينفسخ حكمه ولا يندرس رسمه ولا ينقطع معروفه وبره ولا يضيع عند الله الكريم ثوابه واجره ليفوز بما (٧٥) وعد الله المحسنون لقوله تعالى لن تنالوا البر حتى تنفقوا مما تحبون انشا الواقف المزبور اجزل الله له الاجور وقفه هذا على مصالح الرباط (٧٦) الذي

وعشرين قيراطا في جميع الغراس العنب والتين وغيره
 القايم [اصوله] (٣٢) بارض قرية بيت لحم بارض
 الجبعة المحدودة قبله غراس بيد بردويل المعروف بابي
 خليل وشرقا وشمالا وغربا اخلا شركة سليمان من
 الناحية بحق النصف (٣٣) وجميع الحصة الشايعة
 وقدرها النصف اثنا عشر قيراطا من اصل اربع
 عشرين قيراطا من جميع الغراس العنب والتين وغيره
 القايم [اصوله] (٣٤) بارض القرية المزبورة بوادي
 الراهب المحدودة قبله ارض كشف وشرقا كرم اولاد
 الفقيه وشمالا ارض كشف وغربا كرم ابن سعاده
 شركة مسلم بن معـ ٠٠٠ (٣٥) بحق الباقي وجميع
 الحصة الشايعة وقدرها الثلث ثمانية قراريط من اصل
 اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع غراس العنب والتين
 وغيره [القايم] (٣٦) اصوله بارض القرية المزبورة
 المحدودة قبله ارض كشف وشرقا غراس بيد ابي
 خليل المزبور اعلاه وشمالا ارض كشف وغربا ارض
 كشف بيد عليان شركة خـ ٠٠٠ (٣٧) ابن حسين
 ومن يشركه بحق الباقي وجميع الحصة الشايعة وقدرها
 الربع ستة قراريط من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا في
 جميع الغراس العنب (٣٨) والتين وغيره القايم اصوله
 بارض القرية المزبورة المحدودة قبله غراس بيد مولانا
 القاضي شهاب الدين احمد بن المهندس وشرقا ارض
 كشف وشمالا (٣٩) غراس بيد مولانا القاضي بدر
 الدين الشافعي وغربا ارض كشف شركة عبد العزيز
 ومن يشركه بحق الباقي ويشهد للواقف بذلك وثيقة
 شرعية [مورخة] (٤٠) في سادس عشري شهر جمادى
 الاولى سنة اثنين وخمسين وتسعمائة وجميع الحصة
 الشايعة وقدرها النصف اثنا عشر قيراطا من اصل
 اربع وعشرين قيراطا من اصل اربع (٤١) وعشرين
 قيراطا من جميع الغراس العنب والتين وغيره القايم
 اصوله بارض قرية بيت ساحور النصارى المحدودة
 قبله ارض كشف وشرقا وشمالا [وغربا] (٤٢)

كذلك شركة عباد بن علي بن احمد من بيت ساحور
 المزبورة بحق الباقي الجاري ذلك في ملك الوقف
 المزبور بموجب وثيقة شرعية مورخة في عشري (٤٣)
 شهر ذي الحجة سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة وجميع
 الحصة الشايعة وقدرها النصف اثنا عشر قيراطا من
 اصل اربع وعشرين (٤٤) قيراطا في جميع الغراس
 العنب والتين وغيره القايم اصوله في ارض قرية بيت
 لحم ظاهر القدس الشريف بارض الجبعة المحدودة قبله
 [بارض] (٤٥) كشف وشرقا بيد الواقف المشار اليه
 اعلاه وشمالا بيد المحروق من الناحية وغربا غراس بيد
 مولانا القاضي شهاب الدين احمد ابن المهندس بيد
 مولانا (٤٦) القاضي بدر الدين الشافعي ومن يشركه
 ويشهد للواقف بذلك وثيقة شرعية مورخة في
 عشرين شهر جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاث وخمسين
 وتسعمائة وجميع (٤٧) الحصة الشايعة وقدرها الربع
 ستة قراريط من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع
 غراس العنب والتين وغيره القايم اصوله بارض قرية
 بيت لحم (٤٨) المحدودة قبله اخلا وشرقا غراس بيد
 فواز من الناحية وشمالا الغراس بيد احمد بن حسين بن
 طواشي وغربا غراس بيد عمير بن دوة من الناحية
 (٤٩) شركة حمدون ابن الفقيه وعثمان بن عمير
 ومعلي ابن ابي عليان المدعو بابن ابي حسين بحق
 الباقي الجاري ذلك في ملك الواقف المزبور (٥٠)
 بموجب وثيقة شرعية مورخة في ثالث شهر جمادى
 الاولى سنة ثلاث وخمسين وتسعمائة وجميع الحصة
 الشايعة وقدرها الربع ستة قراريط (٥١) من اصل
 اربع وعشرين قيراطا من جميع اراضي قرية بن شجاع
 المعروفة بدير بني نعيم من عمل القدس الشريف وربع
 مزرعتها المعروفة بخطـ [ين] (٥٢) وحد اراضي القرية
 والمزرعة المزبورتين اعلاه من القبلة البحرية وارااضي
 تقوع ومن الشرق البحرية وشمالا ارض قرية بيت
 تعمر وارااضي قرية (٥٣) النجمة وارااضي قرية بيت

زادا من دار [الفناء] الى دار القرار واشهد على نفسه الكريمة حرسه الله تعالى من الاسوا بمحمد (١٠) اشهادا شرعيا حال حياته وكمال صحته ونفاذ تصرفاته في اقواله وافعاله وجواز تبرعاته في امواله واملاكه طايعا وراغبا لمرضاة ربه الكريم (١١) وهربا من العذاب الاليم ورجا لما وعده الله تعالى القديم كما قال الله تعالى يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون الا من اتى الله بقلب سليم وتمسكا بقوله (١٢) صلى الله عليه وسلم اذا مات ابن ادم انقطع عمله الا من ثلاث واعد منها الصدقة الجارية انه وقف وحبس وابد وسبل وحرم (١٣) وتصدق به تقربا الى ربه الكريم ورجا خالقه العظيم يوم يجزي الله المتصدقين ولا يضيع اجر المحسنين جميع ما ياتي ذكره ووصفه وتحديدته فيه (١٤) ما هو له وجار في ملكه وتحت تصرفه ٠٠٠ وحيازته الشرعية ويشهد له بذلك تمسكات شرعية ثابتة ممضية على السادة الحكام النافذة (١٥) الاحكام سابقة على تاريخه ويده ثابتة على ذلك الى حين صدور هذا الوقف منه وذلك جميع المبلغ الذي قدره من الدراهم الفضة (١٦) العثمانية معاملة الديار الاسلامية مائة الف درهم عثماني وخمسون الف درهم عثماني من ماله وصلب حاله منها مائة الف (١٧) [صفحة ٦٤٧] درهم عثماني عن قيمة مائة قطار من الصابون القدسي بوزن القدس الشريف الشاهد بقضية وقف ذلك وثيقة شرعية مورخة في خامس عشر (١٨) شهر ربيع الاول الانور من شهور سنة ست وخمسين وتسعمائة وبقية المبلغ المزبور اعلاه وقدره خمسون الف درهم عثماني نقدا افرزه من ماله ٠٠٠ (١٩) بموجب وثيقة شرعية ثابتة بالطريق الشرعي مورخة في خامس عشري شهر جمادى الاولى سنة اثنين وخمسين وتسعمائة وجميع الحصص (٢٠) الشايعة وقدرها النصف اثني عشر قيراطا من اصل اربع وعشرين

قيراط في جميع المصينة المعدة لطبخ الصابون الكاينة بمدينة القدس الشريف (٢١) بخط باب العامود وتشمل على قباء معقودة بالحجر والشيد وابار برسم خزن الزيت وبيرين برسم جمع ماء الاشيتية ومخازن سفلية ومفـ[رش] (٢٢) برسم بسط الصابون واقميمين وحياض برسم الصابون وحقوق شرعية المحدودة قبله الدرب السالك الى سويقة باب العامود وشرقا الدرب (٢٣) السالك وشمالا دار بيد اولاد النعجة وتمامه الحوش الاتي ذكره فيه وغربا زقاق غير نافذ وفيه باب المصينة المزبورة وجميع الحصص الشايعة وقدرها الربع ست قراريط من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا من جميع الحوش الموعود بذكره اعلاه ويشتمل على قبو معقود بالحجر (٢٥) والشيد وبيوت سفلية وحقوق شرعية المحدودة قبله المصينة المحدودة اعلاه وشرقا الدرب وشمالا دار ابن النعجة وغربا دار بيد اولاد [د] (٢٦) الازعر الشاهد للواقف المزبور بذلك وثيقة شرعية مورخة في سادس شهر رمضان سنة ثلاث وخمسين وتسعمائة وجميع الحصص الشايعة (٢٧) وقدرها النصف اثنا عشر قيراطا من اصل اربع وعشرين قيراطا في جميع الدار القائمة البنا بالقدس الشريف بخط باب العامود وتعرف قديما بدار [ابن] (٢٨) الصايغ وتشمل على علو وسفل وحقوق شرعية المحدودة قبله الحوش المحدود اعلاه وفيه بابها وتمامه دار تعرف بدار الفار النقيب وتمامه (٢٩) حوش ابن عمر وفيه الباب الثاني وشرقا الحاكورة المجاورة لمجسد [مسجد] باب العامود وتمامه البد الكاين تجاه المدرسة اللولوية وشمالا دار ابن عمر (٣٠) وغربا كذلك وتمامه الحوش المزبور اعلاه ويشهد له بذلك وثيقة شرعية ثابتة بالطريق الشرعي مورخة في سابع شهر صفر الخير من شهور سنة خمس وخمسين وتسعمائة (٣١) وجميع الحصص الشايعة وقدرها النصف اثني عشر قيراطا من اصل اربع

عبد الرحمن ابن نصوص القاضي بالقدس الشريف
عنهما عفى عنهما (٥) وختمه على العادة وسنته
(٦)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا فرع نقل من اصله المحضر بمجلس
الشرع الشريف بالقدس الشريف اجله الله تعالى باذن
مولانا اشرف قضاة الاسلام اعدل ولاة الانام افندي
(١) محي الدين عبد القادر قاضي القدس الشريف
زيد فضله وطلب فخر الاماثل محمد جاويش ابن
قراكوذ من جاويشان شام زيد قدره الوكيل الشرعي
عن قبل زوجته (٢) المصونة خديجة ابنة الواقف الاتي
ذكره فيه مضمونه الحمد لله الذي جعل قلوب
المومنين وقف على محبته وصح خلاص ودهم فيه
وحكم (٣) بصحته وحبس نعمته عليهم فصارت
حبسا موبدا وحباهم بفضلهم دائما ابدا الذي جعل
التقوى اصل الدين والجنة ماوى المتصدقين وحسب
(٤) لمن اجتبه فعل الخيرات واكتساب الاجور
والثواب فباعوا الدنيا بالاخرة رغبة في ثوابه وهم
البشرى والصلاة والسلام (٥) على سيدنا محمد
الذي يعده للاخرة ذخرا وعلى اله واصحابه الذين ما
زالوا به انجما زهرا القليل فيما وردت به الاحاديث
الشريفة النبوية اذا (٦) مات ابن ادم انقطع عمله الا
من ثلاث علم ينتفع به او ولد صالح يدعو له او
صدقة جارية فلما علم قدوة الاكابر والاعيان لخبنة
الاماجد والشجعان (٧) بيرام بك بن مصطفى من
اعيان الزعما بلوا القدس الشريف زيد مجده ورحم
والده ما ورد في فضل الوقف والصدقات من
الاحاديث المرويات والايات (٨) البينات وان الدنيا
فانية والاخرة باقية وان ما في يده . . . الدنيا مزرعة
الاخرة وان ما اكل الانسان فقد افناه وان ما لبسه
فقد ابلاه (٩) وان ما اعطاه فقد ابقاه احب ان يقدم

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ١٢ ط من جميع غراس العنب
والتين وغير ذلك القايم اصوله بارض قرية بيت لحم
وجميع الحصة وقدرها ٦ ط من جميع اراضي قرية بني
شجاع المعروفة قديما بدير بني نعيم وربيع مزرعتها
المعروفة بخطين
وجميع القرية القرية وارضها المعروفة بصيخان تابع
غزة
وجميع الحصة وقدرها ٦ ط من جميع اراضي قرية بيت
طفا تابع غزة
وجميع عمارة الخان المعروفة بدار الوكالة بمدينة غزة
بحارة قياسية قديما والان بحارة الزيتون
وجميع ما بقي من بناء الطاحون وابنتها وانقاضها
والارض الكشف المنسوب اليها التي اصلها حجري
رحى الطبقتين الراكتين على نهر نبي الله تعالى
سيدي رويل عليه السلام تابع مدينة الرملة
صورة دفتر جديد سلطاني بوردة نقل اولندي
تحريرا في اواسط ذي الحجة سنة ٩٦٧
متوجة بختم شريف
قوبلت على الاصل فصحت .

11/4. وقفية بيرام جاويش على الرباط والمكتب

محكمة القدس الشرعية

اوائل شهر ذي الحجة ٩٦٧ / ١ كانون اول ١٥٦٠
سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٤٧ - ٦٥٠

مثال علامة الحاكم المثبت لاصل الوقف ما صورته
(١) ما هو المخرور في هذا الكتاب واللفظ المستطاب
من اصل الوقف وقيوده (٢) وشرايطه وضوابطه
قد صح لدي ووضح بين يدي فحكمت بصحته
ولزومه (٣) ووجوبه وابرامه عالما بالخلاف بين
الائمة الاسلاف وانا العبد الحقير (٤) النحيف؟

واحدا بعد واحد بمعرفة الناظر كائنا من كان وعلى
البواب ان يفرش الخمسة البسط الموقوفة على الرباط
بالدبا ؟ كما عين في (٢٥) كتاب الوقف ومنها ان
الواقف شرط لنفسه الادخال والاخراج والزيادة
والنقصان وليس لغيره من بعده فعل ذلك تاريخ
الوقفية سنة ٩٦٧ (٢٦)

نقدية

عثمانية مائة الف وخمسون الف عثماني منها مائة
الف عثماني في ثمن مائة قطار صابون الباقي نقدا
وجميع الحصة وقدرها اثنا عشر قيراطا في جميع
المصينة المعدة لطبخ الصابون الكائنة بالقدس
الشريف بخط باب العامود المشتملة على منافع
وابار وغير ذلك المعين في كتاب الوقف
وجميع الحصة وقدرها ستة قيراط من جميع الغراس
المحدودة الموصوف في كتاب الوقف
وجميع الحصة وقدرها ١٢ ط (=قيراط) من جميع
الدار القايم بناؤها بخط باب العامود المعروفة قديما
بدار سليمان

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ١٢ ط من جميع الغراس العنب
والتين وغير ذلك القايم اصوله بارض قرية بيت لحم
بارض الجبعة

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ١٢ ط من جميع الغراس العنب
والتين وغير ذلك القايم اصوله بارض القرية المزبورة
بوادي الراهب

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ٨ ط من جميع غراس العنب
والتين وغيره القايم اصوله بارض القرية المزبورة

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ٦ ط من جميع الغراس العنب
والتين وغيره القايم اصوله بارض القرية المزبورة

وجميع الحصة وقدرها ١٢ ط من جميع الغراس العنب
والتين وغيره القايم اصوله بارض قرية بيت ساحور

النصارى

هذا الوقف يصرف من ريعه لبواب الرباط (١٢)
المذكور في كل يوم عثمانيين وعليه تنظيف الرباط
وكنسه وفرشه وتنظيف مرتفقاته وغلق بابه وفتحه
وحفظ الطاسات والبسط (١٣) المعينة عدتها في
كتاب وقفه ومنها ان يصرف لفقهاء الاطفال كائنا من
كان في كل يوم ثلاثة عثمانية مع سكنه بالدار
الملاصقة للمدفن في المكتب (١٤) اعلاه مدة حياته
من غير اجرة ومنها ان يكون شيخ الرباط ساكنا في
الطبقة التي هي فوق الرباط مدة حياته من غير اجرة
ومنها (١٥) ان يصرف في ثمن زيت برسم تنوير
الرباط المزبور والمدفن المذكور في كل يوم درهما
عثمانيا ومنها ان يصرف للواقف المذكور في نظير
(١٦) وظيفة النظر على وقفه في كل يوم اربعة
عثمانية واذا ال الوقف الى اولاده وذريته يصرف
للناظر منهم عن وظيفة النظر في كل يوم (١٧) اربعة
عثمانية ومنها ان يصرف لكاتب يضبط محصولات
الوقف واخراجاته في كل يوم درهم عثماني ومنها انه
جعل النظر على (١٨) وقفه هذا لنفسه ايام حياته ثم
من بعده لاولاده واولاد اولاده وذريته ونسله وعقبه
وبعد انقراض الذرية لناظر [الـ] -حرمين (١٩)
الشريفيين اعني الناظر على اوقاف سيدنا خليل الرحمن
ومسجد الاقصى الشريف كائنا من كان ويصرف له
في كل يوم ثلاثة عثمانية وللناظر ان (٢٠) يجمع
محصولات الوقف المزبور بمعرفة شيخ الرباط المزبور
وفقيه الاطفال ان امكن اجتماعهم وان تعذر ذلك
بمحضور احدهم ومهما فضل بعد (٢١) المصارف
المعينة يصرف لاولاد الواقف المذكور وذريته للذكر
مثل حظ الانثيين وللواقف المذكور ان يقرر بالرباط
المذكور (٢٢) شيخا بعد شيخ وفقهيا بعد فقيه وبوابا
بعد بواب (٢٣)

وكاتب بعد كاتب وهلمنا جرا وبعد وفاته يقرر الحاكم
الحنفي بالقدس الشريف ارباب الوظائف (٢٤)

مفوضة الى رايه مقبولة شرعا من الوكيل المشار اليه اعلاه ثبوتا (١٠) شرعيا معتبرا مرعيا منه بعد اعراف الشاهدين المذكورين اعلاه بمعرفة الموكلتين المزبورتين اعلاه شخصا ونسبا وبعد اعتبار ما (١١) وجب اعتباره شرعا تحريرا في سادس عشر شهر شوال المبارك من شهور سنة اثنين وثمانين وتسعمائة والحمد لله وحده (١٢) شهود الحال شهدت على الحاكم محمد بن سالم - محمد بن الزهري - احمد بن العدوي - اسحق - يوسف العلوجي (١٣) ١٠٠٠ شهود الطريق عبدي بلوك باشي من بوابين الباب العالي - محمد التركماني متصلة لمولانا الافندي الاذن المشار اليه اعلاه دام علاه اتصالا شرعيا بشهادة شاهدي الطريق (١٤) المعلوم لهما تحت رسم شهادتهما بالاصل المنقول من هذه الصورة ونفذ ما ثبت حاكمها مولانا فخر المدرسين وقاضي المسلمين الفخري فخر الدين (١٥) العلمي المالكي بالقدس خليفة الحكم العزيز بالشام المحروسة زيد فضله اتصالا وثبوتا شرعيين في رابع عشر شهر ذي القعدة سنة اثنين وثمانين وتسعمائة (١٦) شهود الحال كاتبه - مصطفى اغا - برهان الدين جلبي - مولانا القاضي ابو العون الديري (١٧) ٠

11/3 شروط وقف بيرام جاويش على الرباط

والمكتب

محكمة القدس الشرعية

ذي الحجة ١٢٦٧ / ايلول ١٩٦٠

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٤٦ - ٦٤٧

هذا فرع نقل من اصل المحضر بمجلس الشرع الشريف بالقدس المنيف اجله الله تعالى عن يد محمد جاويش من جاويشان شام المزبور اعلاه

باذن اشرف قضاة الاسلام (١) اعدل ولاية الانام افندي عبد القادر قاضي القدس الشريف زيد فضله مضمونه وقف (٢) قدوة الاكابر والاعيان نخبة الفرسان والشجعان بيرام بك بن مصطفى من اعيان الزعماء بلوا القدس الشريف زيد مجده انه جعل النظر على وقفه هذا (٣) والولاية عليه لنفسه مدة حياته ثم من بعده لاولاده واولاد اولاده وذريته ونسله وعقبه الارشد منهم فالارشد وجعل على وقفه هذا شروطا (٤) منها ان يبدا على مصالح الرباط الذي انشاء الواقف وعمره من ماله وصلب حاله وعلى مصالح المكتب خانه الكايتان بمدينة القدس الشريف تجاه سفلى عقبة الست (٥) بمفارق الطرق بالقرب من الجشمة ومنها ان يكون الرباط المزبور معدا لسكن الفقراء الصلحا المجاورين ليسكنوا كل واحد منهم في حجرة ويصرف له الناظر (٦) [على] الوقف المزبور في كل يوم درهم عثماني ويعطى طاسة من الطاسات الموقوفة على الرباط ليستعملها في مدة اقامته بالرباط المزبور وعند سفره يسلمها لبواب (٧) الرباط المزبور ومنها ان يكون بالرباط المزبور شيخا على الفقراء المقيمين ويكون متصفا بالديانة والعفة والصيانة وعليه ان يقرأ في كل يوم بالجمع (٨) الذي انشاء الواقف بالرباط المذكور اعلاه بالجهة الشمالية يقرأ سورة عم وسورة الاخلاص والمعوذتين وفاتحة الكتاب ويهلل ويهدي ثواب (٩) ذلك الى حضرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم الى حضرة ابيه سيدنا خليل الرحمن ع م (= عليه السلام) ثم الى روح الواقف المشار اليه ولوالديه واولاده واموات المسلمين (١٠) اجمعين ومنها ان الناظر على هذا الوقف يصرف للشيخ بالرباط المزبور من ريع الوقف في كل يوم خمسة عثمانية وان لا يكون احدا بالرباط (١١) المزبور مدرسا ولا يصرف من ريع الوقف المزبور الا على الوجه المذكور ومنها ان الناظر على

11/2. توكيل خديجة بنت بيرام ووالدتها محمد

جاويش بن قراكوذ

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ شوال ٩٨٢ / ٢٩ كانون ثاني ١٥٧٥

سجل ٥٦ : صفحة ٦٤٦

صورة وثيقة شرعية قيدت باذن مولانا

اشرف قضاة الاسلام ولاية الانام الافندي محي الدين
عبد القادر مضمونها بعد الحمد لله رب العالمين (١)
بمجلس الشريعة الغرا بدمشق الخروسة اجله الله تعالى
ثبت لدى مولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ
الامام العالم العلامة العمدة الحجة الفهامة (٢) المحقق
الحاكم المالكي الموقع اعلاه دام علاه بشهادة عبدي
جاوش ابن قباد وسليمان جاويش بن عيوات جاوش
المقبولين لديه شرعا (٣) معرفة المصونة خديجة بنت
المرحوم بيرم جاوش ووالدتها ليلا بنت عيوات
جاوش المعرفة الشرعية التي لا جهالة معها (٤)
وانهما يوم تاريخه وكلتا فخر الاماثل محمد جاوش بن
قراكوذ زوج خديجة المذكورة اعلاه في بيع ما
خصهما من العقار المخلف عن بيرم (٥) جاوش والد
الموكله الاولى وزوج الموكله الثانية سابقا الكاين
بمدينة القدس الشريف وغرة ونابلس والرملة بما يراه
وفي قبض (٦) ثمن ذلك وسائر توابع ذلك وفي
المطالبة باجور ذلك في المدد الماضية وما خصهما من
الديون المخلفة عن بيرم جاوش المشار اليه وفي (٧)
المطالبة باجور ومتحصل جهات الوقف المنسوب لبيرم
جاوش الكاينة بالمدن المذكورة اعلاه الجاري منافعها
على خديجة المذكورة اعلاه (٨) واختها ست الدنيا
وتحت نظر خديجة المذكورة بمفردها بالطريق الشرعي
في المدد الماضية والمستقبله وفي قبض ذلك جميعه وفي
استيفاءه والدعوى (٩) به وفي المخاصمة والمرافعة الى

مرهونه (١٤) [صفحة ٤٠٨] ورضي بذلك الرضا
الشرعي وصدق على ذلك القاضي عبد الرزاق
الشافعي ٠٠٠ من الوكالة عن قبل بنتي البايح هما
فاطمة وام الفرج (١٥) بعد ثبوت وكالته عنهما
الثبوت الشرعي ان موكلتيه المذكورتين لا تستحقا
في الحصة حقا ولا استحقاقا ولا دعوى ولا طلب
بوجه من الوجوه (١٦) الشرعية مطلقا وثبت
مضمون ذلك لدى مولانا الشاهد له الثبوت الشرعي
بوجه المشتري والبايع وبوجه عبد الرزاق واعذارهم
(١٧) في ذلك الاعذار الشرعي وحكم بموجبه
حكما شرعيا وثبت تمام ذلك ولزومه وابرامه بالطريق
الشرعي اقر بيرام جاويش المزبور (١٨) اقرارا
شرعيا ان ثمن الحصة المعين اعلاه من اصل المبلغ
الموقوف من قبله على مصالح الرباط الذي انشاه
الكاين بقدس شريف (١٩) وقدره مبلغ خمسين الف
درهم عثمانى الثابت وقف ذلك سابقا بموجب
وثيقة شرعية ثابتة لدى مولانا الافندي احمد بن
نصوح مولى قدس (٢٠) شريف سابق الثبوت
الشرعي مورخة في خامس عشرين شهر جمادى الاولى
سنة اثنين وخمسين وتسعمائة وان الحصة المزبورة
اعلاه قد صارت وقفا (٢١) شرعيا على حكم وقفه
السابق والمقيد على الرباط المزبور ويصرف
محصولها على حكم الوقف المزبور وعلى حكم
شروطه الشرعية وبعد ان اخفها (٢٢) بوقفه وجعلها
وقفا على حكم وقفه السابق الموقوف على الرباط
الشريف وثبت ذلك لدى الحاكم المومى اليه الثبوت
الشرعي وحرر في رابع عشر رمضان ٩٥٣ (٢٣)
شهود الحال - كاتبه - جلبي سنان - الحاكم علي؟ -
الخواجة محمد بن ٠٠٠ - القاضي صفى الدين -
القاضي ابو الوفا (٢٤) ٠

اليه الثابت توكيله عنه في الخصوص المزبور لدى
الحاكم المشار اليه بشهادة فخر الاماجد (١٠)
ابراهيم بلوكباشي الشهير بكلورت! من بلوكباشية
دمشق الخروسة ومن عثمان السباهي بنابلس الثبوت
الشرعي قبولاً وتصديقاً شرعيين (١١) وكتبت هذه
الوثيقة على هذا المنوال عند الطلب والسؤال في
سادس عشري صفر سنة ست وثلثين والـ (١٢)
شهود الحال - فخر العلماء والمدرسين محمد افندي
ابن عباد دام فضله - فخر العلماء والمدرسين احمد
افندي شاهين دام فضله - فخر الاماجد ابراهيم
بلوكباشي - فخر الاعيان ذي الفقار اغا محضرتي
بالشام - فخر الاقران محمد ابن قاسم النكرجي -
فخر الاقران محمد جلبي التزجان - فخر الاقران
مصطفى النكرجي (١٣) فخر الاقران درويش ابن
قاسم النكرجي - مراد بن محمد النكرجي - مصطفى
محمد النكرجي - محمد بن يحيى النكرجي - سليمان
ابن محمد النكرجي - مثال كتبه مصطفى بن ابي
الفضل - علي بن اكمل الدين - مثال حرره محمد ابن
رمضان وغيرهم (١٤) ٠

11/1 وقف قرية بني نعيم على رباط بيرام

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٤ رمضان ٩٥٣ / ٨ تشرين ثاني ١٥٤٦

سجل ١٨ : صفحة ٤٠٧ - ٤٠٨

بيرم جاويش

بين يدي مولانا افندي نور الدين حمزة مولى
قدس شريف زيد فضله هو انه اشترى فخر الاماثل
وزين الاقران الامير (١) بيرام بن المرحوم الزيني
مصطفى الجاويش من السباهية بلواء القدس الشريف
زيد مجده بماله لنفسه دون غيره من الخواجا ابو

اللطيف (٢) بن المرحوم الحاج محمد الشهير بابن
ميران وهو باعه في عقد واحد وصفقة واحدة ما هو
له وجار في ملكه وطلق تصرفه وحيازته الشرعية (٣)
ومنتقلا اليه بطريق البيع الشرعي من قبل زوجته
المرحومة ست الملوك المرأة الكاملة ابنة حمزة
الكركية قبل تاريخه في حال حياتها قبل وفاتها (٤)
بموجب السجل المشروح اعلاه ويشهد لزوجته
البائعة المذكورة بذلك مستدين شرعيين ثابتة لدى
قضاة الشرع الشريف حينئذ (٥) الثبوت الشرعي
الى يوم تاريخه لمولانا الحاكم المومى اليه وصور
الدفاتر الشريفة المكتبة باللغة التركية المتوجه
بالتحتم على حسب العادة (٦) العرفية ويده واضعة
على ذلك الى حين صدور هذا البيع وذلك جميع
الخصه وقدرها الربع ستة قوارير لها ؟ [قراريط] من
جميع اراضي قرية (٧) دير بني نعيم وتعرف الان
بدير بني شجاع ونظير الخصه من مزرعتها المعروفة
بمحسين ويحدها بكامل اراضيها حدود (٨) اربع احدى
القبلي ينتهي الى اراضي قرية تقووع وتغامه اراضي
خريطون والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى البحيرة والحد
الشمالي ينتهي (٩) الى اراضي قرية بني تعمر واراضي
قرية بيت لحم واراضي قرية النجمة والحد الغربي
ينتهي الى اراضي قرية النجمة المذكورة بجميع (١٠)
حقوق هذه الخصه وطرقها ومنافعها ومرافقها وما
يعرف بها وينسب اليها داخل فيها وخارج عنها
متصل بها ومنفصل عنها (١١) وبكل حق هو لذلك
شرعا بضمن مبلغه خمسون سلطانيا كاملا الوزن
صحيح العيار جميع الثمن المزبور حال مقبوض بيده
(١٢) القبض الشرعي بحضرة شهوده وصدر البيع
بينهما في ذلك بايجاب شرعي وقبول مرعي وتسلم
وتسليم شرعيين بعد التقليد الشرعي (١٣) وحيثما
كان في المبيع من درك وتبعة فزمانه لازم حيث
يجب شرعا وذلك بعد ان علم المشتري ان الارض

سبب تحرير هذا الكتاب وموجب تسطير هذا الخطاب هو انه بمجلس الشريعة الغرا بدمشق المحروسة اجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا وسيدنا (١) قاضي القضاة ملاذ القضاة شيخ مشايخ الاسلام قدوة الائمة العظام محرر القضايا والاحكام ميمر الحلال عن الحرام موبد شريعة سيد الانام (٢) عليه الفضل الصلاة ودائم السلام الحاكم الاكمل الموقع اعلاه بلغه الله ما يتمناه اقر فخر الامايد والاعيان ابراهيم جويش ابن عبد الله من جاشية (٣) الباب العالي بالوكالة الشرعية عن حضرة امير الامراء الكرام كبير الكبراء الفخام صاحب العز والاحتشام الراجي عفو ربه الملك العلام حسن باشا امير لواء (٤) القدس الشريف يومئذ دام اجلاله الشابت توكيله عنه في الخصوص الاتي ذكره فيه وتوابعه لدى الحاكم المشار اليه بشهادة فخر الامايد والاكادم شاهين (٥) ابن عبد الله كتحذا طايقة الينكرجية بدمشق الشام واصلان بك ابن تورد وحسن بن حمزة من جماعة الموكل الثبوت الشرعي اقرارا شرعيا ان لاحق للموكل ولا استحقاق مع معز الامراء الكرام عمدة الكبرا الفخام محمد بك ابن المرحوم امير الامراء الكرام فروخ باشا امير اللواء المزبور سابقا في جميع الرسومات (٦) المتعلقة بالسنجقية المرقومة في السنة المزبورة بحيث ان محمد بك المزبور سلم قلعة القدس الشريف والولاية وباب الهوا والحصول من صيفي وشتوي (٧) المتعلق ذلك بالسنجقية المزبورة الواقع في سنة خمس وثلثين والالف وان موكله المزبور اسقط حقه في ذلك وابراه منه ومن ساير الرسومات المتعلقة بالسنجقية (٨) المرقومة في السنة المزبورة بحيث ان محمد بك المزبور سلم قلعة القدس والولاية المزبورة لحسن باشا المومي اليه وقبل ذلك منه لمحمد بك المشار اليه وصدقه (٩) على ذلك فخر الاقران عثمان بن علي للوكيل الشرعي عن محمد بك المشار

الديري - الشيخ خير الدين الجاعوني - الشيخ مصطفى جلبي - الشيخ سليمان الداودي - الشيخ صالح الدهان - الشيخ هبة الله الديري - فخر اقرانه علي الزحمان - كاتبه - محمد .

10/2. توجه فروخ بيك لنابلس

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٠ ربيع الثاني ١٠١٤/٢٦ تموز ١٦٠٥

سجل ٨٥ : صفحة ١

توجه قدوة الامراء الكرام فروخ بيك (١) مير لواء نابلس الى مدينة نابلس (٢) عشية نهار السبت عاشر (٣) شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠١٤ (٤) .

10/3. فروخ باشا امير لواء القدس الشريف

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ صفر ١٠٣٦/١٧ تشرين ثاني ١٦٢٥

سجل ١١٢ : صفحة ٤٦٩

قيد باذن مولانا قدوة القضاة والحاكم مولانا محمد افندي ابن احمد الجاعوني في ١٠ شهر ربيع الاول سنة ١٠٣٦

مثال

ما فيه من التصديق والاقرار وقع عندي بالطوع والاختيار

... الفقير الى سبحانه الراجي منه عفو وغفرانه احمد بن يوسف

المولى بدمشق الشام حرس من نوايب

الايام عفى عنهما وغفر لهما

10/1. تعيين في وظيفة شعال لقنديل محراب الرسول

بالاقصى

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٢ ذو القعدة ١٠٣٧ / ١٥ تموز ١٦٢٨

سجل ١١٣ : صفحة ٧٨٦

قرر مولانا وسيدنا العالم الكبير العامل
التحرير محرر دقايق التفسير مقرر دقايق التفسير مقرر
قواعده احسن تقرير اقضى قضاء الاسلام اولى ولاية
الانام معدن الواردين (١) والكلام وارث علوم
الانبياء الكرام سند الموالي العظام صدر اساطين العلما
الاعلام يميز خلال عن الحرام محرر الاحكام بالاحكام
ماضي النقص (٢) والابرار شيخ مشايخ الاسلام
الحاكم العادل العا[مل] الفاضل الكامل الفاصل بين
الحق والباطل الحاكم الشرعي المولى المومى احمد امين
افندي الموقع خطه (٣) باعاليه دامت فضايله ومعاليه
حامل هذا الكتاب الشرعي وناقل ذا الخطاب قدوة
المدرسين مولانا الشيخ قمر الدين ابن المرحوم (٤)
شيخ الاسلام زكريا افندي مفتي القدس الشريف
سابقا نصف وظيفة شعال لقنديل محراب الرسول
صلى الله عليه وسلم وخدمته الكاين (٥) على
... بالجهة الشمالية من المسجد الاقصى الشريف
بما لذلك من المعلوم وقدره في كل يوم عثماني من
وقف المسجد الاقصى الشريف عوضا (٦) عن
الشيخ خليل ابن المرحوم الشيخ طه الصامت بحكم
وفاته الى رحمة الله تعالى والحلال ذلك عنه واذن
مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه (٧) بين الانام ... بمباشرة
نصف الوظيفة المزبورة وقبض المعلوم المعين والاستنابة
عند الحاجة تقريراً واذنا صحيحين شرعيين (٨)
مقبولين شرعا تحريراً في ثاني عشر ذي القعدة الحرام
لسنة سبع وثلاثين والف (٩) شهود الحال - الشيخ طه

عاقده بحضور مولانا ملك الامراء الكرام ظهير الكبرا
الفخام حامل رايات الفخار حاوي نهايات الجمد
والفخار (٦) موثق الملة الزاهرة موثق الدولة الباهرة
حضرت احمد بيك مير لوا غزة ادام الله تعالى سعده
وعزه عبد الباقي بيك (٧) الناظر المومى اليه كل
واحد من المعلم عبد المحسن بن المعلم محمود بن عمر
معمار باشة بالقدس الشريف (٨) والمعلم محمود
المشهور بخلف المعمار والمعلم علي بن خليل الحجار
على ان يبنوا المنارة المذكورة من حد الثمن (٩)
الدائر الى الشمعة والشمعة بتمامها الى الراس
الفوقاني بنا محكما على عاداتها التي كانت عليه سابقا
والا (١٠) ينقصوا من درجها شيا وقدر ذلك ثمانية
وستون درجة وعليهم ان يقوموا ويتعهدوا بما يحتاج
اليه البنا (١١) من احجار وشيد وجبصين وفعول
وماء وقف ومكلف ومجارف حديد وكلما يحتاج اليه
البنا من الالات (١٢) وغيرها ما عدا قنطار من
الرصاير لاجل الكفافات فان ذلك على جهة الوقف
وجعل لهم في مقابل ذلك مبلغا (١٣) قدره مايتا
سلطاني مايتان ذهبا دفع لهم من ذلك مائة غرش كبار
على الحساب فقبضوا ذلك منه بيدهم ثلاثة (١٤)
بالحضرة والمعاينة القبض الشرعي معاقدة شرعية
صدرت بينهم بالطريق المرضي وتصادقوا على ذلك
وثبت (١٥) بشهادتهم بذلك لدى مولانا الحاكم
المشار اليه ثبوتا شرعيا في ثامن عشر ذو القعدة الحرام
سنة سبع والف (١٦) شهود الحال - محمد علي -
مولانا الشيخ غشم بن مكية - فخر الاعيان سليمان
اغا دزدار قلعة قدس شريف - مولانا الشيخ عبد
القادر بن داود - مولانا الشيخ محمد الغزي - مولانا
القاضي محمد الشافعي - الفقير حسن بن محمد
الحنبلي - مولانا الشيخ اسحق الخرخشي - اخوه الشيخ
اسماعيل - سيدي عبد القادر بن ابي يوسف (١٧) .

في شي منه في وجه من الوجوه ثبوتاً شرعياً بعد تقدمه دعوى شرعية صدرت في ذلك بالطريق الشرعي من مولانا محمد جلبي (١٢) الناظر الان على الوقف المزبور بوجه مولانا دفر دار افندي المشار اليه واعذاره في ذلك الاعذار الشرعي وحكم بصحة ذلك حكماً (١٣) شرعياً وجرى ذلك وحرر في خامس عشري شهر ذي القعدة سنة سبع وستين وتسعمائة والحمد لله وحده وحسبنا الله وكفى (١٤) شهود الحال - القاضي يحيى الديري - مولانا الشيخ احمد بن غضية ووالده الشيخ ابراهيم - حضرة مولانا محمد بك الايلك بلوا القدس الشريف - مولانا تاج الدين خليفة - الحاج خداوردي ابن الشيخ حسين - كاتبه ابو العون الديري (١٥) ٠

3/3. معاقدة على إعادة بناء منارة باب الاسباط

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٨ ذي القعدة ١٠٠٧ / ١٢ تموز ١٥٩٩

سجل ٨٠ : صفحة ١٠٠

سبب تحرير الخروف بمجلس الشريعة الغرا بمحروسة القدس اجله الله تعالى لما جهز حضرة سلطان العالم خليفة الله في (١) ارضه على بني ادم السلطان الاعظم والحقان الاكرم سلطان العرب والعجم مالك رقاب الامم ملك البرين والبحرين (٢) خادم الحرمين الشريفين مولانا السلطان بن السلطان السلطان محمد خان خلد الله ملكه وجعل الدنيا باسرها ملكه مبلغاً قدره (٣) ثلاثمائة سلطاني ذهباً على يد قدوة الاكابر حاوي المفاخر عبد الباقي بيك ناظر المسجد الاقصى الشريف ومدينة سيدنا الخليل (٤) على الحال بها افضل الصلاة والسلام من الملك الجليل لاجل عمارة المنارة الكائنة بحرم المسجد

المكارم واخامد المخصوص بعناية الملك الرحيم مولانا افندي عبد الكريم دفر دار (١) تيمار بلوا الشام المامور بتوزيع التيمار بلوا القدس الشريف والتحرير على الاوقاف بها بموجب الامر المنيف زيد مجده ثبت بالطريق الشرعي المحرر (٢) المرعي لدى مولانا قدوة قضاء الاسلام زبدة ولاية الانام عمدة القضاة والحكام افندي عبد الرحيم دام فضله وعلاه وبلغه ما يتمناه بشهادة الاخوين (٣) وهما فخر المدرسين محمود جلبي والحاج احمد ولدا المرحوم بيرام الخلوتي المعروفين عنده المقبولين لديه شرعاً بعد التزكية الشرعية والتعديل الشرعي (٤) ان قدوة الامرا الكرام عمدة الكبرا الفخام قاسم بك ميرلوا صفد ونابلوس رحمة الله عليه وقف جميع الحصة الشائعة وقدرها الربع ستة قراريط (٥) من اصل اربعة وعشرين قيراطاً في جميع الغراس العنب والتين وغير ذلك القاييم اصوله بارض البقعة ظاهر القدس الشريف المعروف محله سابقاً بكرم (٦) شيخ الصلاحية وجميع الحصة وقدرها ستة قراريط من اصل كامل في جميع القصر الكاين بارض الغراس المزبور وله شهرة في مكانه تغني عن الوصف (٧) والتحديد على مولانا قدوة الراشدين زبدة الصلحا الناسكين الشيخ علاي الدين ابي الحسن علي الخلوتي على نفسه مدة حياته ثم من بعده على اولاده (٨) واولاد اولاده وذريته ونسله وعقبه يكون وفقاً على مصالح الزاوية الكائنة بالقدس الشريف بحارة بني زيد التي انشاها مولانا الشيخ علاي الدين (٩) الموقوف عليه اعلاه وان مولانا الشيخ علاي الدين المشار اليه اعلاه كان يتصرف في الوقف المزبور في مدة حياته ومن بعده تصرف مولانا محمد (١٠) جلبي ولد الموقوف عليه في الوقف المزبور بطريق النظر الشرعي من مدة مديدة تزيد على ثمانية وعشرين سنة سابقة على تاريخه من غير منازع ولا (١١) معارض في ذلك ولا

الأكابر والاماجد جامع المكارم المخصوص بعناية (١)
 الملك الرحيم مولانا عد الكريم دفتر دار تيمار لوا
 الشام المامور بتوزيع التيمار بلوا القدس الشريف
 والتحرير على الاوقاف بها بموجب الامر [النيف]
 (٢) زيد مجده ثبت بالطريق الشرعي احرر المرعي
 لدى مولانا قدوة قضاة الاسلام زبدة ولاية الانام
 عمدة القضاة والحكام افندي عبد الرحمن دام [فضله]
 (٣) وعلاه وبلغه ما يتمناه بشهادة الاخوين مولانا
 فخر المدرسين محمود جلبي والحاج احمد ولدا المرحوم
 الحاج بيرام الخلوتي المعروفين عنده المقبولين شرعا
 (٤) بعد التزكية الشرعية بتزكية من جاز [شهادتهما]
 شرعا ان من جملة الموقوف على الزاوية الكاينة
 بالقدس الشريف بحارة بني زيد التي انشاها مولانا
 قدوة الراشدين فخر (٥) الصلحا الناسكين الشيخ
 علاي الدين بن علي الخلوتي رحمة الله عليه جميع
 الحصة الشايعة وقدرها خمسة قراريط من اصل اربع
 وعشرين قيراطا في جميع القرية دار ضيوف (٦)
 المعروفة ببيت سقايا تابع القدس الشريف وجميع
 الحصة الشايعة وقدرها الربع ستة قراريط من اصل
 اربع وعشرين قيراطا من جميع الغراس العنب (٧)
 والتين وغيرها القايم اصوله بارض البقعة ظاهر
 القدس الشريف المعروف محله بكرم شيخ الصلاحية
 وجميع الحصة الشايعة وقدرها ستة قراريط وربيع
 قيراط (٨) من اصل كامل القصر الكاين بارض
 الغراس المزبور اعلاه وجميع الغراس الزيتون الاقلام
 وعدته مائة وعشرون اصلا القايم اصوله بارض قرية
 لفتا (٩) وجميع الدكان المعد للحياكة الكاين اسفل
 الزاوية المزبورة وجميع قبو الطاحون الملاصق للزاوية
 المزبورة اعلاه ولكل من ذلك شهرة شرعية في مكانة
 تغني (١٠) عن الوصف والتحديد من قبل المرحوم
 قدوة الامراء الكرام الفخام حاجي بك مير لواء صفد
 ونايلوس سابقا رحمة الله عليه وان شرط النظر (١١)

على وقفه هذا مولانا الشيخ علاي الدين علي
 الخلوتي رحمة الله عليه لنفسه مدة حياته ثم من بعده
 [لاولاده] ونسله وعقبه وورثته وان مولانا الشيخ
 علاي الدين (١٢) المشار اليه كان متصرفا في
 الجهات الموقوفة مدة حياته ثم من بعده تصرف في
 ذلك ولده مولانا محمد جلبي بطريق النظر والتكلم
 عليه مدة تزيد على ثمانية (١٣) وعشرين سنة سابقة
 على تاريخ من غير منازع ولا معارض له في ذلك ولا
 في شي منه بوجه من الوجوه ثبوتا شرعيا بعد تقديمه
 دعوى شرعية صدرت (١٤) في ذلك بالطريق
 الشرعي من مولانا محمد جلبي المشار اليه الناظر الان
 على الوقف المزبور بوجه مولانا الدفتردار المشار اليه
 اعلاه واعذاره في ذلك الاعذار (١٥) الشرعي
 وحكم بصحة ذلك حكما شرعيا بطريق شرعي
 وحرر وجرى في خامس عشر شهر ذي القعدة في
 سنة سبع وستين وتسعمائة (١٦) شهود الحال - يحيى
 الديري - مولانا الشيخ احمد بن غضية - وولده الشيخ
 ابراهيم - القاضي عماد الدين - حضرة مولانا محمد
 بك الايبك بلوا القدس الشريف - القاضي فخر
 الدين - مولانا تاج الدين خليفة - القاضي فخر الدين
 الناصري - الحاج خداوردي - القاضي ابو العون -
 وغيرهم من الحاضرين (١٧) ٠

3/2. ثبوت وقف قاسم بك على الزاوية الخلوتية

(الحمراء)

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ ذي القعدة ٩٦٧/٩ أيلول ١٥٥٧

سجل ٣٩ : صفحة ٥١٧

بمجلس الشريعة الغرا الخروسة بالقدس

الشريف بمحضر افتخار الأكابر والاماجد جامع

(٢١) معتقد الاوليا الراسخين الشيخ طه يياشر ما كان والده المشار اليه رحمة الله عليه من قبض وصرف الى ان (٢٢) توفي الى رحمة الله تعالى وتولى مشيخة المقام مولانا الشيخ الحبر المهام خلاصة اهل التحقيق قدوة ارباب الطريق (٢٣) مرشد السريدين الى الطريق الموصلة الى الله تع [تعالى] الشيخ يونس ولد ولي الله تع الشيخ احمد الدجاني وتصرف في الاوقاف الشريفة من قبض (٢٤) وصرف كما كان يتصرف من تقدمه من مشايخ المقام الشريف كايه واخيه المشار اليهم رحمة الله تعالى عليهم حسبما انهى ذلك وقرره (٢٥) لدى مولانا وسيدنا اشرف قضاة المسلمين اعدل ولاة الموحدين معدن الفضل واليقين موبد شريعة سيد المرسلين عليه افضل الصلاة (٢٦) واتم التسليم اخفوف بمزيد عناية عواطف لطايف الملك المعين افندي مصلح الدين المولى قضا القدس الشريف وما يتبع ذلك دامت (٢٧) فضايله ومعاليه وبلغه ما يتمناه ويرتجيه خليفة مولانا الشيخ المشار اليه احسن الله تعالى اليه ورحم والديه هو مولانا علي ابو هريرة المذكور (٢٨) اعلا واستاذن مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه ادام الله نعماه عليه ورحم والديه ان مولانا الشيخ يونس المشار يتصرف في الوقف الشريف بموجب (٢٩) الامر النيف الشاهد له بالمشيخة المذكورة فتأمل مولانا الحاكم المشار اليه ادام الله اجر الخيرات على يديه الحكم الشريف وصورتي (٣٠) الدفر الشريف الجديد الخاقاني تامل شافيا وامعن النظر في ذلك امعانا وافيا وقرأها كاملة وتقرر عند مضمونها (٣١) وفحواها وعباراتها ومقتضاها والنزم العمل بمقتضاها واستخار الله تعالى الذي ما خاب من استخاره ولا ندم من استجاره (٣٢) واشهد على نفسه الكريم العطوفة الرحيمة شهوده اخره انه اذن لمولانا الشيخ يونس المشار اليه اعلاه ان يضبط الوقف المذكور وان

يصرف (٣٣) محصوله في طعام الفقرا المقيمين بمقام سيدنا نبي الله داود عليه السلام والواردين اليه من غير معارض ولا منازع في ذلك ولا في شي (٣٤) منه ومنع من معارضته في ذلك بغير طريق شرعي اذنا ومنعا شرعيين بموجب الامر الشريف السلطاني نفذ بالعون الرباني والسر الصمداني (٣٥) وقبل منه ذلك الشيخ علي لمستخلفه مولانا الشيخ يونس المشار اليه قبولا شرعيا بطريقة الشرعي وهو الشيخ بالمقام الشريف المشار اليه بموجب (٣٦) التذكرة الشريفة من قبل قدوة ارباب الاقبال عمدة اصحاب الاجلال علي جلبي دفر دار افندي بلوا الشام اخروسة سابقا دام عزه (٣٧) المبرزة من يد الشيخ علي المزبور المورخة في اوائل محرم الحرام سنة سبعين وتسعمائة الشاهدة له بالمشيخة بالمقام النيف الشريف على (٣٨) موجب الحكم الشريف المنبه عليه اعلاه ولما كان الحال على هذا النوال ناطقا بما هو الواقع سطر ذلك ليكون تمسكا عند الحاجة اليه والاخبار (٣٩) به وجرى ذلك وحرر في سادس عشر شهر رجب سنة سبع وسبعين وتسعمائة وصدر في اواسط شهر ٠٠٠ (٤٠) شهود الحال - كاتبه - الناصري محمد بن موسى الكردي - مولانا القاضي شرف الدين الشافعي - برويز بن عبد الله الامين - مولانا القاضي ابو العون الديري - كاتب اصله (٤١) ٠

3/1. ثبوت وقف حاجي بيك على الزاوية

الخلوتية (الحمرء)

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٥ ذي القعدة ٩/٩٦٧ ايلول ١٥٥٧

سجل ٣٩ : صفحة ٥١٦

بمجلس الشريعة الغرا بمحروسة القدس

الشريف شرفه الله تعالى وعظمه بمحضر افتخار

1. حجة وقف قرى ومزارع على مقام النبي داود

محكمة القدس الشرعية

١٦ رجب ١٣٧٧/٢٥ كانون اول ١٩٦٩

سجل ٥٣ : صفحة ٥٤

سبب تحرير الحروف وموجب تسطير
صنوف هو انه بمجلس الشريعة المطهرة الغرا ومحفل
الطريقة النيرة الزهرا بمحروسة القدس الشريف شرفه
(١) الله تعالى وعظمه وحماه وكرمه لما ورد الحكم
الشريف السلطاني والامر المنيف الخاقاني نفذ بالعون
الرباني لحضرة امير الامراء الكرام (٢) كبير الكبرا
الفخام ذي القدر والاحترام صاحب العز والاحتشام
المختص بعناية الملك العلام شام بكر بكى دام اقباله
ولحضرة قدوة ارباب الاقبال (٣) عمدة اصحاب
الاجلال جامع وبتوه الاموال الدفتر دار افندي بلوا
الشام وحلب دام عزه وخلاصة مضمونه الشريف
ومقتضاه المنيف اعلام كل من المشار (٤) اليهما
اعلاه ان قدوة الامراء الكرام مختار الكبراء العظام
مير لواء القدس الشريف دام عزه وقدوة قضاة
الاسلام زبدة ولاية الانام قاضي (٥) القدس الشريف
دام فضله عرض الى سدة سعادتنا ان سيدنا داود نبي
الله تعالى من بين ساير الانبيا عليهم السلام لاوقف له
يصرف محصوله في (٦) مصالح مقامه وفي ثمن طعام
المترددين اليه قررنا له ووقفنا عليه القرى والمزارع
الاتي ذكرها وبيانها فيه ليصرف جميع (٧) محصولاتها
في مصالح مقامه وفي ثمن طعام للفقراء المحتاجين
المجاورين والمترددين اليه وان يتعاطى صرف ذلك
شيخ مقام سيدنا داود النبي عليه (٨) السلام قدوة
المشايع الصالحين عمدة الاوليا العارفين حضرة مولانا
الشيخ احمد الدجاني زيد تقواه لكونه شيخ المكان
مورخا (٩) الحكم الشريف في اليوم العاشر في شهر

القعدة سنة ثلاث وستين وتسعمائة المبرز الحكم
الشريف باجللس المنيف المشار اليه عن يد مولانا
قدوة المعتمدين الشيخ (١٠) علي ابي هريرة زيد
تقواه خليفة مولانا الشيخ الدجاني المشار اليه رحمة
الله عليه وابرز من يده ايضا صورة الدفتر الجديد
الخاباني يشهد بجريان (١١) قرية الساوية تابع ناحية
جبل نابلس القبلي الموعود بذكرها اعلاه في الوقف
على المقام الشريف المشار اليه اعلاه بموجب الامر
السلطاني (١٢) والامر المنيف العالي الخاقاني لازال
نافذا في الاكتاف بعون خفي الالطاف المنبه عليه
اعلاه ومن جملة الوقف الشريف على الزاوية الشريفة
(١٣) قرية بيت سيرا تابع ناحية الرملة تابع لوا غزة
مورخة في اوائل جهادى الاخرة سنة اربع وستين
وتسعمائة وصورة دفتر شريف (١٤) جديد خاقاني
يشهد ايضا بجريان المزارع في الوقف الشريف الموعود
بذكرها اعلاه وهي مزرعة تل العوجا بقرب قرية
مجدل يابا (١٥) بالقرب ايضا من راس نهر العوجا
وقطعة ارض بقرب قرية بديا تعرف بالدواوير مع
قطان عمرو تابع ناحية جبل نابلس القبلي (١٦)
ومزرعة ام التينة بالقرب من قرية مجدل بايا تابع
الناحية المزبورة يصرف محصولاتها في تنوير قناديل
المقام الشريف المشار اليه اعلاه (١٧) بها
حصير وتعمير وترميم المقام الشريف المشار اليه اعلاه
كما هو معين ومبين في الدفتر الشريف المورخ في
اواخر شوال سنة (١٨) ثلاث وسبعين وتسعمائة
فاستمر حضرة مولانا المرحوم قطب العارفين وعمدة
المسلكين ولي الله تعالى الشيخ احمد الدجاني قدس
الله (١٩) روحه ونور ضريحه شيخ المقام الشريف
يتعاطى قبض محصولات الاوقاف الشريفة المعينة اعلاه
وصرفها في المصالح والطعام (٢٠) على ما يراه الى ان
اندرج بالوفاة الى رحمة الله تعالى وتولى مشيخة المقام
الشريف ولده المرحوم قدوة الصالحين الناسكين

CATALOGUE APPENDIX 2

**TEXT OF THE ARABIC AND THE TURKISH
FOUNDATION INSCRIPTIONS**

This appendix includes the Arabic and the Ottoman Turkish wording of the foundation inscriptions found on the monuments. Each entry carries the number of the monument as it appears in the catalogue description. If there is more than one plaque on the monument, a slash with subdivision numbers appears after the original number.

Van Berchem published the inscription numbers 1 (1923: 403-4), 2 (1925: 167), 4 (1923: 413), 5 (1923: 414), 6 (1923:415), 7 (1923: 417), 8/1, 8/2, (1923: 416), 8/3 (1925: 169), 9 (1923: 418), 10/1 (1925: 169), 10/2, 10/3, (1925: 172-73), 11 (1923: 430), 12 (1923:431), 16 (1925: 187-8), 17/1 (1925: 188), 20 (1925:189-90), 26 (1922: 165), 27/2 (1922: 149), 36/1, 36/2, 36/3, 36/4 (1925: 99-102), 37 (1925: 191), 38/1, 38/2, 38/3

(1925: 23-36), 39/1, 39/2 (1925: 192), 43 (1925: 194), 45 (1925: 66-7), 47 (1925: 198), 48(1925: 196), 49 (1923: 455), and 50 (1922: 204). A different reading for some of the texts—numbers 2, 10, 16, 17, 20, and 36—is offered here (for details see the catalogue entries).

The texts of inscriptions number 19 and 35 were published by al-'Arif (1961: 500); however, text number 19 included many errors. Stephan (1933: 132-33) also published inscription number 27/1, and al-'Asali (1981:36) published inscription no. 33/1.

Inscriptions 13, 14, 15/1, 15/2, 17/2, 33/2, 33/3, 40, 42, 46 and 50/2 have not been published, although the date and the founder of number 14 is mentioned by van Berchem (1925: 187 no.199), and 17/2 is listed by Walls and Abu'l-Hajj (1980: 29).

All the inscriptions are in Arabic apart from numbers 8/2, 26, 27/1, 38/2 and 47, which are written in Ottoman Turkish.

Appendix 2

(No. 1)

بسملة ٠٠٠ أمر بتطهير هذا المكان وتنظيفه من المشركين وعمل مسجد يذكر فيه (١) اسم الله سلطان الانام ناصر دين الاسلام خادم البيت الحرام منشيء العدل والامان السلطان بن (٢) السلطان السلطان سليمان بن عثمان ايد الله الاسلام بحياته على يد مولانا شيخ الشيوخ الشمسي محمد الاعجمي الواعظ (٣) اجر الله الخيرات على يديه ورحم والديه بتاريخ نهار الخميس مستهل ربيع الاول سنة ثلاثين وتسعمائة والحمد لله وحده (٤)

(No. 2)

انشأ هذا السبيل المبارك ابتغاء لوجه الله تعالى وطلباً لمرضاته في ايام مولانا السلطان الاعظم (١) ثاني سليمان في ملك العالم السلطان سليمان ابن السلطان سليم خان امير امراء العرب والعجم مولانا قاسم باشا يسر له الله ما يشاء (٢) على يد العبد الفقير الى الله عبد ربه مصطفى في العشر الاخر من شعبان المعظم سنة ٩٣٣ (٣)

(No. 4)

امر بانشاء هذا السبيل المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاعظم والخاقان المكرم مالك رقاب الامم سلطان الروم والعرب والعجم السلطان سليمان (٢) ابن سلطان سليم خان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بتاريخ عاشر شهر محرم الحرام في سنة ثلاثة واربعين وتسعمائة (٣)

(No. 5)

امر بانشاء هذا السبيل المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاعظم والخاقان المكرم مالك رقاب الامم (١) سلطان الروم [و] العرب والعجم عز الاسلام والمسلمين ظل الله في العالمين حامي الحرمين الشريفين السلطان (٢) سليمان ابن السلطان سليم خان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بتاريخ اول شهر رجب المرجب من شهور سنة ثلاثة واربعين وتسعمائة (٣)

(No. 6)

امر بانشاء هذا السبيل المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاعظم والخاقان المكرم مالك رقاب الامم سلطان الروم (١) والعرب والعجم عز الاسلام والمسلمين ظل الله في العالمين حامي الحرمين الشريفين السلطان سليمان بن السلطان سليم خان (٢) خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وادام عدله واحسانه بتاريخ ثاني وعشرين شهر رجب المرجب من شهور سنة ثلاثة واربعين وتسعمائة (٣)

(No. 7)

امر بانشاء هذه السبيل المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاعظم والحقان (١) المكرم مالك رقاب الامم سلطان الروم والعرب والعجم السلطان سليمان (٢) ابن السلطان سليم خان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بتاريخ ثاني شهر رمضان سنة ثلاثة واربعين وتسعمائة (٣)

(No. 8/1)

امر بانشاء هذه السبيل المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاعظم والحقان المكرم مالك رقاب (١) الامم سلطان الروم والعرب والعجم سلطان سليمان ابن سلطان سليم خان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه (٢) بتاريخ هجرة النبوية في اوائل شهر شعبان المعظم من شهور سنة ثلاثة واربعين وتسعمائة وصلى الله على محمد واله اجمعين (٣)

(No. 8/2)

ت. ٠٠٠ دف (٩) جشتمدن ابي صاتي (١) اقوسون صاحب الخير دوعاتي (٢)

(No. 8/3)

جدد هذا المحراب الشريف في (١) ايام مولانا السلطان سليمان (٢) ابن السلطان سليم خان ايد ملكه (٣)

(No. 9)

سلام على روح النبي المطهر (١) اصابعه اجرت مياها ككوثر (٢)

(No. 10/1)

انشا هذ[ا] المحراب المبارك مولانا ملك الامراء الكرام محمد بك (١) صاحب لواء غزة وقدس شريف زيد قدرهما بتاريخ في سنة ٩٤٥ (٢)

(No. 10/2)

البيط

متفعّلن/ فاعلن/ مستفعّلن / فعلن	متفعّلن/ فاعلن/ مستفعّلن / فعلن
ايام من عدله في القدس مشهور	تزيت قبة المحراب مذ كملت
في عز فروخ لا ظلم ولا زور	وانشدت بلسان المدح قاتلة

(No. 10/3)

شفاعت يا رسول الله (١) ميرالاي عساكر شاهانه مير السيد محمد شاکر ١٢٦١ (٢)

(No. 11)

هذا المكان المبارك رباط وقفه [ل] سلسكن (١) الفقير الامير بايرام جاويش بن مصطفى دام عزه (٢)
بتاريخ عشرين ربيع الاول سنة سبع واربعين وتسع مائة (٣)

(No. 12)

جدد عمارة هذا المكان المبارك بايرام جاويش وجعله (١) مكتبا لقراء الاولاد لله تعالى بتاريخ في سنة ٩٤٧

(٢)

(No. 13)

انشا هذا المكان المبارك ٠٠٠ [بي-رام ٠٠٠ (١) بن مصطفى ٠٠٠ في سنة تسع وخسين وتسع-مائة]

(٢)

(No. 14)

لاولى العلم عد متوني؟	حين انشا محمد حجرا
مستمسكا بالسبب الاقوى	امير لواء القدس قد عد
اسس بنيانه على التقوى	حسبوه بقدر وارخوه

(No. 15/1)

الكامل

متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن	متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن
من ثغرها انس تقدس قد ظهر	ضحكت لنا بعد العبوس وقد ظهر
متصرف القدس الشريف بما اسر	دار الحكومة اذ سعى بعمارها
بنظيف قلب في قبائلنا اشتهر	باشا دعي بمحمد فعلا كما
وهو بالشام طاب له اثر	باشارة الوالي محمد راشد
من تاج سلطنته به افتخر	ايام سلطان الملوك وتاجهم
وحياة بالمللا نصر هذا العزيز	عبد العزيز اعزنا ربي [به]
دار حلت ولها منار قد بدر	لما انتهى تعميرها ارخته
١٢٨١ الكارمي داود صنعه مفتحرا	

(No. 15/2)

جدد هذه المدرسة المجلس (١) الشرعي الاسلامي الاعلى سنة ١٣٤٢ (٢)

(No. 16)

انشاها تقربا رب المآثر والكرم (١) قيطاس بك مؤرخا في عزهم فالاجر تم (٢)

(No. 17/1)

انشاها وجددها برويز الكتبخدا (١) في زمن تاريخه فخر بعز ابدا (٢)

(No. 17/2)

الحمد لله (١) كتبه الفقير الى (٢) الله تعالى (٣) ابراهيم والي حسن (٤) للذكرى (٥) سنة ٩٣٩ (٦)

(No. 19)

انشا المقام الشريف المسمى بخانقاة المولوية امير الامرا الكرام ابي سيفين غاز في سنة ٩٩٥

(No. 20)

انشا هذه الحجرة اللطيفة محاذي للصخرة الشريفة انسان عين الزمان وامثل (١) الاعيان مولانا محمد اغا من
اشتهر بانجد الاسمي بدار السلطنة العظمى (٢) على يد من عمت خيراته ومرت ابدا حسناته اكمل الامراء وامثل من
في عصره من نواب (٣) مولانا خداوردي بك الشهير بابي سيفين في عام تسعمائة وتسعين وستة (٤)

(No. 22)

ادخلوها بسلام آمين ادخلوها بسلام سنة ١٢٠٣

(No. 26)

صاحب خير وحسنات وسخا	مظهر انعام ورضای خدا
خوب خصلات وعمل بسند	يعني سلحدار محمد باشا
حضرت داود مقامندة	ايلدي بر ماذنة خوش بنا
تاريخي منارة زيازهي	يا بدلي سلحدار محمد باشا

سنة ١٠٦٥

(No. 27/1)

ان الحسنات يذهبن السيئات

بمحمد الله تمام اولوب بو تعمير بولدي علواني	يكيچري اغاسي حضرتنيك اولدي احساني
خرابة مائل اولمش قلمامشدي زيور وزينات	انك عصرلده بوليدي بوينه اسكي ميزاني
نجه لر سجده لر قلوب انده ايدر تضرعلر	دعاية مظهر اولوب دميدم تعمير ادين اني
هزران افرين ايله بسند ايلر اني ساجد	زهي مسجد صيفية بلدرار انك درخشاني
يكيچري اغاسي خاصكي عالي اغا تعمير	ايدو[٠٠٠] بوكزول مسجد ٠٠٠ اخواني
اماني سكر الفاظ ايله قلدي اكا تاريخ	بو مسجد ويردي باب قلعه رونقله لمعاني

سنة ١١٥١

(No. 27/2)

عز الله (١) السلطان سليمان (٢) نصره (٣)

(No. 33/1)

امر بانشاء هذه القبة اللطيفة عين (١) الاعيان العظام جناب الحاج مصطفى[سى] (٢) اغا زاده قيم مقام
القدس الشريف على قبر الشيخ (٣) [محمد] الاوزبكي الصالح شيخ زاوية النقشبندية (٤) قدس الله سره العزيز رحمه
الله تعالى سنة ١١٤٤ (٥)

(No. 33/2)

متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن	متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن
وتبرك بساحات الكتب الفاخرة	اسعى لزواية الرشاد الباهرة
فيها السعادة فالمواهب وافرة	واحظى بانوار التجلي واغتتم
في ظلها وبذكر ربي عامرة	هي للجنان طريق حق والهدى
فيها هنالك والادلة ظافرة	وادعوا المهيمن فالاجابة لامر
لاشك من اهل القلوب العامرة	ان الذي بعمارها هذا سعى
حيا وطاب مقره في الاخرة	قد حاز ذكر في الدنيا

١٢٠٩

(No. 33/3)

... هذا قبر المرحوم الشيخ محمد الاوزبكي (٤) شيخ النقشبندية الطريقة رحمه الله تعالى (٥)

(No. 35)

هذه زاوية مولانا	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وسلطان الاولياء اجمعين	وسيدنا قطب العارفين
الجيلاني قدس الله	الشيخ عبد القادر
العزيز سنة ١٠٤٣ هـ	ســـــــــــــــــره

(No. 36/1)

بسملة ... (١) هذا ما تطوع بعمل هذا الصهرج (٢) والمصنع المبارك لوجه الله تعالى (٣) العبد الفقير
الى رحمة الله تعالى (٤) محمد بن عروة بن سيار الموصلني رحمه الله (٥) ورضي عنه من نعمة مولانا السلطان (٦) الملك

المعظم شرف الدنيا والدين (٧) ابو العزايم عيسى بن الملك العادل ابو بكر بن (٨) ايوب غفر الله لهما وذلك في شهور (٩) سنة ثلث عشر وستمئة وصلى الله [على] محمد واله (١٠)

(No. 36/2)

جدد هاذ (هكذا) السبيل والمصلا والمخراب العبد (١) الفقير الى [الله] تعالى شاهين ناظر الحرمين (٢) الشريفين في ايام مولانا السلطان الملك (٣) الاشرف برساي خلد الله ملكه بتاريخ (٤) شهر رمضان المعظم سنة اثنين وثلاثين وثمان مائة (٥)

(No. 36/3)

امر بعمارة هذا السبيل المبارك بعد خرابه وتعطيله (١) صاحب الخيرات والمبرات الوزير المكرم والمشير المعظم حضرة بـ[يـ]رام (٢) باشا المحافظ بمصر المحروسة فعمر بمباشرة ملك الامراء الكرام حضرة (٣) محمد باشا المحافظ بالقدس الشريف في ذي الحجة سنة ١٠٣٧ (٤)

(No. 36/4)

باسمه تعالى الله محراب فضل عن كل نقص محاشي (١) ارخت شاد بناء بامر يوسف باشا في سنة ١٠٦١ (٢)

(No. 37)

مجزوء الرجز

متفعلن / مستفعلن	متفعلن / مستفعلن
بكر خير يشكر	بنا علي باشا الذي
به علي يذكر ١٠٤٧	محراب فضل ارخو

(No. 38/1)

بسملة ٠٠٠ وصلواته على محمد النبي واله (١) امر بعمارته وحفر الخندق مولانا الملك الناصر صلاح (٢) الدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين خادم الحرمين (٤) الشريفين وهذا البيت المقدس ابو المظفر يوسف بن ايوب محيي دولة امير المؤمنين (٤) ادام الله ايامه ونصر اعلامه في ايام الامير الاسفهسار الكبير (٥) سيف الدين علي بن احمد اعزه الله في سنة سبع وثمانين وتسعمائة للهجرة النبوية (٦) وبنظر الامير ناصر الدين الطن با السيفي وفقه الله (٧)

(No. 38/2)

يا بدى ناظر على اغا بوني اوله اجرى يوسف اغايه تمام
ديدي حاتف كورنجه تاريخن اولدى بك طقسان ايكى ده اتمام
محرم سنة ١٠٩٢

(No. 38/3)

الطويل
فعول / مفاعلين / فعول / مفاعلين فعول / مفاعلين / فعول / مفاعلين
بناه على التقوى على يوسف اغا دار اوج السعد من بره وفي
لنا جاء في التاريخ عند بنائه بناه على والشواب ليوسف
محرم سنة ١٠٩٢

(No. 39/1)

بنيانها ثوابه ليوسف (١) اغا دار السعد ذي القدر العالي (٢) يا فاضل وارخ وانها (٣) ليوسف اسسها
الحاج علي سنة ١٠٩٢ (٤)

(No. 39/2)

هذا بنا يوسف انعم ثو[ا] با يكف[ي]ك [ي]ك (١) على بانيه له تاريخه بيغنيك (٢)

(No. 40)

الرجز
مستفعلن / مستفعلن / مستفعلن مستفعلن / مستفعلن / مستفعلن
عبد الكريم الجوريجي انشا السبيل كي يستقى منه عطاشى الواردين
يرجو به الزلفى من الله الجليل والمن والاحسان من مولى معين
يسا فاضلا بادر الى تاريخه وقل شرايا من سلسبيل او معين
١٠٩٧

(No. 42)

انه من سليمان وانه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الا تعلقو علي (١) واتوني مسلمين قالت يا ايها المملأ افتوني
في امري (٢) ما كنت قاطعت امرا تشهدون قالوا نحن اولوا (٣) قوة والوا بأس شديد وصدق الله العظيم (٤)

(No. 43)

الكامل

متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن	متفاعلن / متفاعلن / متفاعلن
بعد الخفى لقبه الهادي الامين	طالع سعد نوره فتح مبین
عمر ابارا بها للمسلمين	على يد الحاكم بالقدس الذي
بالمسجد الاقصى لعين الناظرين	خيراته بين الانام تكاثرت
محمد له المنى تاريخها	
قلنا ادخلوها بسلام آمين	

(No. 45)

لاجل روح الحسين يا واردين	حسن ابن الداني الحسيني انشاه
جد فيه الشفا للشاربين	فقال ابراهيم في تاريخه

(No. 46)

عبد الحميد جده الدجاني	لقد غدا لذا المكان باني
وبنا حسبة بلا تواني	مؤسسا على التقى دعاما
جزاؤه اعالي الجنان	ارخ له حبذا بنا

(No. 47)

ايجون كتابت ايدن احمد قوللري	بو مقام شريفلرك تعميري
تعالى مراد ييه ناذل ايليه	بر دعاء ايله يا ايده نك باري

امين سنة ١١٧٤

(No. 48)

الرجز

مستفلن / مستفلن / مستفلن
وفضله قد فاض فيما يهب
قائمقام القدس نال المطلب
عذب فرات ساغ منه المشرب
عثمان بيك للفقارى ينسب
في زمرة الاخيار غد يحسب
يا حبذاك مطلب ومارب
في قدح من الرحيق يشرب

مستفلن / مستفلن / مستفلن
عمره من حاز كل سؤدد
عين الاكارم والاماجد مصطفى
كالسلسيل ماؤه يشفي الصدا
برسم من حاز الفخار والعلی
يبغي به الجزاء يوم محشر
كلاهما من حوض طه يرتوي
كلاهما البشرى له تاريخه

في سنة ١١٥٣

(No. 49)

الرجز

مستفلن / مستفلن / مستفلن
تدعى بدار العز دوما سرمد
منشرحا منبسطا ممجدا
دام غدا فيها دوام ابدا

مستفلن / مستفلن / مستفلن
دار سميت والسعد فيها قد بدا
دار علت فيها النزيل مؤيدا
وقد كمل ارخت ان محمدا

سنة ١٢٠٥

(No. 50/1)

بسملة ٠٠٠ انشا هذ[ا] الايوان اللطيف (١) في هذا المكان الشريف الملك المعظم والحقان (٢) المفخم
الغازي المجاهد السلطان محمود خان خلد الله ملكه (٣) على مدى الزمان وذلك على يد الوزير الشهير صاحب
الخيرات (٤) والتدبير الدستور الوقور الحاج سليمان باشا بلغه الله ما شاء (٥) والي صيدا وطرابلس حالا وذلك في
سنة ثلاثة وثلاثين ومائتين ٢٣٣ (٦) بمباشرة راقمه العبد الضعيف مصطفى علي افندي المامور من جانب الدستور (٧)

(No. 50/2)

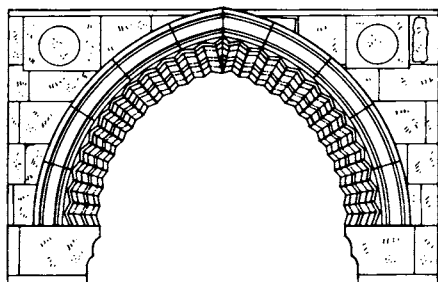
مصطفى الوزير نسل الاكرمين
 زاد فخارا مجورا الصالحين
 وسرور لجميع الواردين
 وغيثا من امام المرسلين
 ورضا مولاه رب العالمين
 وحماه شر كيد الخاسدين
 وكذا يتلوه خمس واربعين

في سنة ١١٤٥

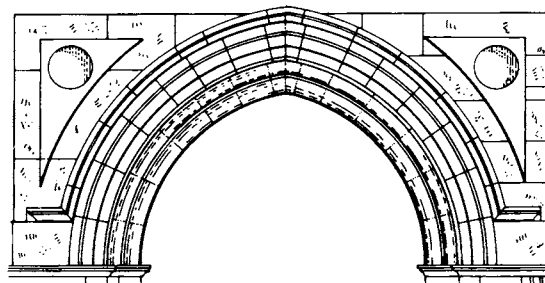
أنشأ الايوان عين الامجدين
 في بقعة زاهية بهية
 لصلاة وتلاوة به
 قاصدا اجرا جزيلا دائما
 فجزاه الله خيرا سرمدا
 ووقاه كل سوء وعناء
 بعد الف ومائة أنشأه

A GRAMMAR OF ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

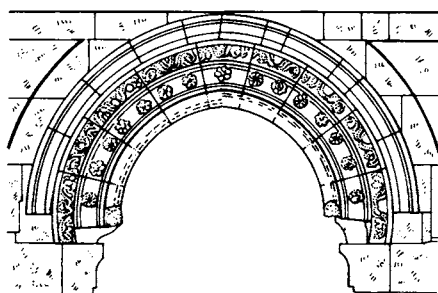
David Myres



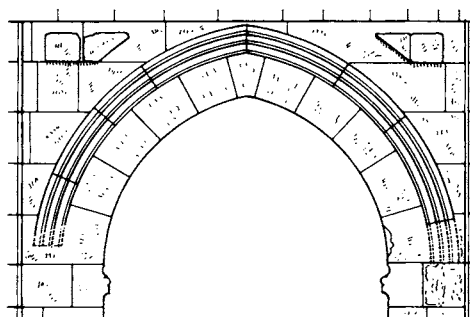
A1



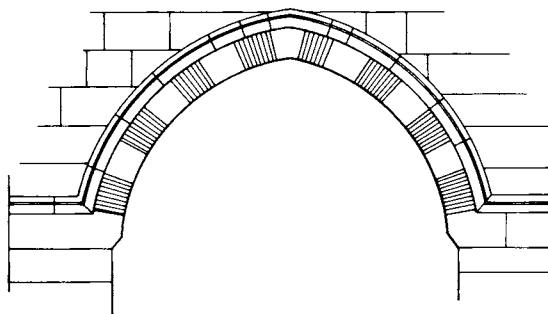
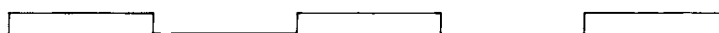
A2



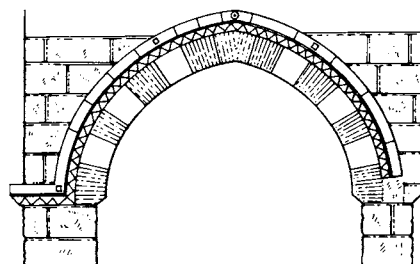
A3



A4



A5



A6

ARCHES **Scale 1:25**

A1 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

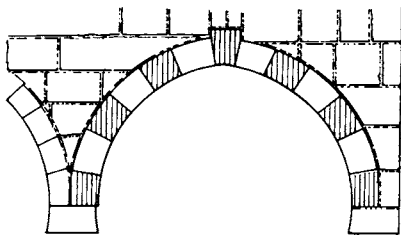
A2 Sabil al-Wad

A3 Sabil Bab al-Nazir

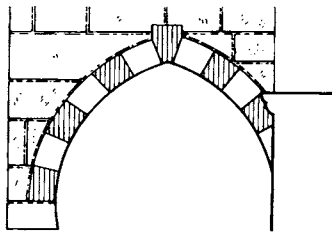
A4 Sabil Sitti Maryam

A5 Sabil Shurbaji

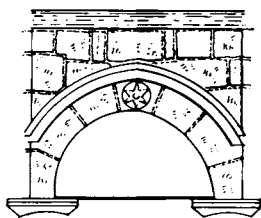
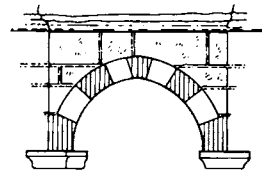
A6 Sabil al-Khalidi, al-Wad Street



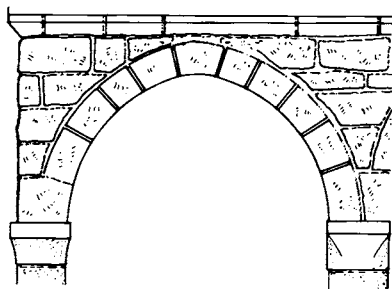
A7



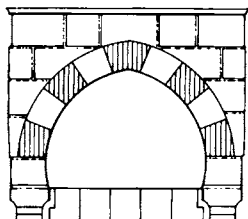
A8



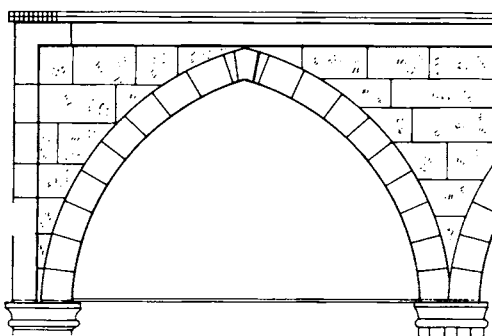
A9



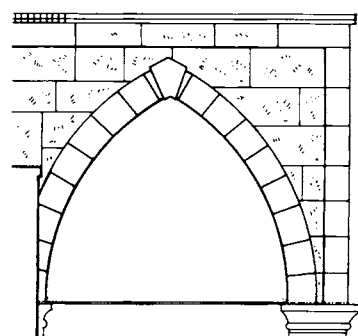
A10



A11



A12



ARCHES

Scale 1:25

A7 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

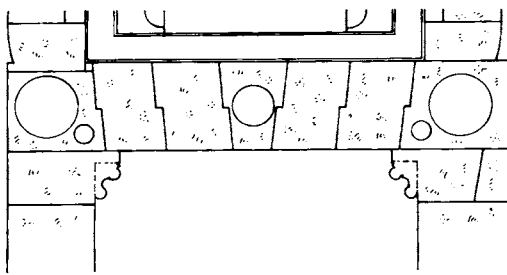
A8 Qubbat al-Nabi

A9 Qubbat al-Arwah

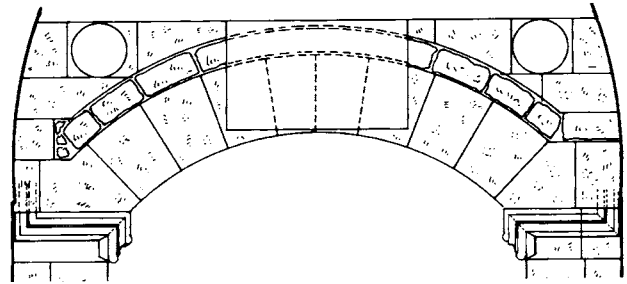
A10 Northern Cell (also see Yusuf's catalogue)

A11 Sabil Mustafa Agha

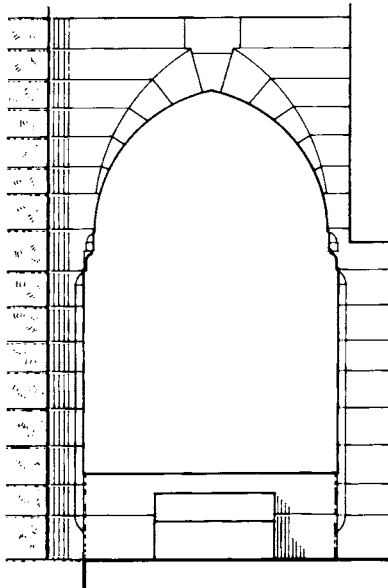
A12 Odat Arslan Pasha



A16



A17



P1

ARCHES and PORTALS

Scale 1:25

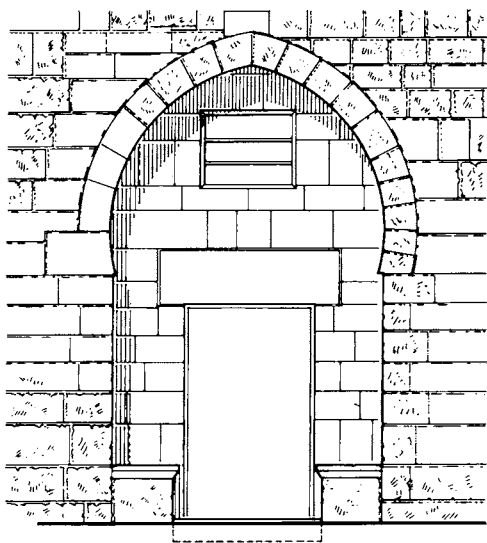
Arches

A14 Khassaki Sultan (al-‘Imara al-‘Amira), north entrance

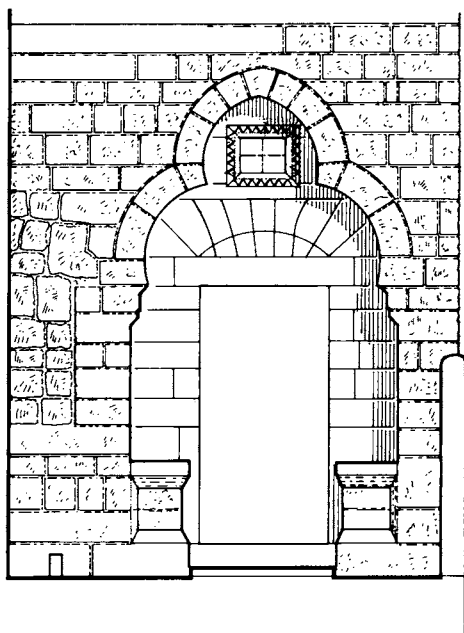
A15 Khassaki Sultan (al-‘Imara al-‘Amira), south entrance

Portals

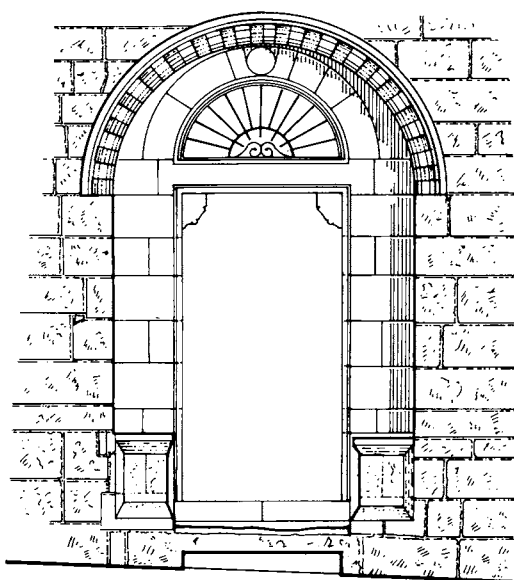
P1 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha



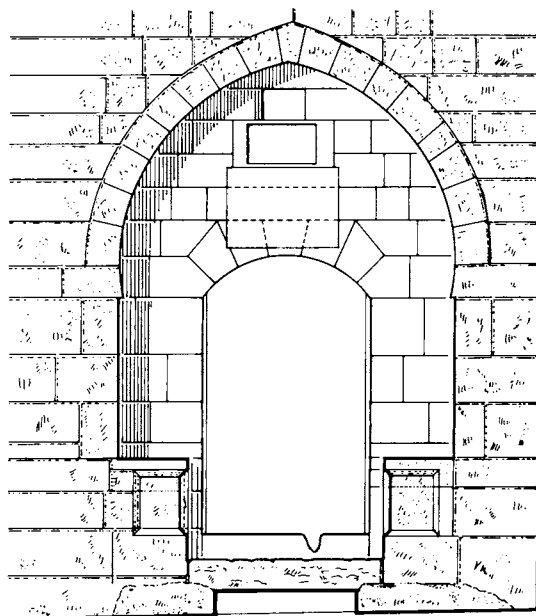
P2



P3



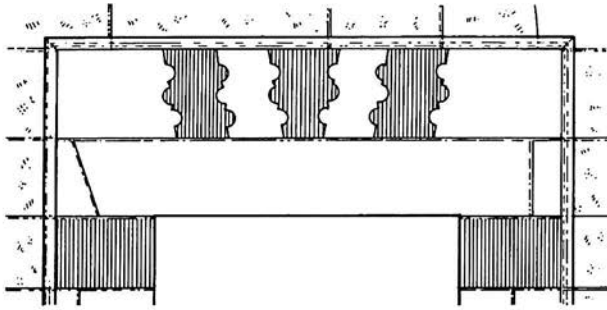
P4



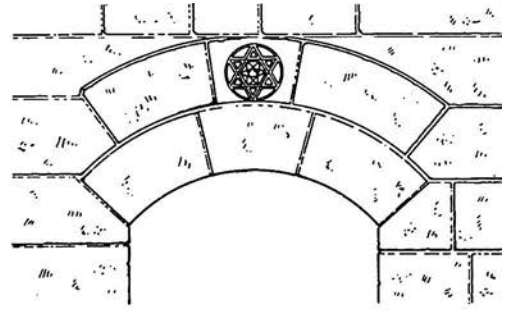
P5

PORTALS **Scale 1:25**
P2 Ribat Bairam Jawish
P3 Maktab Bairam Jawish

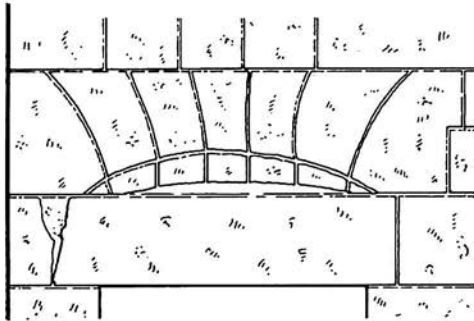
P4 Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya
P5 Zawiya al-Qadiriyya



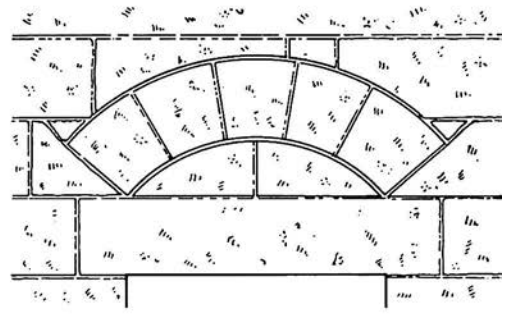
D1



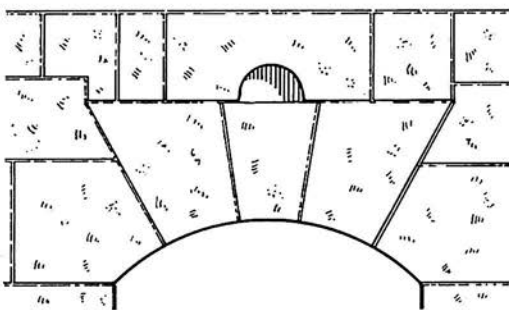
D2



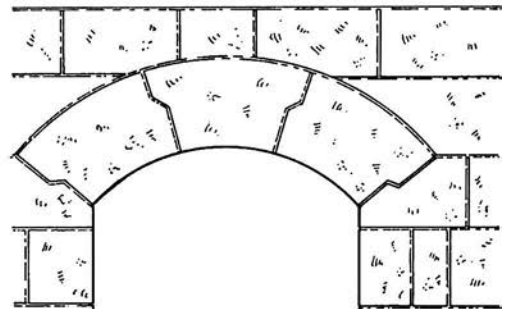
D3



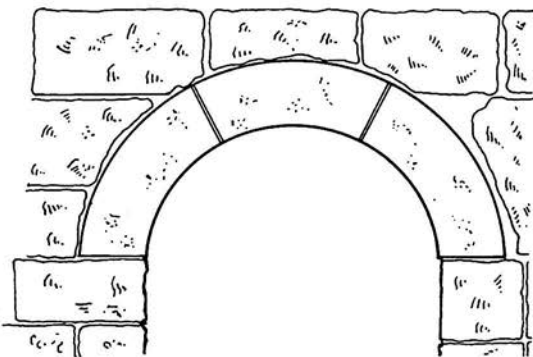
D4



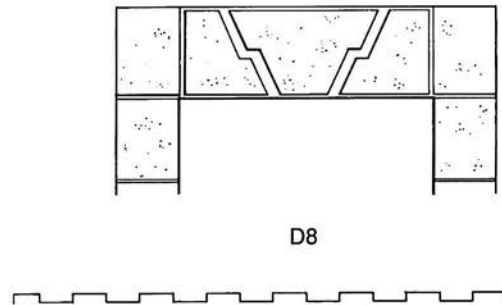
D5



D6

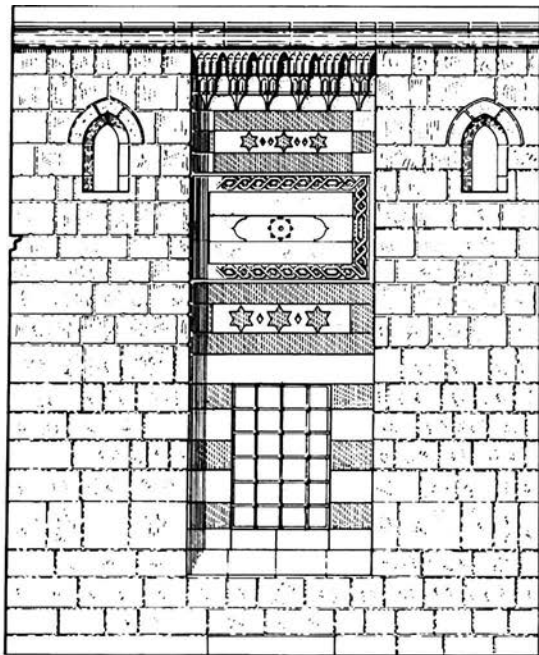


D8

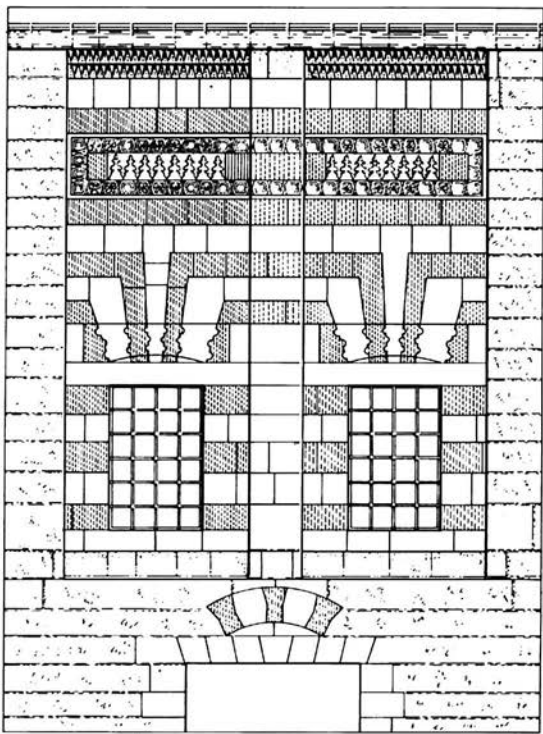


DOOR LINTELS **Scale 1:5**
D1 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha
D2 Khalwat Parwiz
D3 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha
D4 Khalwat Junbalatiyya

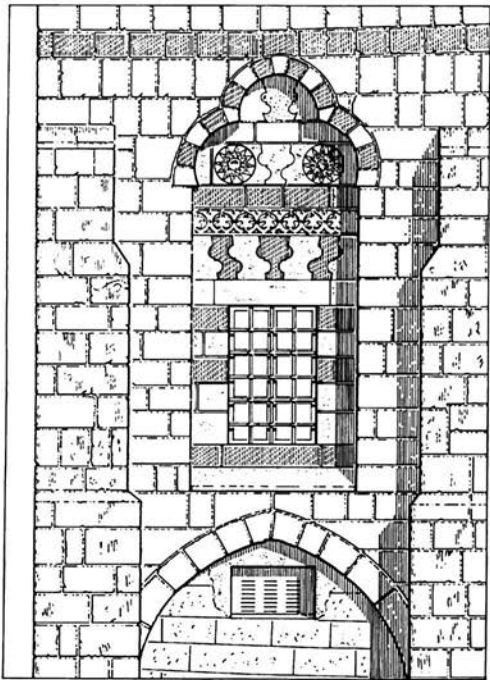
D5 Khalwat Bairam Pasha
D6 Hujrat Islam Beg
D7 Double courtyard in Khassaki Sultan
D8 Sabil Sha'lan



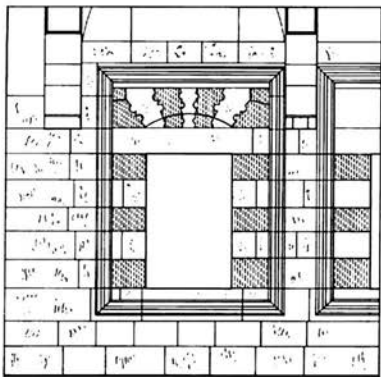
W1



W2



W3

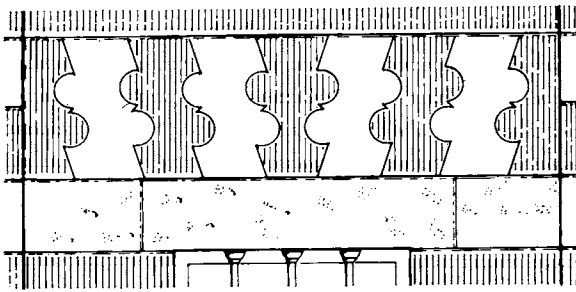


W4

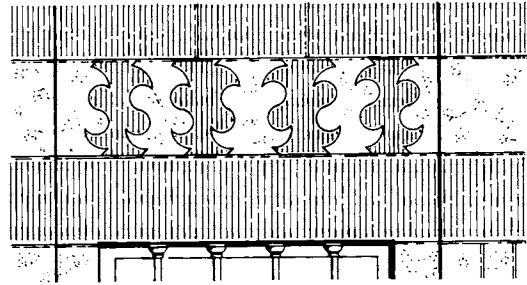
WINDOWS Scale 1:25

- W1 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, east elevation
- W2 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, north elevation

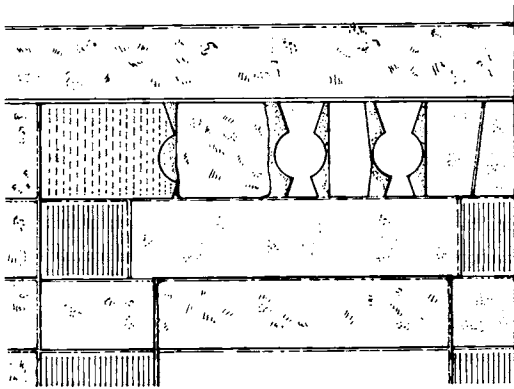
- W3 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, west elevation
- W4 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha, south elevation



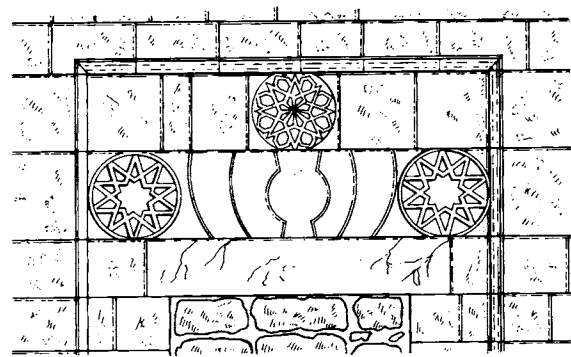
WL1



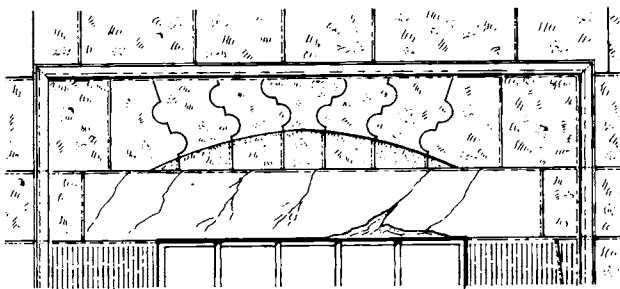
WL2



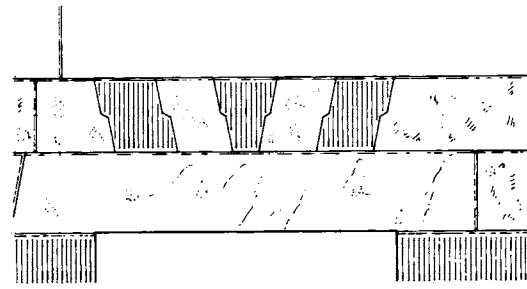
WL3



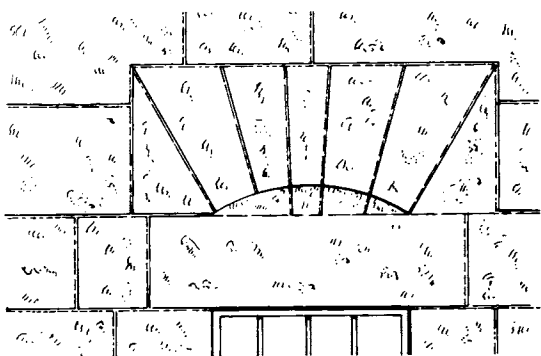
WL4



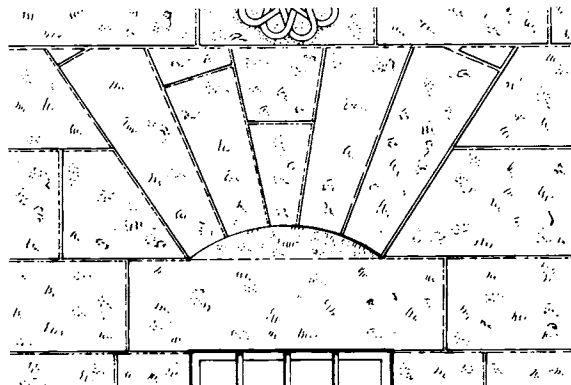
WL5



WL6



WL7



WL8

WINDOW LINTELS/ARCHES Scale 1:5

WL1 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (Rasasiyya)

WL2 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (Rasasiyya)

WL3 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya (Rasasiyya)

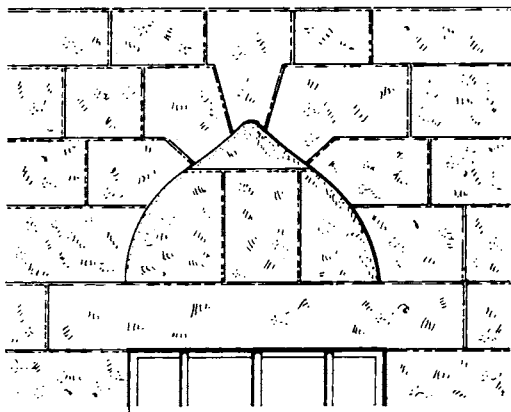
WL4 North Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

WL5 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha

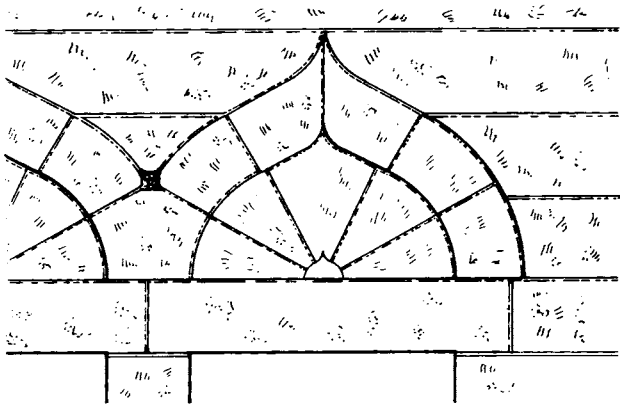
WL6 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha

WL7 Khassaki Sultan (elevation to Aqabat al-Takiyya)

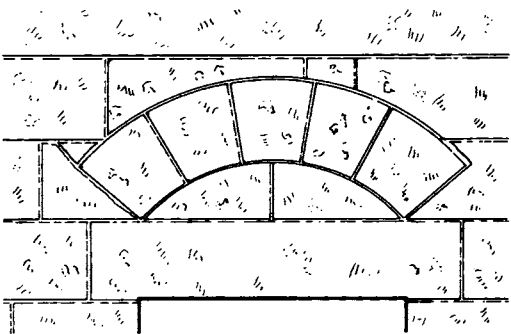
WL8 Khassaki Sultan (elevation to Aqabat al-Takiyya)



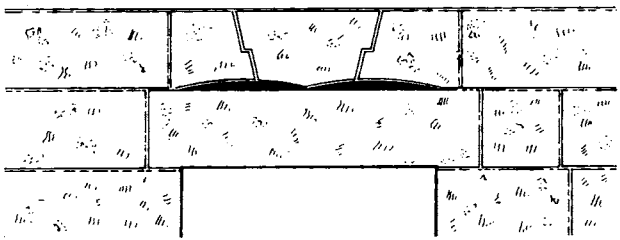
WL9



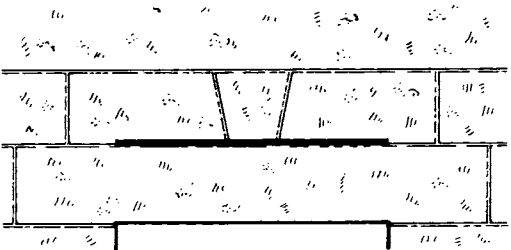
WL10



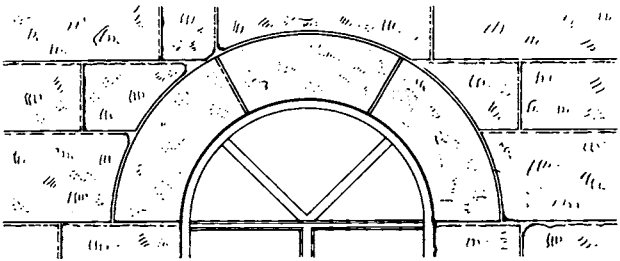
WL11



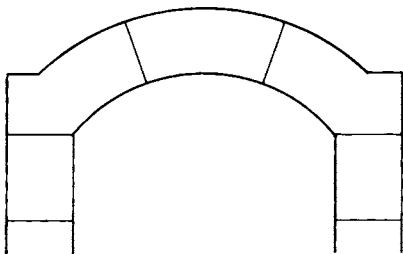
WL12



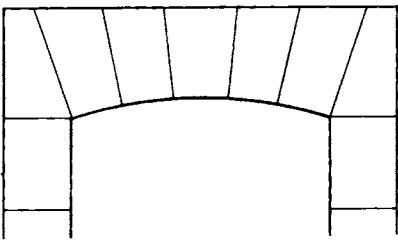
WL13



WL14



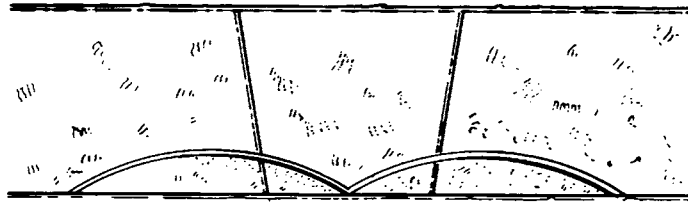
WL15



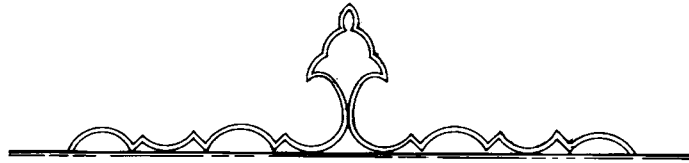
WL16

WINDOW LINTELS/ARCHES Scale 1:5
WL9 Khakwat Bairam Pasha
WL10 Maktab Bairam Jawish
WL11 Khalwat Muhammad Agha
WL12 Hujrat Muhammad Agha

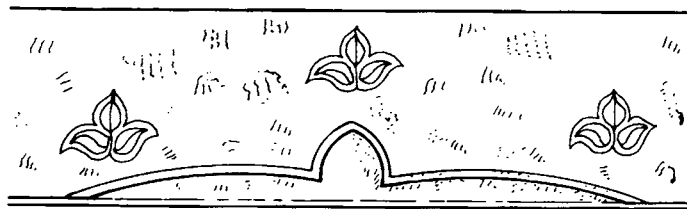
WL13 Khassaki Sultan (South Gateway)
WL14 Khassaki Sultan (12th/18th century)
WL15 Masjid al-Hamra' (13th/19th century)
WL16 Sabil Sha'lan (13th/19th century)



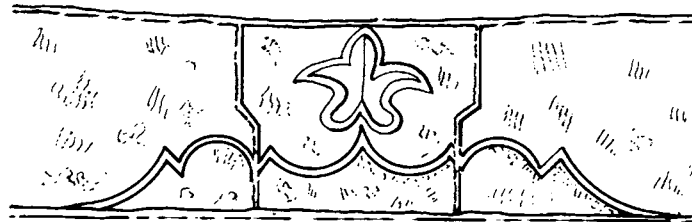
WD1



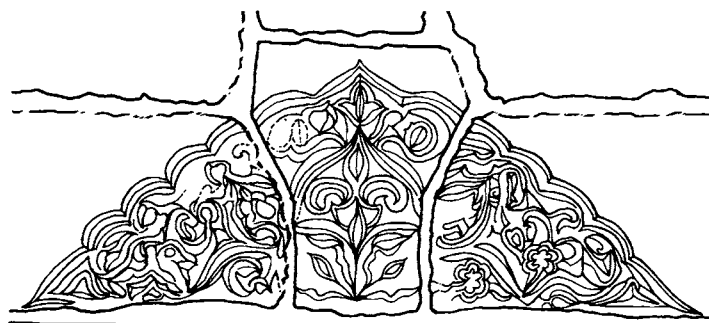
WD2



WD3



WD4



WD5

WINDOW DECORATION
(* denotes sketch)

Scale 1:5

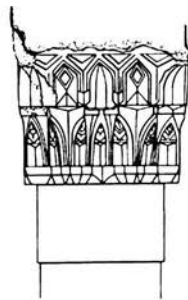
WD1 Hujrat Islam Beg

WD2 Cell immediately to east of Hujrat Muhammad Agha

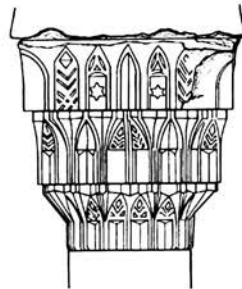
WD3 Western cell in north colonnade

WD4 House on al-Wad*

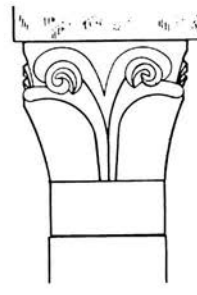
WD5 Khalwat Parwiz



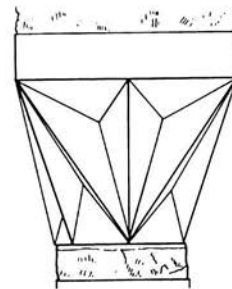
CC1



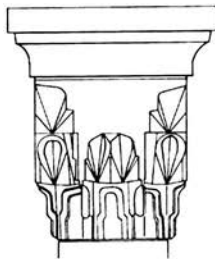
CC2



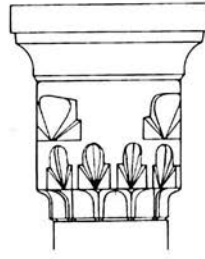
CC3



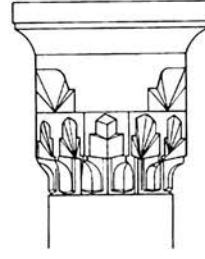
CC4



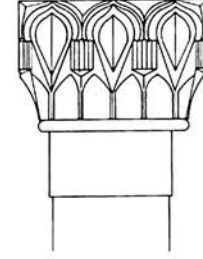
CC5



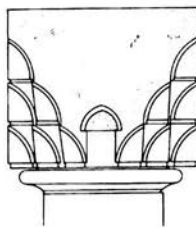
CC6



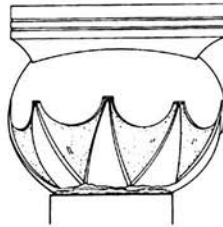
CC7



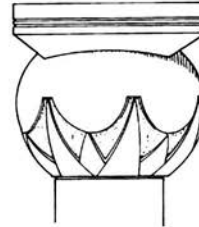
CC8



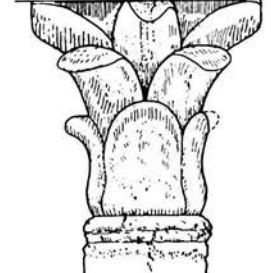
CC9



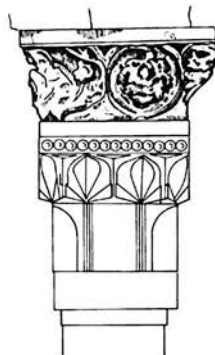
CC10



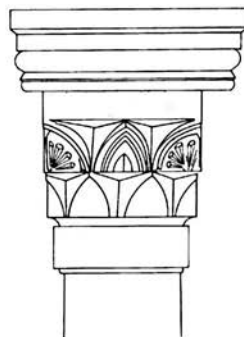
CC11



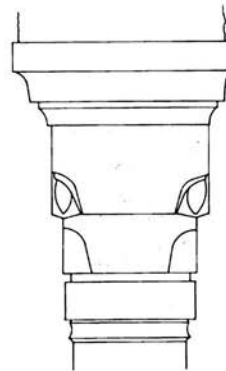
CC12



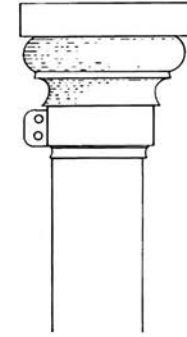
CC13



CC14



CC15



CC16

COLUMN CAPITALS Scale 1: 5

CC1 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

CC2 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

CC3 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

CC4 Khassaki Sultan (South Gatehouse)

CC5 Qubbat al-Nabi

CC6 Qubbat al-Nabi

CC7 Qubbat al-Nabi

CC8 Qubbat al-Arwah

CC9 Qubbat al-Arwah

CC10 Qubbat al-Arwah

CC11 Qubbat al-Arwah

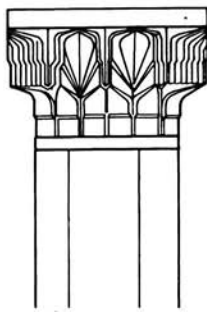
CC12 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds

CC13 Qubbat al-Khadr

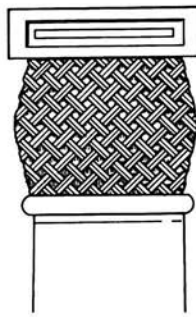
CC14 Qubbat al-Khadr

CC15 Qubbat al-Khadr

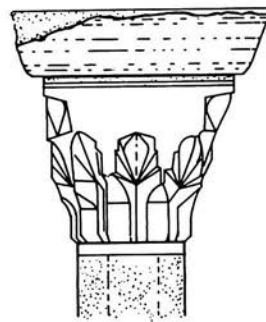
CC16 Qubbat Yusuf



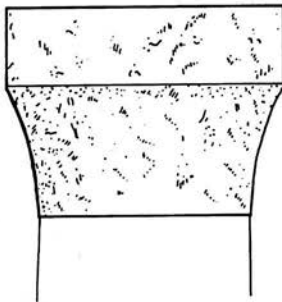
CC17



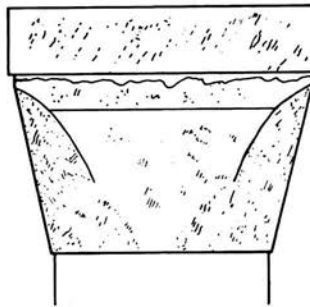
CC18



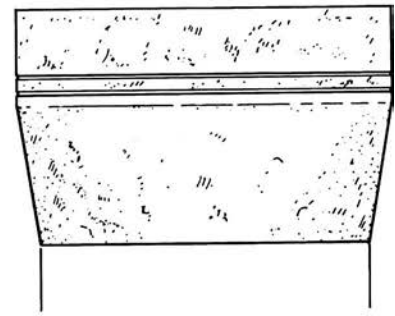
CC19



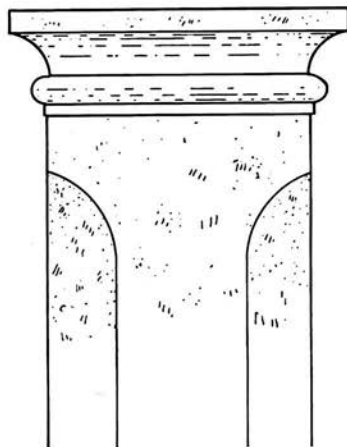
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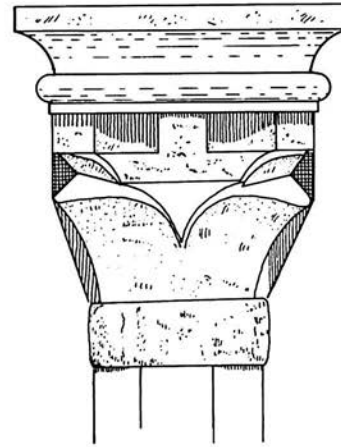
CC21



CC22



CC23



CC24

COLUMN CAPITALS Scale 1:5

CC17 Sabil Mustafa Agha

CC18 Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa

CC19 *Mihrab* of Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II

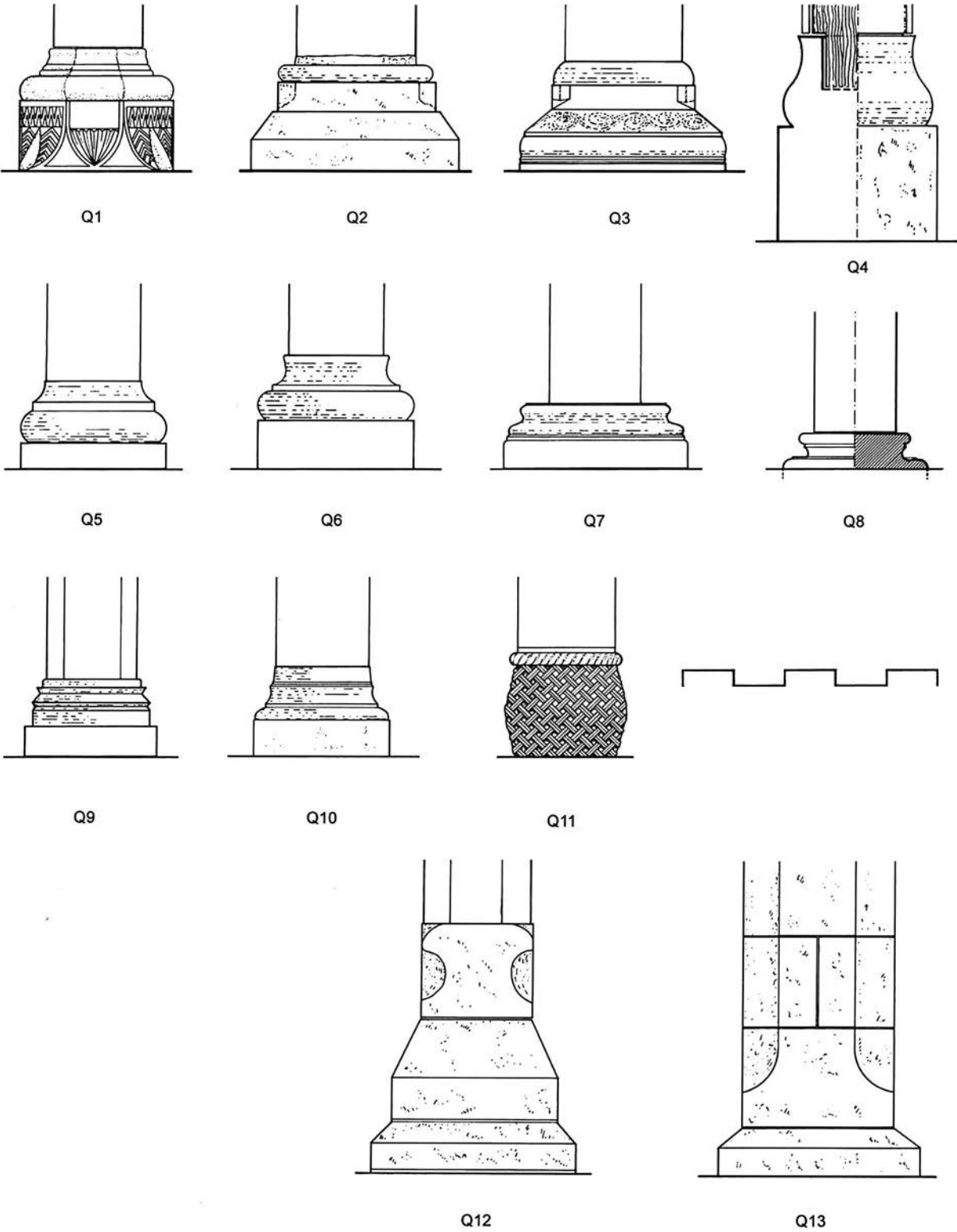
CC20 Hujrat Islam Beg

CC21 Hujrat Islam Beg

CC22 Hujrat Islam Beg

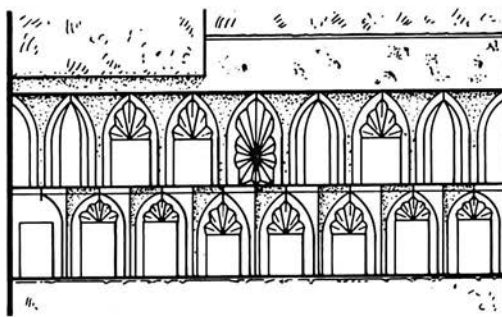
CC23 Hujrat Muhammad Agha

CC24 Hujrat Muhammad Agha

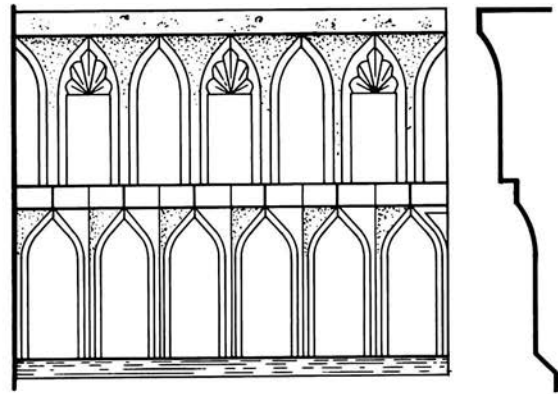


COLUMN BASES **Scale 1:5**
Q1 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha
Q2 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha
Q3 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha
Q4 Sabil Qasim Pasha
Q5 Qubbat al-Nabi
Q6 Qubbat al-Arwah
Q7 Qubbat Yusuf

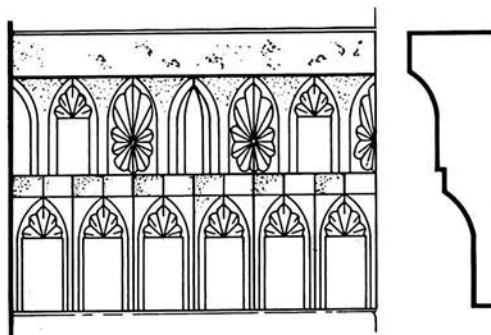
Q8 Qubbat al-Khadr
Q9 Qubbat al-Khadr
Q10 Sabil Mustafa Agha
Q11 Qubbat al-Mahd 'Isa
Q12 Hujrat Muhammad Agha
Q13 Hujrat Muhammad Agha



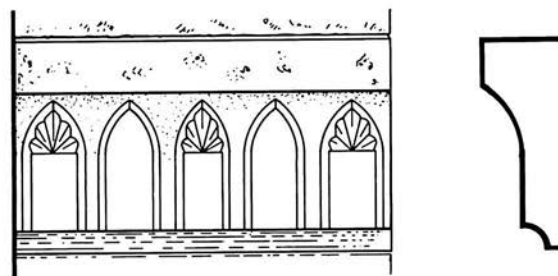
T1



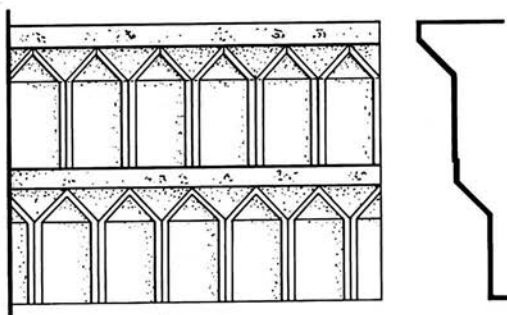
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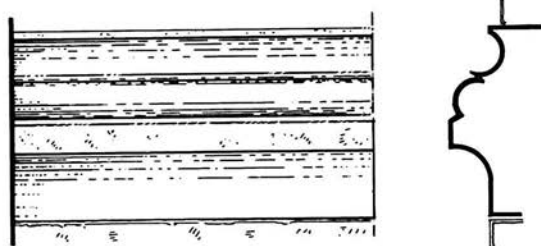
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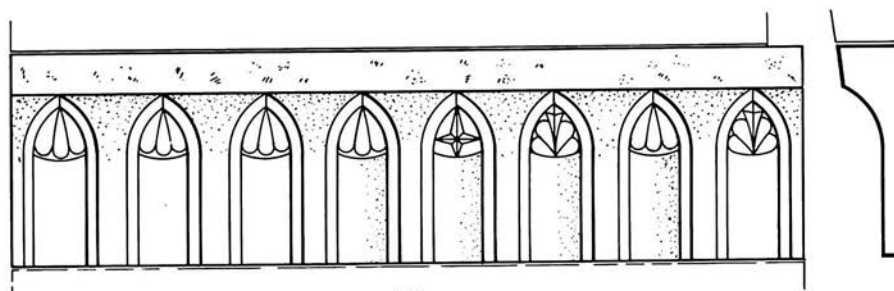
T4



T5



T6



T7

CORBEL BRACKETS Scale 1:5

T1 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

T2 Sabil Bab al-Silsila

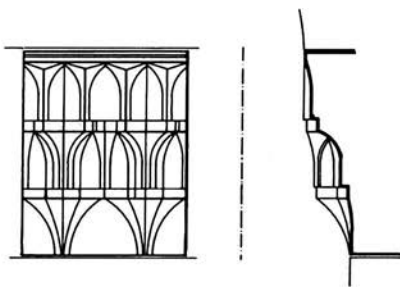
T3 Sabil Bab al-'Atm

T4 Sabil Bab al-Nazir

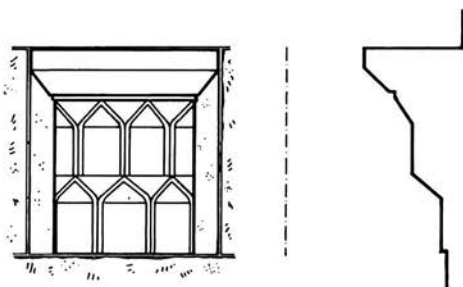
T5 Maktab Bairam Jawish

T6 Sabil Sitti Maryam

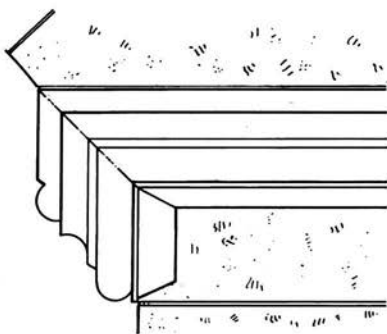
T7 Khassaki Sultan (South Gateway)



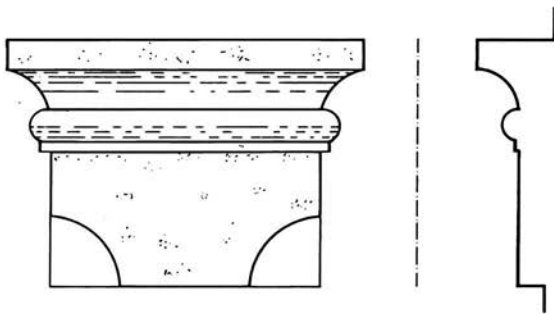
T8



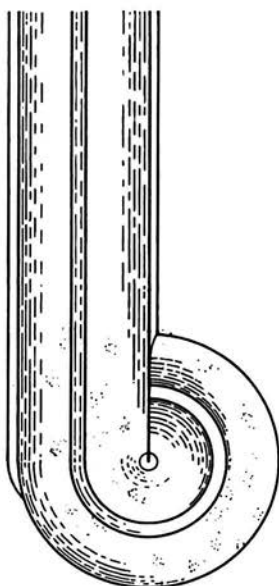
T9



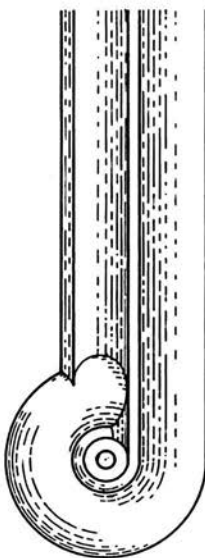
T10



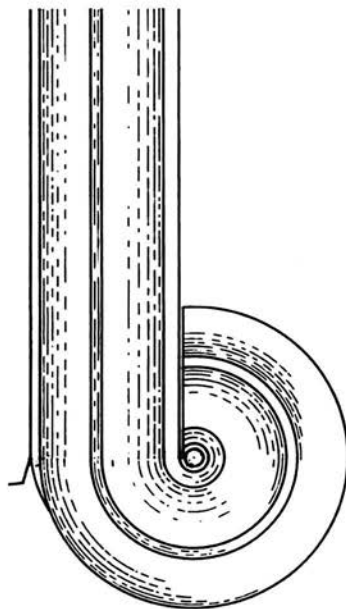
T11



V1



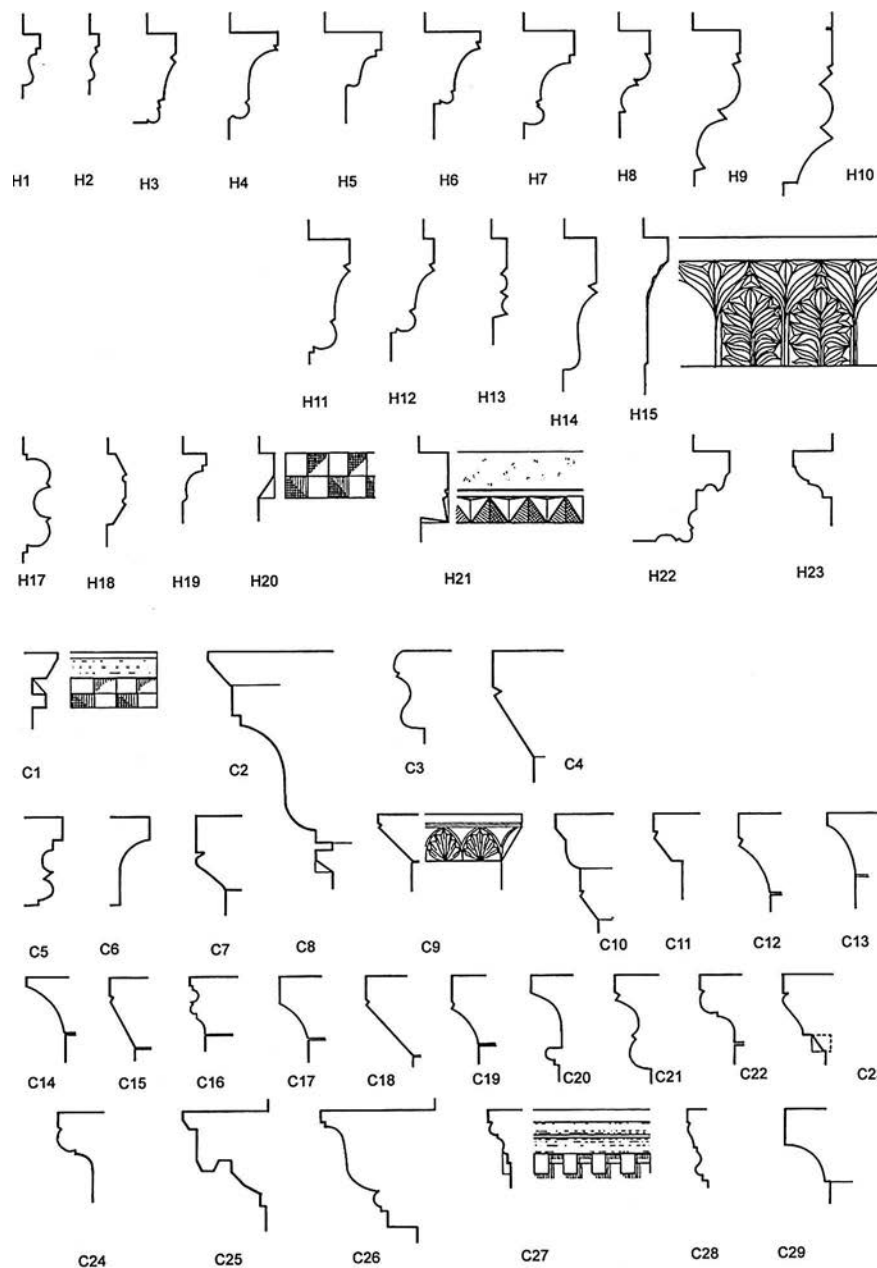
V2



V3

CORBEL BRACKETS AND VOLUTES Scale 1:5
T8 Northern Cell
T9 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds
T10 Khassaki Sultan, south gateway
T11 Khalwat Junbalatiyya

V1 Sabil Sitti Maryam
V2 Sabil al-Wad
V3 Sabil Bab al-'Atm



MOULDINGS

Scale 1:5

* - denotes sketch

Hood-mouldings

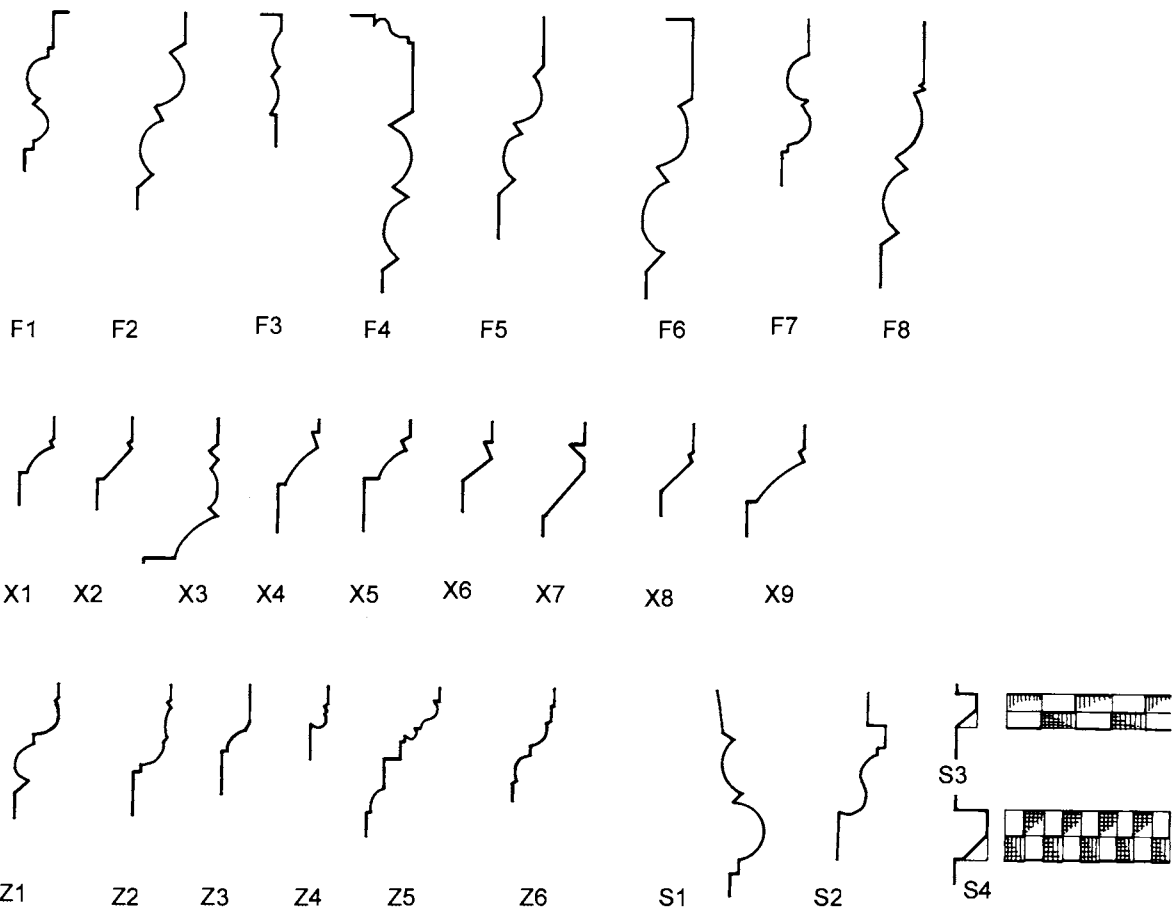
H1 Madrasat Mawardiyya (Rasasiyya)
H2 Madrasat Mawardiyya (Rasasiyya)
H3 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan
H4 Sabil Bab al-Silsila
H5 Sabil al-Wad
H6 Sabil Bab al-Nazir
H7 Sabil Bab al-'Atm
H8 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam
H9 Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate)*
H10 Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate)*
H11 Bab al-Khalil*
H12 Bab al-Khalil*
H13 Bab Sitti Maryam*
H14 Bab al-Maghriba (Dung Gate)*
H15 Khassaki Sultan, south gateway
H16 Khassaki Sultan, north gateway
H17 Khassaki Sultan/Ribat Bairam Jawish, located in the double courtyard between the two buildings

H18 Qubbat al-Arwah
H19 Qubbat al-Khadr
H20 Sabil al-Khalidi
H21 Dar al-Mamluk (13th/19th century)
H22 Dar al-Mamluk (13th/19th century)

Cornices Scale 1:5

C1 Sabil al-Wad
C2 Sabil Bab al-Nazir
C3 Khassaki Sultan
C4 Khassaki Sultan
C5 Unknown
C6 Mihrab of the Qal'a
C7 Mihrab of the Qal'a
C8 Qubbat al-Nabi
C9 Qubbat al-Khadr
C10 Qubbat al-Arwah
C11 Sabil Sha'lan
C12 Sabil Sha'lan
C13 Qubbat Yusuf

C14 Qubbat Yusuf Agha*
C15 Sabil Shurbaji*
C16 Sabil Mustafa Agha
C17 Hujrat Islam Beg
C18 Mihrab close to Bab al Silsila
C19 Hujrat Muhammad Liwa' al-Quds
C20 Mihrab Ahmad Qullari
C21 Sabil Bab al-Maghriba*
C22 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha
C23 Hujrat Muhammad Agha
C24 unknown
C25 Islamic Museum (13th/19th-century restoration?)
C26 Dar al-Mamluk
C27 Dar al-Mamluk
C28 Dar al-Mamluk
C29 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (13th/19th-century restoration?)



MOULDINGS Scale 1:5

Portal Frames Scale 1:5

F1 al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya

F2 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

F3 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

F4 Sabil al-Wad

F5 Sabil al-Bab al-'Atm

F6 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam

F7 Khassaki Sultan, north gateway

F8 Sabil Bab al-Silsila

Frames (inscriptions and recesses)

Scale 1:5

X1 Sabil al-Wad

X2 Sabil al-Wad

X3 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam

X4 Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam

X5 Sabil Bab al-'Atm

X6 Sabil Bab al-'Atm

X7 Sabil Bab al-'Atm

X8 Sabil Bab al-Nazir

X9 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan

Frames (doors and windows)

Z1 Khalwa

Z2 Odat Arslan Pasha

Z3 North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

Z4 Mihrab al-Sanaubar

Z5 Dar al-Mamluk

Z6 Dar al-Mamluk

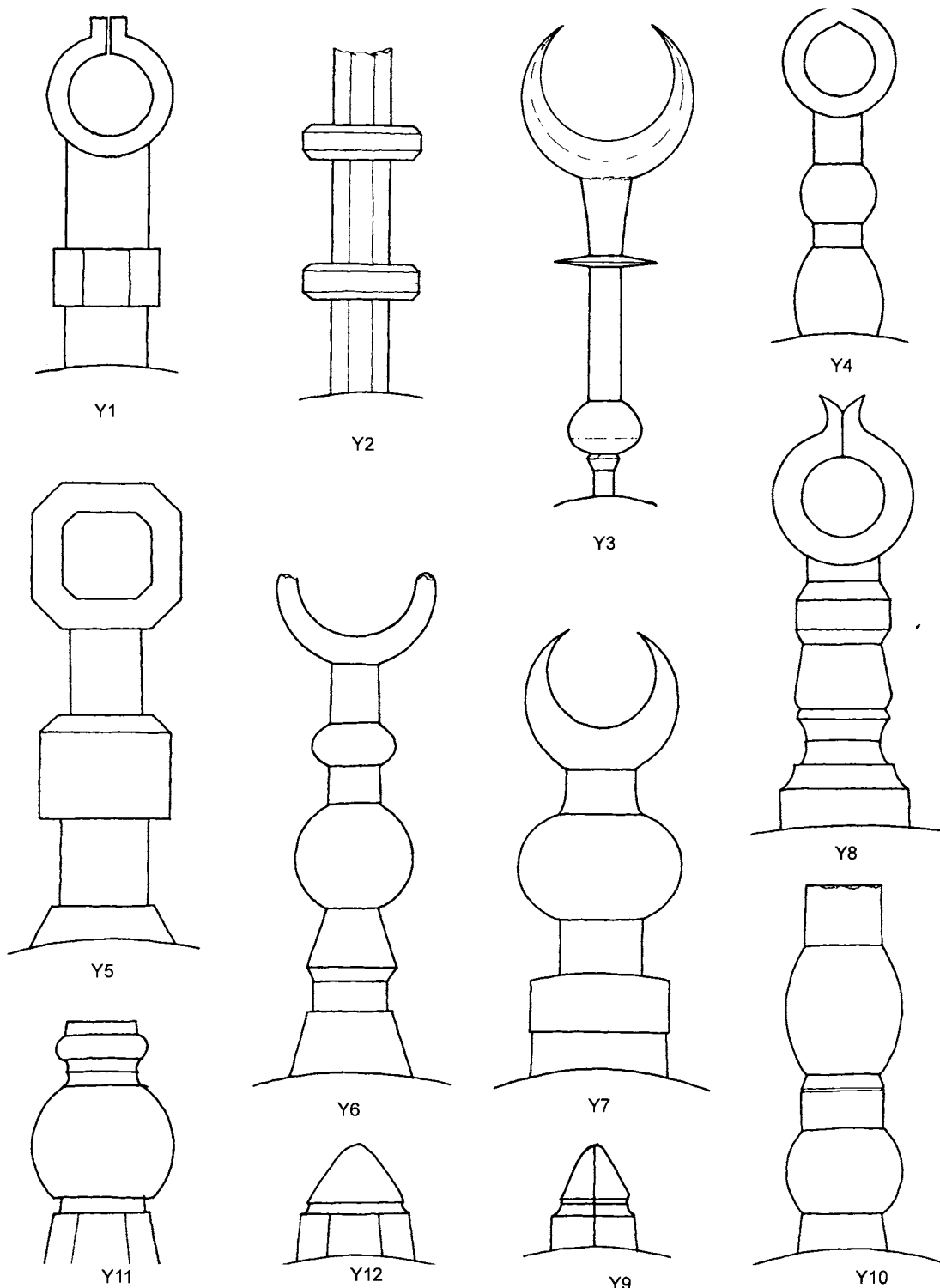
String courses Scale 1:5

S1 Mihrab al-Sanaubar

S2 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya

S3 Khalwa

S4 Khalwa Junbalatiyya



FINIALS

* denotes sketch

Y1 Khalwa*

Y2 Iwan Sultan Mahmud II*

Y3 Qubbat al-Khadr

Y4 Qubbat al-Arwah

Y5 Khalwat Bairam Pasha*

Y6 Qubbat al-Nabi*

Y7 Khalwa*

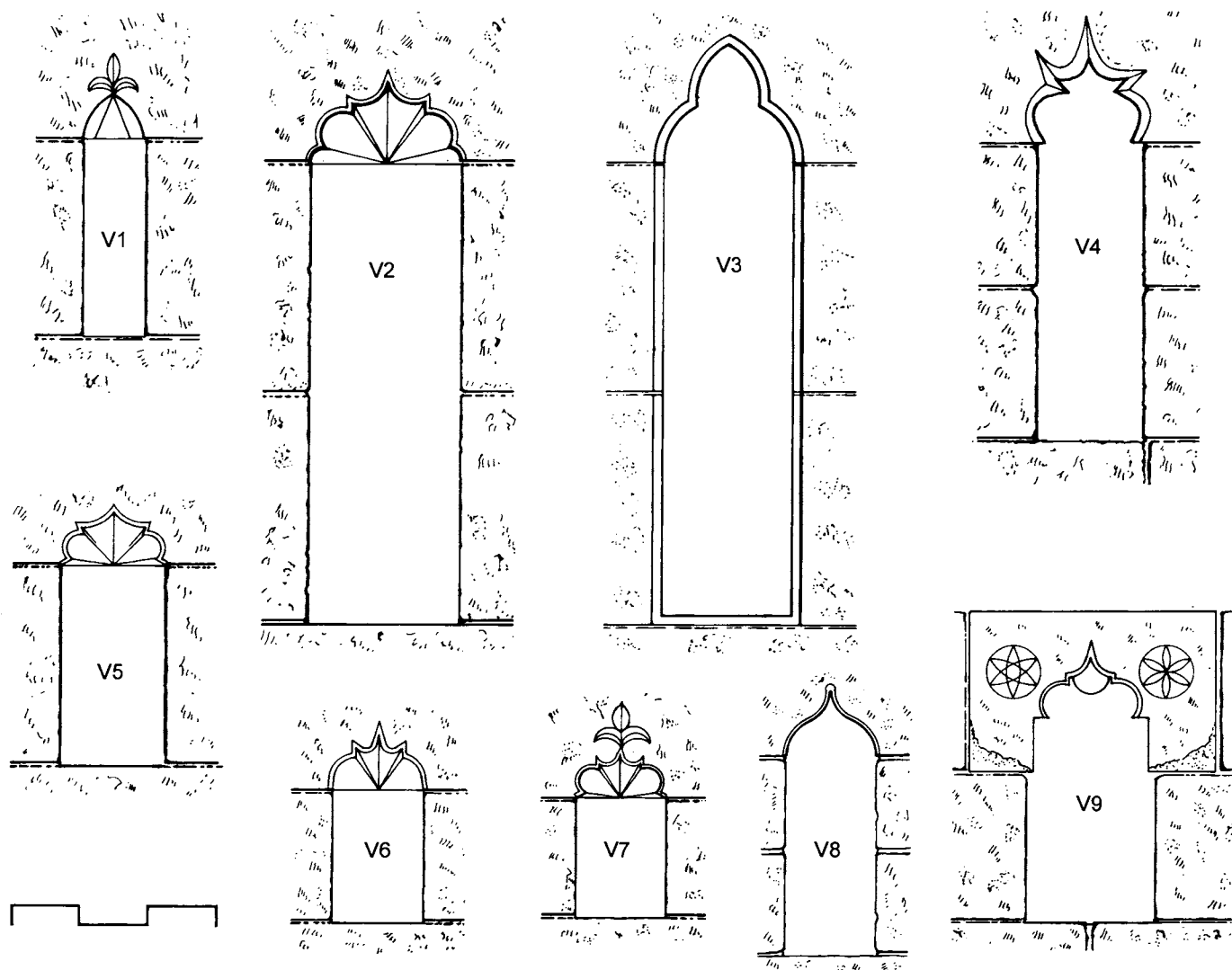
Y8 Khalwa*

Y9 Khalwa*

Y10 Khalwa*

Y11 Madrasat Ahmad Pasha

Y12 Khalwa*



VENTILATION SLITS Scale 1:5

*** denotes sketch**

V1 Minaret al-Nabi Da'ud

V2 Khassaki Sultan (elevation to 'Aqabat al-Takiyya)

V3 Khassaki Sultan, northern gateway

V4 Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram

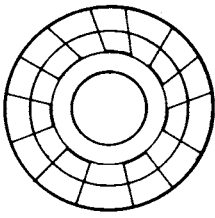
V5 Northern Khalwa

V6 Hujrat Muhammad Agha

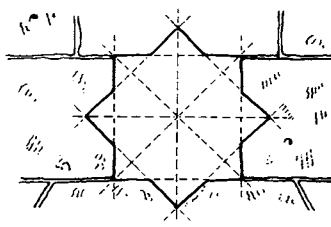
V7 Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds

V8 House on Tariq al-Wad*

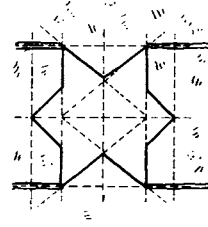
V9 South Western Khalwa



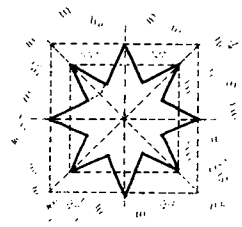
G1



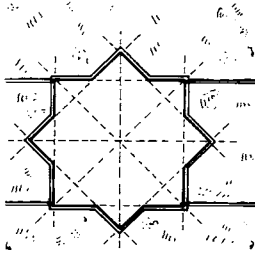
G2



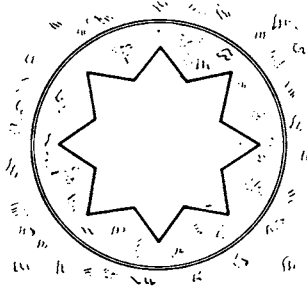
G3



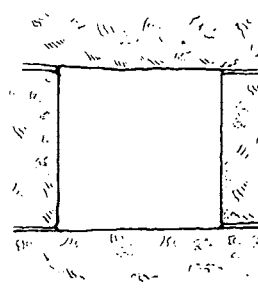
G4



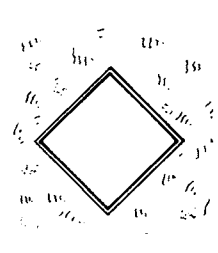
G5



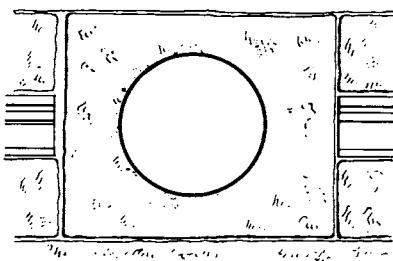
G6



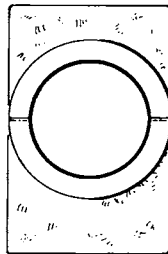
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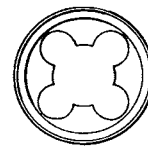
G8



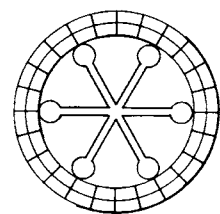
G9



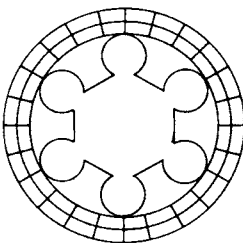
G10



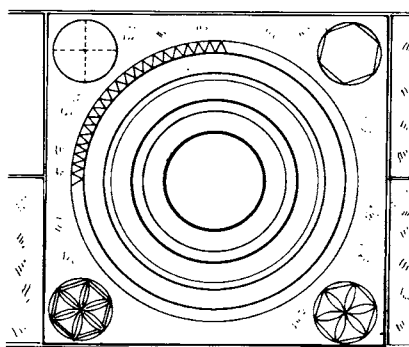
G11



G12



G13



G14

VENTILATION OPENINGS

Scale Approx 1:5

* denotes sketch

G1 Nabi Da'ud (Entrance)

G2 Tariq al-Wad *

G3 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

G4 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

G5 Tariq al-Wad*

G6 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

G7 Tariq al-Wad*

G8 Tariq al-Wad*

G9 Tariq al-Wad*

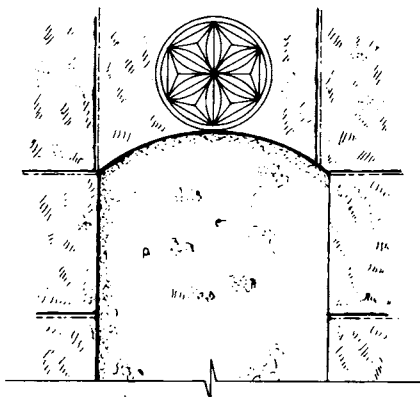
G10 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

G11 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

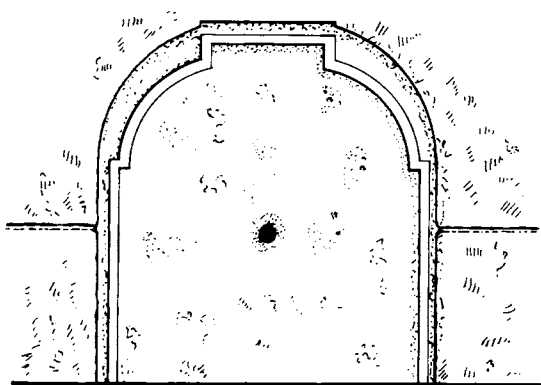
G12 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

G13 'Aqabat al-Silsila*

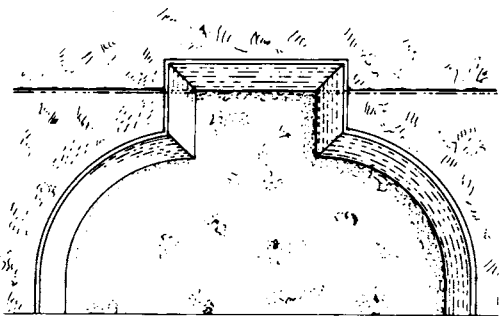
G14 Dar al-Mamluk



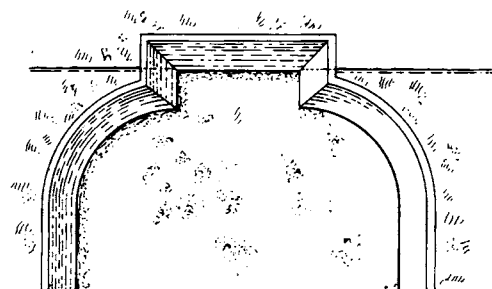
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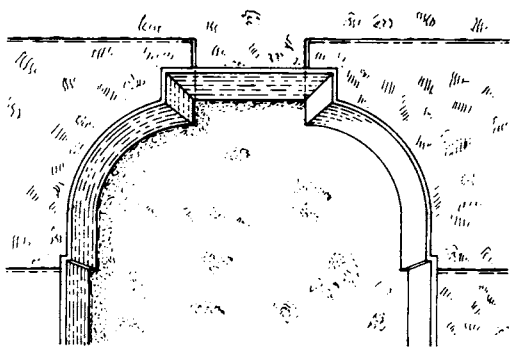
N2



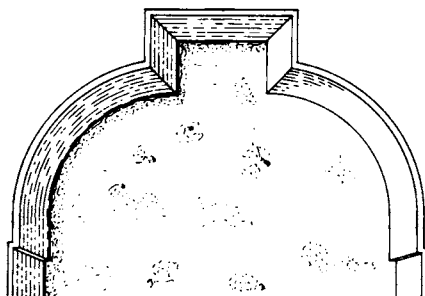
N3



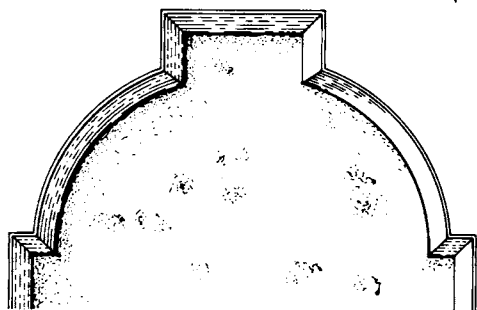
N4



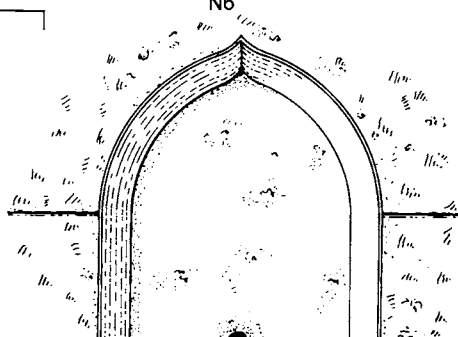
N5



N6



N7

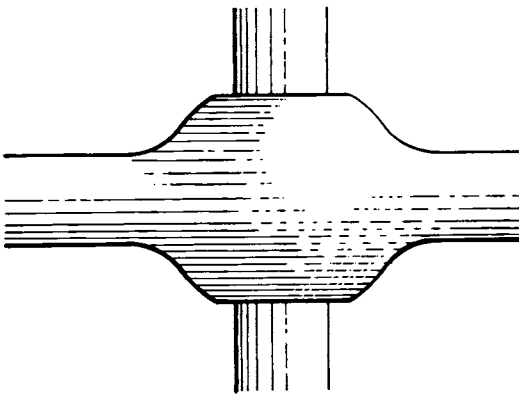


N8

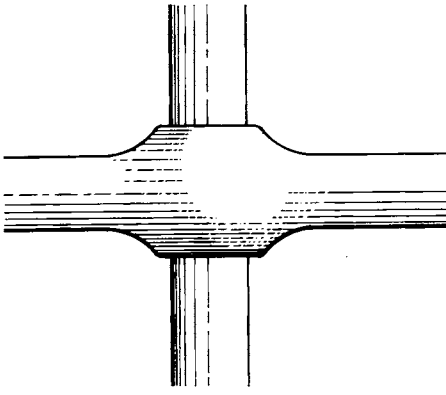
ARCHED NICHES ON *SABILS* Scale 1:5

- N1 Sabil Qasim Pasha
- N2 Sabil Birkat al-Sultan
- N3 Sabil al-Wad
- N4 Sabil Bab al-Silsila

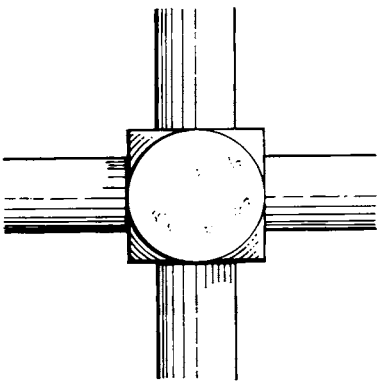
- N5 Sabil Bab al-'Atm
- N6 Sabil Bab al-Nazir
- N7 Sabil Sitti Maryam
- N8 Sabil Khassaki Sultan



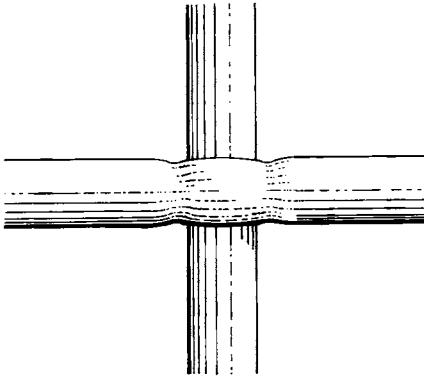
WG1



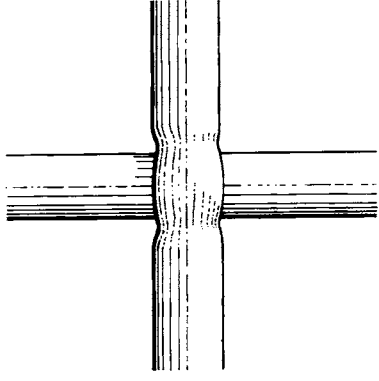
WG2



WG3



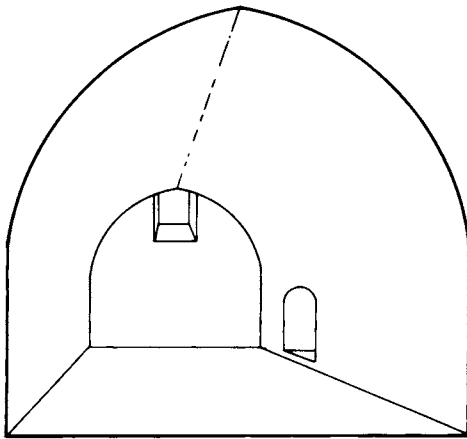
WG4



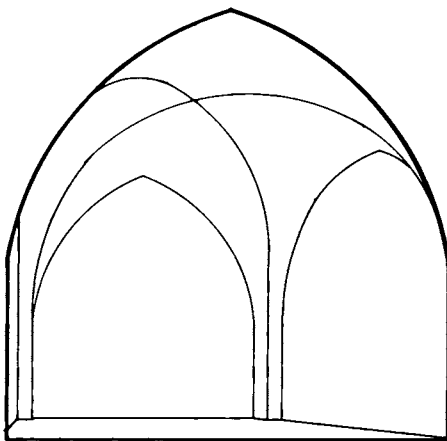
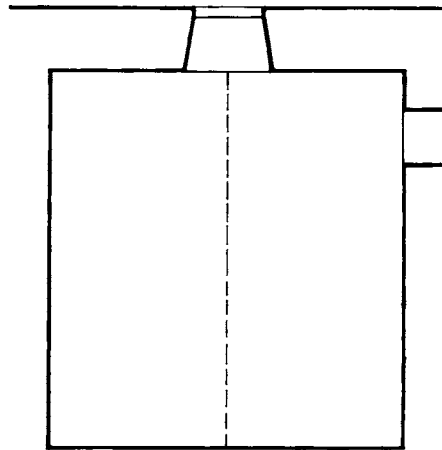
WG5

WINDOW GRILLS **Scale 1:1**
WG1 Al-Madrassa al-Mawardiyya
WG2 Hujrat Muhhammad Agha
WG3 North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha

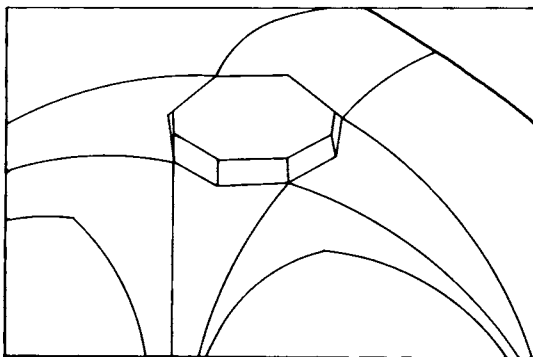
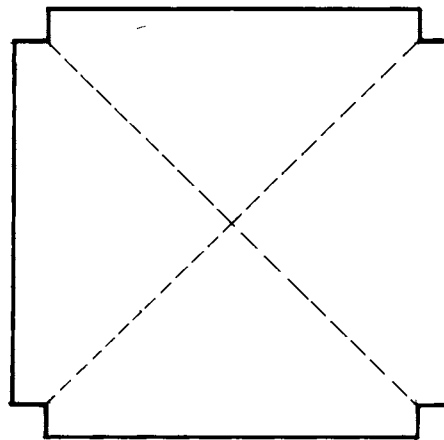
WG4 Design in general use
WG5 Design in general use



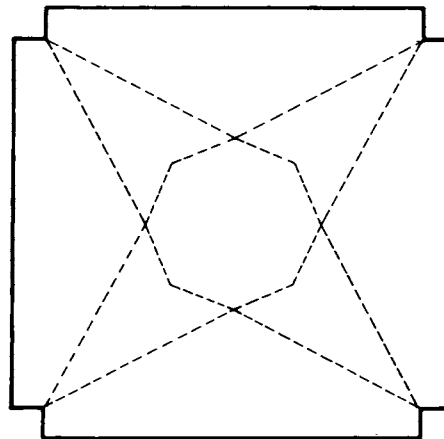
barrel vault



cross vault



folded cross vault with cupola



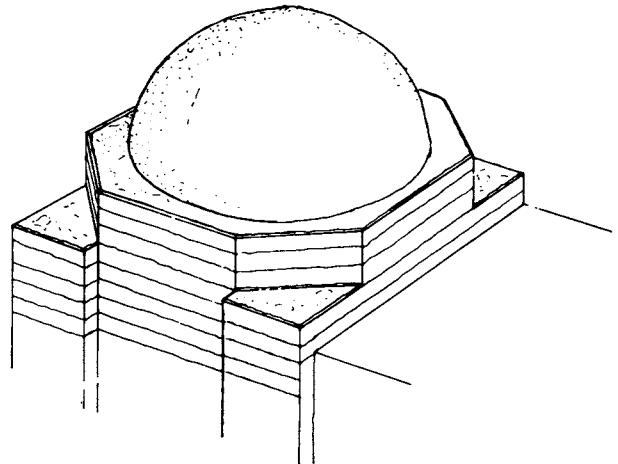
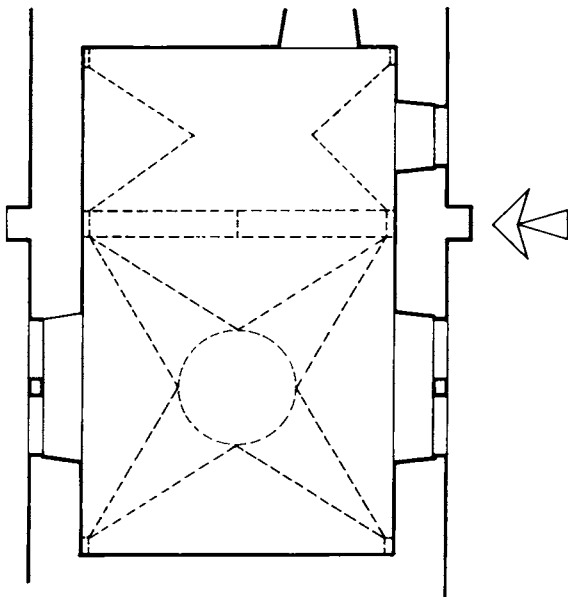
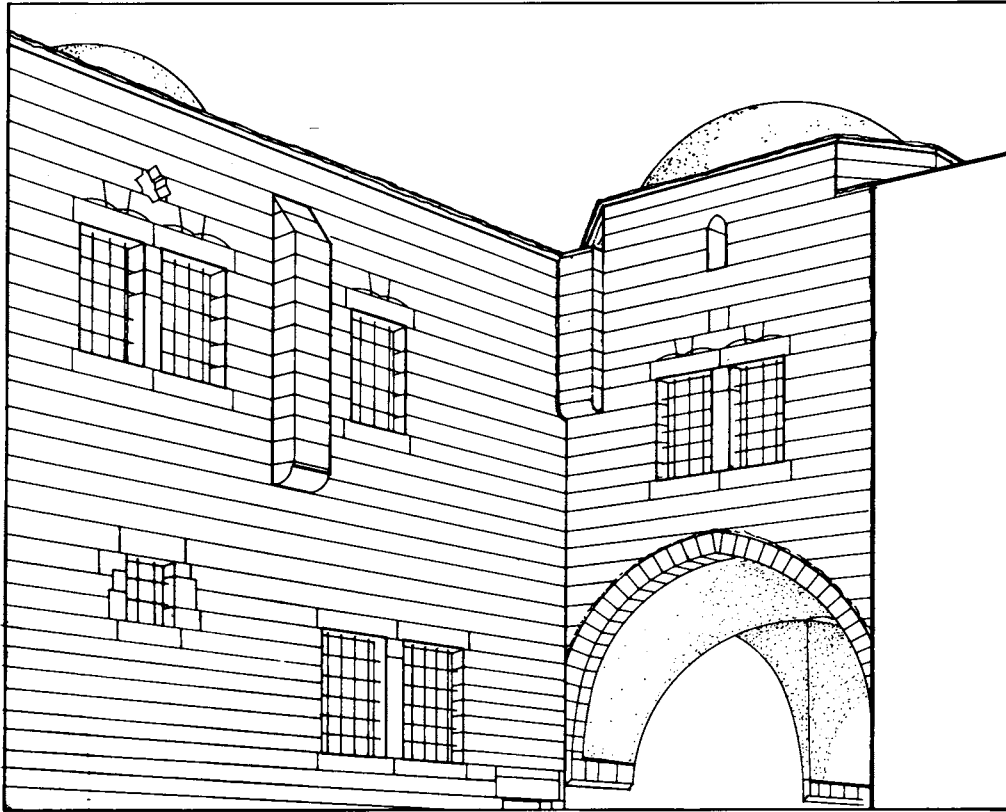
VAULTS

Types in general use

Barrel vault

Cross (or groin) vault

Folded cross vault (with eight sided cupola at apex)



CORBELLED BUTTRESSES

Showing so-called 'corbelled buttresses' used to strengthen walls against thrust of transverse arches and domes in upper floors.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS, REFLECTING LOCAL USAGE

<i>abacus</i>	flat slab on top of capital	<i>bawwab</i>	door-keeper; gate-keeper; porter
<i>'abd</i>	slave, a component in names, e.g. 'Abdallah (Slave of God)	<i>bayraq/bairaq</i>	banner
<i>'abaya</i>	sleeveless cloak	<i>bazar</i>	market
<i>abjad</i>	computation by means of numerical value of letters	<i>bedouin</i>	pastoral nomads
<i>ablaq</i>	two-tone masonry (lit. 'piebald')	<i>beg/bey/bek</i>	commander, lord
<i>abu</i>	father (of), used in many Muslim names in combination with the name of the first-born son	<i>beglerbeglik</i>	office of <i>beglerbeg</i> and the region under his command
<i>adab</i>	literature; culture	<i>beglik/beylik</i>	A small domain, vassal or free, in the period which followed the disintegration of the Saljuk state in Anatolia
<i>adhan</i>	call to prayer	<i>Bilad al-Sham</i>	Syria and Palestine
<i>agha</i>	chief	<i>billet moulding</i>	moulding of square blocks placed at regular intervals
<i>ahazij</i>	political song	<i>bisht</i>	woman's sleeveless overcoat
<i>'ain</i>	spring; well	<i>bismillah</i>	in the name of God (the opening of the invocation 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate')
<i>akçe</i>	Turkish coin	<i>buqa</i>	large scarf
<i>alai beg</i>	commander of <i>sipahis</i>	<i>burj</i>	tower
<i>'alam/'alama:</i>	finial, flag; signpost; boundary marker; minaret	<i>buzuk</i>	lute
<i>'aliya</i>	Jewish immigrants (lit. 'ascent to Zion')	<i>caliph</i>	the name given to the leader of the Muslim community (from Arabic <i>khalifa</i> , successor—to Muhammad)
<i>amir</i>	commander	<i>calotype</i>	early photographic process invented by W H Fox Talbot c. 1840 using silver iodide and silver nitrate
<i>amlaya</i>	white sheet-like cloak	<i>camî</i>	Friday mosque (Turkish)
<i>amthal</i>	proverbs	<i>caravanserai:</i>	lodging place for travellers or merchants
<i>aqsa</i>	furthest	<i>çarşaf</i>	head covering; cloth covering body for outdoor wear
<i>arabijujan</i>	supply	<i>cenotaph:</i>	Greek 'empty tomb'
<i>arghul</i>	clarinet with double drone pipe	<i>çeşme:</i>	a drinking fountain whether a tap or a monument
<i>arsun</i>	unit of measurement	<i>chevron</i>	zigzag ornamentation
<i>astragal</i>	small moulding with circular section	<i>chronogram</i>	an acrostic inscription from which the date can be deciphered
<i>atabeg</i>	guardian of a prince; often a governor		
<i>'attarin</i>	apothecaries; sellers of herbs and spices		
<i>ayyam</i>	glories; 'Days'; 'battles' in pre-Islamic times		
<i>b.</i>	son of (Arabic <i>ibn</i> , popularly <i>bin</i>)		
<i>bab</i>	door; gate		
<i>badiya</i>	nomadic encampment		
<i>bait</i>	house; living unit consisting of a self-contained suite of apartments		
<i>battal</i>	void		

<i>collodion</i>	a viscose solution used in photography of nitrated cotton or cellulose nitrates in alcohol or ether	<i>futuwwa</i>	order of chivalry; organisation of young men, often with Sufi or professional associations
<i>cuerda seca</i>	lit. 'dry cord'; technique of simultaneously glazing ceramics with several colours by separating them with a greasy substance mixed with manganese; this left a matt black line between the colours after firing	<i>gharara</i>	unit of weight
<i>cyma recta</i>	double-curved moulding, concave above and convex below	<i>ghazi</i>	fighter for the faith, often on the frontiers of Islam
<i>cyma reversa</i>	double-curved moulding, convex above and concave below	<i>ghirsh adadi</i>	coin
<i>dabkah</i>	Palestinian folk dance	<i>ghirsh asadi</i>	coin
<i>daftar, defter</i>	official document	<i>ghudfa</i>	shawl; veil
<i>da'i</i>	missionary	<i>girikh</i>	geometrical knotted ornament
<i>dallal</i>	broker	<i>habara</i>	white sheet-like cloak
<i>dar</i>	palace, house	<i>hadith</i>	collective body of traditions relating to Muhammad and his Companions
<i>dar al-hadith/</i>		<i>hajj</i>	the Pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>darül-hadis</i>	foundation for the teaching of Islamic traditions	<i>hakura</i>	orchard
<i>dar al-hikma</i>	House of Wisdom (specifically the research institute and translation bureau founded by the 'Abbasids)	<i>half-tone</i>	photographic process representing light and dark by dots of different sizes
<i>dar al-huffaz</i>	foundation for the recitation of the Qur'an	<i>halvet</i>	cubicle or cell
<i>dar al-imara</i>	seat of authority; usually governor's palace	<i>hammam</i>	public bath
<i>dar al-wakala</i>	warehouse	<i>hammami</i>	bath-keeper
<i>daura</i>	official tour of province by governor	<i>han</i>	inn or lodging place for travellers and merchants
<i>dervish</i>	mendicant mystic, common term for wandering Sufis	<i>haram</i>	sanctuary (lit. 'forbidden', i.e. sacred or private)
<i>dhikr</i>	remembrance of God; repetition of pious formulae (lit. 'reminding oneself') by extension, prayer; Sufi ceremony	<i>harim, harem</i>	women's quarters
<i>dhimmi</i>	'people of the covenant'; non-Muslim people of the book; Jew or Christian	<i>haremlik</i>	the family rooms of a house
<i>dhira'</i>	unit of length	<i>hasl</i>	store or shop
<i>dikka/dakka</i>	platform used by supplementary prayer leaders; drawstring for trousers	<i>hassa/khass</i>	royal
<i>dinar</i>	gold coin	<i>haush</i>	a number of living units gathered round an internal courtyard
<i>dirham</i>	silver coin	<i>hijra</i>	Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622; this marked the beginning of the Muslim calendar
<i>diwan/divan</i>	government office or ministry; royal reception chamber	<i>hilar</i>	crescent
<i>duwaira</i>	shrine or mausoleum	<i>hisba</i>	craft or market law; primary meaning 'the injunction on Muslims to command the good and forbid the evil'
<i>duwira</i>	small courtyard	<i>hizam</i>	belt; sash
<i>entari</i>	robe similar to <i>qumbaz</i>	<i>hujra</i>	chamber, cell
<i>eye-brow arch</i>	term coined for this book to describe a shallow blind arch over a lintel	<i>ibn</i>	see <i>b</i> .
<i>eyalet</i>	province	<i>iç gömlek</i>	loose shirt worn by urban Turkish men
<i>faqih</i>	specialist in religious law	<i>'id</i>	festival
<i>faraman</i>	high order	<i>ijaza</i>	authorisation, licence
<i>farda</i>	unit of measurement; tax on male adults aged 14 and over	<i>imam</i>	spiritual leader; prayer leader; leader of the Shi'ite community
<i>fatiha</i>	opening chapter of the Qur'an	<i>imaret</i>	hospice; public kitchen providing food for the needy
<i>fatwa</i>	a ruling or opinion based on Islamic law delivered by a qualified legal scholar	<i>ishdad</i>	sash; girdle
<i>fallahin</i>	residents of village; agricultural workers	<i>islah</i>	reform policy
<i>fil</i>	copper coin	<i>Islam</i>	submitting oneself to the will of Allah
<i>fiqh</i>	jurisprudence; the science of Islamic religious law	<i>izar</i>	white sheet-like cloak
<i>firman</i>	official order	<i>iwan</i>	vaulted or flat-roofed hall, open at one end
<i>fisqiyya</i>	fountain	<i>jabahujiyan</i>	arsenal
<i>funduq</i>	warehouse or inn	<i>jabah-khaneh</i>	ammunition depot; arsenal
		<i>jama'at khana</i>	dervish convent; place of prayer in a <i>madrasa</i>
		<i>jami'</i>	Friday Mosque
		<i>janaba</i>	state of ritual uncleanness
		<i>jawalda</i>	leatherworker
		<i>jihad</i>	'struggle'; holy war
		<i>jillaya</i>	type of lavishly decorated <i>thub</i>
		<i>jurn</i>	stone basin
		<i>juz' (pl. ajza')</i>	section of the Qur'an

<i>kāffīya</i>	man's headdress	<i>majma'</i>	large assembly hall
<i>kalam</i>	Muslim scholastic theology; more generally, rational argument	<i>makruh</i>	objectionable
<i>kaman/kamanja</i>	Persian spike fiddle	<i>maktab</i>	school for the teaching of the Qur'an, especially for orphans
<i>kamr</i>	woven sash from Syria	<i>mal al-hajj</i>	tax; money for pilgrimage
<i>kanli</i>	oxcart	<i>malaki</i>	type of stone
<i>kasat</i>	cymbals	<i>mamluk</i>	slave; but the term is often also used of manumitted slaves
<i>kashi</i>	cf. <i>qashani</i> ; ceramic tile	<i>manar/manara</i>	minaret
<i>katib</i>	secretary	<i>mandil</i>	kerchief
<i>kawass</i>	guide; dragoman	<i>maqam</i>	shrine; site
<i>kehya</i>	agent of governor	<i>maristan</i>	infirmary; hospital
<i>khadim</i>	servant	<i>marsum</i>	official order
<i>khalafishat</i>	castanets	<i>masduda</i>	closed
<i>khalwa</i>	small cell or chamber	<i>mashlah</i>	undressing room
<i>khan</i>	lodging place for travellers or merchants; lord, prince	<i>mashrabiyya</i>	window grille or screen of turned wood
<i>khandaq</i>	moat; ditch	<i>masjid</i>	mosque (lit. 'place of prostration') usually without a <i>minbar</i>
<i>khanqah</i>	residential Sufi convent, often with an additional funerary function	<i>masna'</i>	structure to hold water, e.g. pool, basin or cistern
<i>khaqan</i>	paramount ruler	<i>maqha</i>	coffee house
<i>khass sultani</i>	royal dues; monies due to sultan	<i>mastaba</i>	bench or platform, usually made of stone
<i>khatib</i>	preacher and prayer leader	<i>mausim</i>	banner-bearing procession
<i>khattat</i>	calligrapher	<i>mazar</i>	mausoleum (lit. 'place of visitation')
<i>khwaja</i>	merchant	<i>mazhar/mizhar</i>	frame drum
<i>khirqā</i>	shawl; veil	<i>mazzika</i>	music; see also <i>musiqā</i>
<i>khudarji</i>	greengrocer	<i>mi'dhana</i>	minaret
<i>khutba</i>	Friday sermon; address; bidding prayer	<i>mihrab</i>	arch or arcuated niche, flat or concave, which indicates the direction of Mecca (the <i>qibla</i>)
<i>kiosk</i>	pavilion	<i>mi'mar</i>	master builder; architect
<i>kis</i>	purse; sack	<i>mi'mar bashi</i>	chief architect
<i>kishlik</i>	covered hall	<i>minbar, mimber</i>	pulpit, to be found in mosques used for Friday prayer
<i>kiswa</i>	covering (in later times usually of black cloth) sent annually by the caliph for the Ka'ba	<i>mi'raj</i>	the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad to Heaven
<i>kutkhuda</i>	deputy commander	<i>miri sultani</i>	lands owing taxes to sultan
<i>kufic</i>	range of early scripts characterised by straight horizontal median line	<i>misriyya</i>	coin
<i>kūfür</i>	blasphemy	<i>mizala'</i>	resident
<i>küllīye</i>	foundation comprising multiple buildings centred on a mosque but with a strong educational and welfare bent—typically Ottoman	<i>mizi</i>	type of stone
<i>kursi</i>	throne; preacher's seat in a mosque; box of pedestal form for the Qur'an	<i>mu'adhdhin:</i>	the man who makes the call to prayer (muezzin)
<i>kurşum</i>	lead	<i>mudarabiyya</i>	short jacket
<i>kuttab</i>	school for teaching the Qur'an	<i>mudarris</i>	lecturer
<i>kuttab-sabil</i>	structure combining Qur'anic school and unit for the distribution of free water	<i>mudd</i>	unit of weight
<i>libas</i>	men's trousers	<i>mufti</i>	jurist
<i>liwa'</i>	lit. banner; administrative area cf Turkish <i>sanjak</i>	<i>muhafiz al-qal'a</i>	official responsible for guards; guardian of the Citadel
<i>madaniya</i>	urban dweller	<i>muhtasib</i>	legal official appointed to oversee the markets as inspector of weights and measures and controller of prices
<i>mann</i>	unit of weight	<i>mujahid</i>	fighter of the holy war
<i>madfan</i>	tomb	<i>mujawir</i>	lit. neighbour; resident
<i>madhhab</i>	school of Islamic law	<i>mulla</i>	junior religious leader (term usually used in eastern Islamic world)
<i>madina</i>	city	<i>munadir</i>	towncrier
<i>madrasa</i>	institution for the study of law and other Islamic sciences	<i>muqarnas</i>	honeycomb or stalactite vaulting made up of individual cells or small niches; often used as a bridging element
<i>maghtas</i>	plunge bath; tank	<i>murabit</i>	inhabitant of a <i>ribat</i> (a border fortress/cloister); fighter for the faith
<i>maidan</i>	public square; ceremonial public space		
<i>majidi</i>	coin		
<i>majlis</i>	reception hall		
<i>majlis baladi</i>	municipal council		

<i>musalla</i>	open-air place of communal prayer, usually outside a settlement; oratory	<i>rumi</i>	Turkish arabesque
<i>musiqā</i>	music	<i>sabat</i>	vaulted passage
<i>muslim</i>	a person who follows the religion of Islam	<i>sabbagh</i>	dyer
<i>mustahfizān</i>	guards	<i>sabil kuttāb</i>	foundation combining a Qur'an school with a unit for distributing free water
<i>mutasallim</i>	governor	<i>sabil</i>	a public fountain giving free water
<i>mutaşarrif</i>	provincial governor	<i>sabr</i>	cactus
<i>mutasarrifate</i>	area; province	<i>saghir</i>	small
<i>mutawalli</i>	administrator; overseer	<i>sahn</i>	courtyard; 'Chinese porcelain bowl' inset into wooden ceiling of Dome of Rock
<i>nabi</i>	prophet	<i>saif</i>	sword
<i>nahhas</i>	copper	<i>sajada</i>	to prostrate oneself; prayer rug
<i>nahhasin</i>	coppersmiths	<i>salat</i>	prayer, especially at the five canonical times of day
<i>nahiya</i>	area composed of a number of villages	<i>sanjak</i>	basic territorial administrative unit; lit. banner, cf. Arabic <i>liwa'</i>
<i>nai'</i>	double clarinet; flute	<i>sara'i</i>	palace
<i>najjar</i>	carpenter; joiner	<i>sarma</i>	embroidery stitch
<i>naqqara</i>	kettledrum	<i>sarraj</i>	saddler
<i>naqrazan</i>	large kettledrum	<i>sauma'a</i>	minaret; cell
<i>narghila</i>	water pipe	<i>sayyara</i>	drumstick
<i>naskh</i>	cursive script used as a scribal hand	<i>sayyid</i>	male descendant of the Prophet; lord
<i>nazir</i>	administrator	<i>saz</i>	reed flower used as descriptive term in Ottoman Turkish ornament
<i>oda</i>	chamber or cell	<i>şadirvan</i>	fountain for ritual ablutions, usually in the courtyard of a religious building
<i>ojak</i>	janissaries	<i>şalvar</i>	long baggy trousers
<i>para</i>	coin	<i>sawaiqa/suwaiqa</i>	small market
<i>pishtaq</i>	lofty arch framing an <i>iwan</i> ; hence, monumental portal	<i>selamlık</i>	mens' apartments
<i>qabba</i>	embroidered chest panel on woman's dress	<i>sha'al</i>	lampkeeper
<i>qabr</i>	grave	<i>shabab</i>	'young men'
<i>qadi</i>	Muslim religious judge, especially on points of religious law	<i>shabbab</i>	flute
<i>qahwa</i>	coffee	<i>shahada</i>	creed, profession of faith
<i>qanat</i>	channel for water, usually subterranean	<i>shaikh</i>	leader, whether tribal or religious (e.g. Sufi); title of respect
<i>qanatir</i>	aqueduct	<i>sham'a</i>	pinnacle; finial
<i>qandil</i>	arcade	<i>shamsa</i>	'little sun'; a disc or rosette ornament
<i>qammun</i>	lamp	<i>shari'a</i>	Islamic law
<i>qanun</i>	furnace	<i>shi'a</i>	(hence Shi'ite) generic term for a group of 'sects' not regarded as part of orthodox (Sunni) Islam. They all recognise 'Ali (cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet) as the first legitimate caliph.
<i>qantara</i>	zither	<i>silsila</i>	chain of tradition handed down by Sufi <i>shaikhs</i> to their pupils
<i>qasab/tir-tir</i>	bridge house; primary meaning 'bridge'	<i>sinf</i>	organisation of workers into guilds
<i>qashani</i>	gold thread	<i>sipahi</i>	cavalry trooper
<i>qasr</i>	ceramic tile	<i>sirij/sirj</i>	oil
<i>qibla</i>	palace; residence; fort; <i>château</i>	<i>sirwal</i>	men's trousers
<i>qintar</i>	direction of prayer, i.e. to the Ka'ba in Mecca	<i>sitr</i>	cf. <i>kiswa</i> ; embroidered cloth or pall
<i>qishlaq</i>	unit of weight	<i>slit window</i>	as used by Yusuf Natsheh in this book, the term refers to form and not function
<i>qitar</i>	winter quarters (often for an army)	<i>squinch</i>	an arch placed diagonally across the corner of a room to support a circular or polygonal superstructure
<i>qubba</i>	lute	<i>stereograph</i>	almost identical pair of photographs transformed into three-dimensional image in stereoscope
<i>qumbaz</i>	dome; mausoleum	<i>suffara</i>	whistle flute
<i>qurra</i>	man's long-sleeved coat	<i>sufi</i>	lit. 'woollen', symbolising ascetic life; Islamic mystic
<i>qursurmil</i>	reciters of the Qur'an	<i>sultan</i>	ruler, king
<i>rab'a</i>	surface plaster used for waterproofing		
<i>rab'a</i>	one of 30 parts of the Qur'an		
<i>rabab</i>	fiddle; violin		
<i>rabad</i>	glacis; the area immediately surrounding the city; 'suburb'		
<i>rabita:</i>	hermitage		
<i>ra'is</i>	head; chief; mayor		
<i>rak'a</i>	prostration		
<i>ratl</i>	a unit of weight corresponding in Syria to c. 3.202 kilos		
<i>rauda</i>	garden; funerary garden; mausoleum		
<i>ribat</i>	fortified religious outpost on the Muslim frontier; caravanserai; royal stopover		
<i>riwaq</i>	portico or cloisters around a courtyard; tent-flap		

<i>sultani</i>	gold coin	<i>turba/türbe</i>	mausoleum (lit. 'dust')
<i>sunni</i>	orthodox Muslim	<i>'ud</i>	lute
<i>sunuj</i>	cymbals	<i>'ulama'</i>	those who possess knowledge; scholars; clerics; the learned class
<i>suq</i>	market, usually subdivided according to trades	<i>'unwan</i>	heading
<i>sura</i>	chapter of the Qur'an	<i>'uqiya/oka</i>	unit of weight
<i>surra</i>	gift of money from Ottoman sultan	<i>'uthmani</i>	coin
<i>tabhane</i>	hospice where travellers were able to lodge free for three days, forming part of the <i>külliye</i> of a mosque	<i>wakala</i>	urban caravanserai, market and warehouse
<i>tabl</i>	side drum	<i>wakil</i>	legal agent; deputy
<i>tafjiyyan</i>	artillery	<i>wali</i>	governor
<i>tafsir</i>	Qur'anic commentary	<i>waqf</i>	land or property charitably endowed in perpetuity for the benefit of a pious institution, and yielding an income
<i>taj</i>	crown; finial of banner		legally attested deed of endowment
<i>tambura</i>	lute	<i>waqfiyya</i>	the person who sets up the <i>waqf</i>
<i>tanakjiyya</i>	tinsmith	<i>waqif</i>	vizier; minister; the office grew in importance during the 16th century
<i>Tanzimat</i>	mid-19th century period of reform in Ottoman Turkey following edicts of 1839 and 1856	<i>wazir</i>	partial ritual ablution
<i>taq</i>	arch	<i>wudu'</i>	local troops
<i>taqiyya</i>	small cap worn by women	<i>yerliyan</i>	'Janissary'; Ottoman infantryman
<i>tarbush istanbuli</i>	<i>fez</i> ; tall headgear for man made of red wool felt	<i>yeniçeri</i>	holder of a <i>timar</i>
<i>tariqa</i>	Sufi brotherhood	<i>za'im</i>	olive
<i>tawwaf</i>	ritual circumambulation	<i>zait</i>	the obligation to give alms; 'purification'
<i>tekke</i>	dervish lodge	<i>zakat</i>	staff
<i>thub</i>	long tunic or dress worn by men and women	<i>zanah</i>	ointment used in <i>hammam</i> to remove body hair
<i>thuluth</i>	'majuscule' form of <i>naskhi</i> script often used in headings and inscriptions	<i>zarnikh</i>	small residential building for Sufis, also discharging a teaching and at times funerary function
<i>timar</i>	grant for an income derived from agricultural taxation	<i>zawiya</i>	enclosed extension to a mosque
<i>tirs</i>	shield	<i>ziyada</i>	visitation
<i>tir-tir</i>	gold thread, cf. <i>qasab</i>	<i>ziyara</i>	protocol
<i>top-khaneh</i>	arsenal of cannons	<i>zuffah</i>	shaded area in a mosque; hence, sanctuary
<i>torus</i>	large convex moulding at base of column	<i>zulla</i>	sash
<i>tughra</i>	seal or monogram of the Sultan	<i>zunnar</i>	double clarinet
		<i>zummara</i>	

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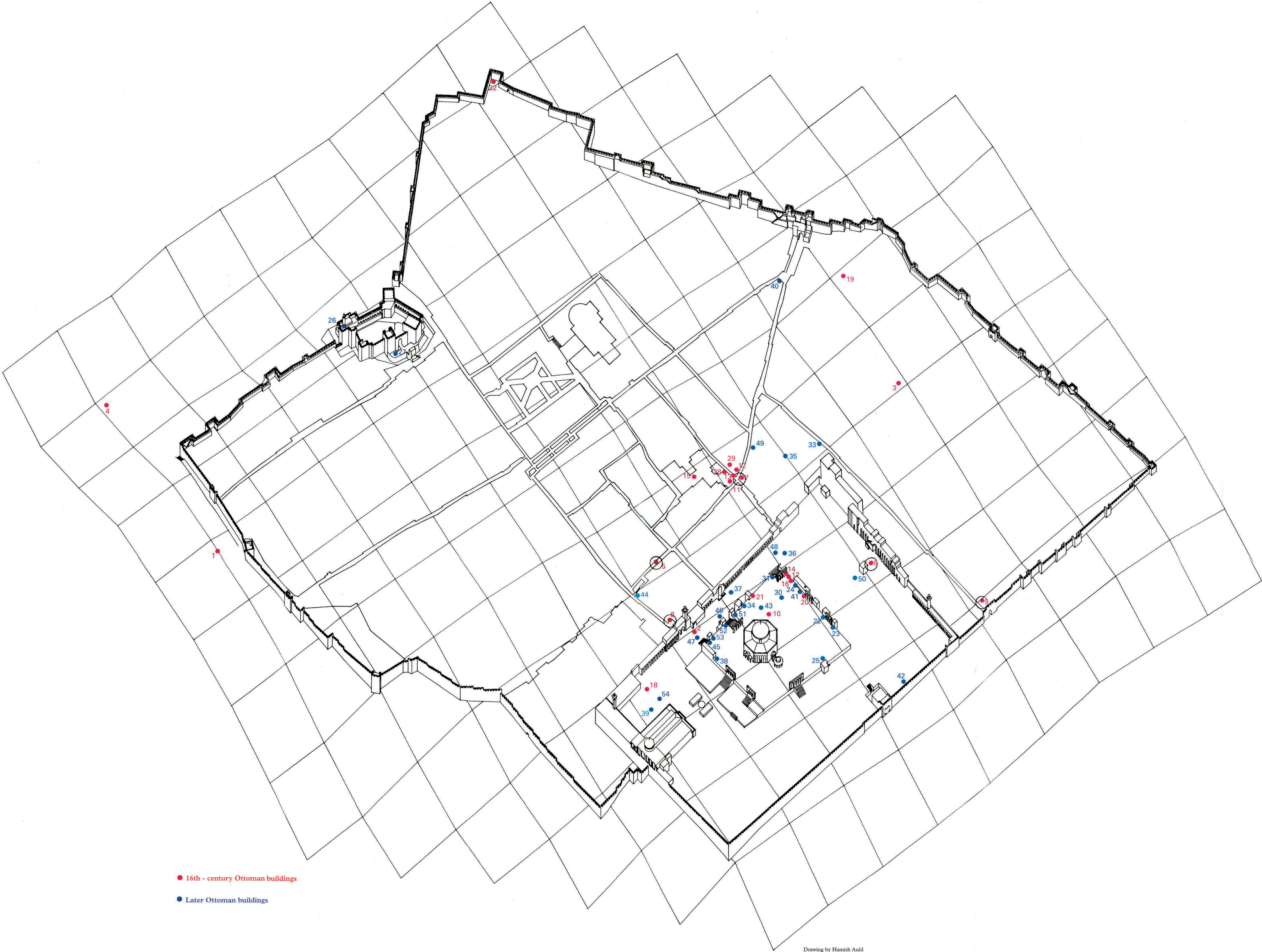
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● 16th - century Ottoman buildings
● Later Ottoman buildings

Catalogue of Buildings

1. Masjid and Minaret al-Nabi Da'ud (930/1524)
2. Sabil Qasim Pasha (933/1527)
3. Minaret and Zawiya al-Hamra' (al-Khalwatiyya) (c. 939/1532-3)
4. Sabil Birkat al-Sultan (943/1536)
5. Sabil al-Wad (943/1536)
6. Sabil Bab al-Silsila (943/1537)
7. Sabil Bab al-Nazir (943/1537)
8. Sabil Bab al-'Atm (943/1537)
9. Sabil Bab Sitti Maryam (943/1536-7)
10. Qubbat wa Mihrab al-Nabi (945/1538-9)
11. Ribat Bairam Jawish (947/1540)
12. Maktab Bairam Jawish (947/1540)
13. Dar Bairam Jawish (953/1546)
14. Hujrat Muhammad Amir Liwa' al-Quds (956/1549-50?)
15. Al-'Imara al-'Amira (Khassaki Sultan) (959/1552)
16. Khalwat Qitas (967/1559-60)
17. Khalwat Parviz (967/1559-60)

18. Sabil Bab al-Maghariba (first endowment) (987/1579)
19. Al-Khanqah al-Maulawiyya (995/1586-7)
20. Hujrat Muhammad Agha (996/1588)
21. Hujrat Islam Beg (1002/1593-4)
22. North-Western Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (Mamluk cell) (1009/1601)
23. North-Eastern Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha (1009/1601)
24. Khalwat Junbala'iyiyya (1010/1601-2)
25. Madrasat Ahmad Pasha (1013/1604)
26. Mi'dhanat Qal'a (restoration) (1065/1655)
27. Masjid al-Saif (restoration) (1151/1643-4)
28. Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya (al-Rasasiyya) (first half of 16th century?)
29. Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (first half of 16th century?)
30. Qubbat al-Arwah (before 1037/1637-8)
31. Qubbat al-Khadr (before 1222/1807)
32. Masjid al-Qaimari (16th century?)
33. Al-Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (1033/1623-4)
34. Khalwat Bairam Pasha (1038/1628-9)
35. Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (1043/1633)
36. Sabil wa Mihrab wa Mastabat Sha'tan (reconstruction) (1037/1627-8)

37. Mihrab 'Ali Pasha (1047/1637-8)
38. Qubbat Yusuf (1092/1681)
39. Qubbat Yusuf Agha (1092/1681)
40. Sabil al-Shurbaji (1097/1685)
41. Odat Arslan Pasha (restoration) (1109/1697)
42. Kursi Sulaiman (after 1017/1608)
43. Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya (Masjid al-Nabi) (1112/1700-1)
44. Sabil al-Khalidi (1125/1713)
45. Sabil al-Husaini (1137/1724-5)
46. Khalwat al-Dajani (1138/1725-6)
47. Mihrab Ahmad Qullari (1174/1760-1)
48. Sabil Mustafa Agha (al-Budair) (1153/1740-1)
49. Dar al-Yzz (1205/1790-91)
50. Iwan al-Sultan Mahmud II (1233/1817-18)
51. Khalwat Sadanat al-Haram (1222/1807)
52. Khalwat al-Mu'adhdhinin (after 1222/1807)
53. South-Western Khalwa (1222/1807)
54. Mihrab wa Mastabat al-Sanaubar (undated)
55. Mastabas and Mihrabs (undated)



Tancred Dumas, 3-part panoramic view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, ca. 1872-73 (courtesy of Harvard Semitic Museum Photographic Archives, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

